THE NATIONAL REVIEW

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

President Poincaré

No more welcome guest has ever visited these shores than Monsieur Poincaré, the President of the French Republic, a man of great eminence—in no conventional sense—by virtue of his personality, the great office he holds, and the great nation he represents. Nor could he have come at a more opportune moment, as he must have realised from the extraordinarily enthusiastic welcome he received from all classes of the community, from the King and the Prince of Wales downwards, throughout his flying visit. We islanders, though the centre of an Empire, remain somewhat insular in our outlook, in spite of the vast tourist traffic which takes an ever-increasing number of Englishmen and Englishwomen abroad to see places without seeing and knowing people. France is a delightful playground to this country, but how few of us know the real France, the new France that has been growing up under our very eyes during the last few years. We need reminding of the fact that we are not only an island or even an Empire, but likewise a great European Power, upon a proper understanding and discharge of whose responsibilities both our independence as an island and our existence as an Empire depend. That is the real value of this visit, which is no mere ceremonial affair as some interested parties would have us believe, and we prefer to refer to the inward [illegible] outward aspect, on which eloquent

pens have exhausted themselves. Although we do not often find ourselves in agreement with the *Times*—which appears to be working towards a Mugwumps' Millennium—our leading journal still stands firmly by the foreign policy which it has played so powerful and honourable a part in shaping. In greeting our illustrious visitor (June 24) the *Times* made the timely observation that President Poincaré "comes amongst us as . . . the symbol of a great policy. We shall try while he is amongst us to convey to him and to his countrymen how deep is our admiration for France, and how sincere our devotion to the Triple Entente." That is the right note. The cordial relations between "the two great Liberal and Progressive democracies of the West, which have prevailed during the vicissitudes of ten eventful years have become closer and more intimate as time has proved their worth."

Triple Entente

WHEN a President of the French Republic for the first time accepted the hospitality of the British Sovereign the two countries were perceptibly drawing closer, but there were outstanding differences to be settled. As the *Times* observes, "When five years later M. Fallières was our guest, the friendship of which King Edward and M. Loubet sowed the seed had proved that it was too deep-rooted for any storms to shake. Five other years have gone by—years in which it has had to brave fresh dangers and attacks—and for the third time the Chief Magistrate of the Republic comes in the name of France to rejoice with us at its solidarity and its warmth." The origin of the Entente Cordiale was simplicity itself. But although we are now in smooth water let us not underrate the unfavourable atmosphere surrounding its birth. The two countries were continually harassing one another in different parts of the world over differences of a more or less vital character which neither Government had been able to settle. We all know the real cause of their final settlement, namely the external pressure of a powerful third party, which convinced the Statesmen of both countries of the need of early and comprehensive agreement. It was King Edward who altered the atmosphere that made a settlement possible, and Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcassé who came to terms, and no efforts of any pundits however "well informed" can belittle the great and historic part played by the

Sovereign when a bold and original departure was necessary. Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcassé deserve their share of credit for destroying the tradition which, as the *Times* reminds us, was "a fixed article of faith that England and France, and England and Russia, could always be played off against each other. . . . The understanding they negotiated and the Russian Agreement changed the axis of European policy. The new system created an equilibrium between two great groups of Powers. Under it all the members of each can command a fair and courteous treatment as equals amongst equals, while none can venture with impunity upon outrage or aggression." This is admirably said. It would be impossible to over-rate the beneficent rôle of the Triple Entente in restoring self-respect to its members and in perserving Peace with Honour among the great Powers during recent years. But it would be a dangerous delusion to imagine that "the fixed idea" has been abandoned because a mighty restless Empire remains convinced that her position and prestige depend on adherence to that "fixed idea." The open frontal attack upon the Entente between ourselves and our brilliant neighbours across the Channel has been abandoned thanks to the loyalty and steadfastness of Paris and London, while the Triple Entente has at repeated junctures demonstrated that it is not easily bluffed.

The "Fixed Idea"

ess the less "the fixed idea" remains in Berlin—it is more eep-rooted than ever, it is nothing less than an obsession—that Great Britain and France, Great Britain and Russia, exist for the purpose of quarrelling with one another for the greater glory of Germany, and at the Empire of "blood and iron" depends upon the dissensions own by German diplomacy among her powerful neighbours. But ermany, unlike some other communities nearer home, has ver relied upon paper diplomacy only. By prodigious efforts land and sea and in the air she aspires to master the situation d dictate her own terms in every capital in Europe. She ves little to chance and is conscious that the prospects of lising Napoleonic ambitions depend on the successful separation the weakening of existing ties between France and Great tain, and above all on the estrangement of St. Petersburg and ndon. German diplomacy enjoys the assistance of [illegible]

Potsdam Parties in other States usually consisting of cosmopolitan Jews who for some unexplained reason are almost always prepared to do Germany's dirty work, as they were in Bismarck's time, when many foreign newspapers, including English newspapers, danced to his piping, as recorded in the instructive pages of Busch. At the present moment the British Potsdam Party pays mild lip-service to the Anglo-French Entente because it is impossible to do anything else, though abusive articles on France crop up from time to time in Radical newspapers like the *Daily News* and *Manchester Guardian*, which were pro-French in the days when France was believed to be anti-English. Meanwhile the Russian bogey is being worked for all (and a good deal more than) it is worth, not only by Anglophobe Radicals who are always "agin their own country," its allies and its friends, but also by some otherwise sensible politicians whose travelling has been confined to Turkey or possibly Persia—we are beginning to believe that it is better never to have travelled at all than only to have travelled in Turkey or Persia.

"Russian Danger"

We are however less anxious about our Philo Turks who are essentially patriotic men, because directly they realise they have walked into a Potsdam trap they won't remain there. Every German nowadays meeting any Englishman, or for the matter of that any Frenchman—especially if the former be in any official position—at once begins talking "Russian danger," luridly depicting the appalling day when not only will the Slavs absorb the whole of Asia but likewise Europe and submerge Western civilisation, swallowing Germany at one gulp, France at another, and England at a third. It is grotesque we admit, but that is what German diplomacy is now reduced to by her singular genius for backing wrong horses in different parts of the world. These intrigues and aims are so palpable that even our professional emotionalists will find it difficult to persuade the British to play the German game. The object of course is to undermine the Triple Entente which bars the way to Pan-Germanism, which only the other day was publishing maps in which Holland, Belgium and Denmark, Switzerland, portions of France and Russia were coloured red, but this open, offensive propaganda is for the time being in abeyance,

and the maps have been rolled up while less ostentatious methods are given a chance; but they would be unrolled the moment Germany succeeded in weakening the barrier which is the main safeguard of the independence and liberty of Europe, *i.e.* the Triple Entente. If we could be successfully detached from Russia, or Russia permanently prejudiced against us, the relations between ourselves and France would become impossible, because France could not at once be the loyal ally of Russia and the faithful friend of England, if Germany succeeded in making Russia and England hostile to one another. That is the key to the present European situation, and it accounts for the present lines on which Potsdam propaganda is run in our Press. It is unnecessary to point out that if Germany succeeded in breaking up the Triple Entente, weakening the Dual Alliance and wrecking the Entente Cordiale, it would not be long before Russia would find herself constrained to enter into an offensive alliance with Germany, and Western civilisation would be in real danger. Happily Teutonic duplicity is transparent. The other day our German friends and their pro-German confederates were telling us it was madness to associate with such a weak and rotten Power as Russia. To-day we are told that it is no less madness to associate with such a formidable and overwhelming Power as Russia.

"France"

AMONG the many tributes which President Poincaré's visit has evoked, which have wanted neither in enthusiasm nor eloquence, none will make a more direct appeal to the heart of France than the verses contributed by Mr. Rudyard Kipling to the *Morning Post*, June 24, of which we venture to quote a few lines. Mr. Kipling has done many great things in his day but nothing greater than this.

Broke to every known mischance, lifted over all
By the light sane joy of life, the buckler of the Gaul,
Furious in luxury, merciless in toil,
Terrible with strength that draws from her tireless soil,
Strictest judge of her own worth, gentlest of man's mind,
First to follow Truth and last to leave old truths behind—
France beloved of every soul that loves its fellow-kind !

. . . . . .

Where did you refrain from us or we refrain from you ?
Ask the wave that has not watched war between us two.

Others held us for a while, but with weaker charms,
These we quitted at the call for each other's arms.
Eager toward the known delight, equally we strove,
Each the other's mystery, terror, need and love.
To each other's open court with our proofs we came.
Where could we find honour else or men to test our claim ?
From each other's throat we wrenched, valour's last reward,
That extorted word of praise gasped 'twixt lunge and guard.
In each other's cup we poured mingled blood and tears,
Brutal joys, unmeasured hopes, intolerable fears,
All that soiled or salted life for a thousand years.
Proved beyond the need of proof, matched in every clime,
O companion, we have lived greatly through all time !

. . . . .

Now we count new keels afloat, and new hosts on land,
Massed like ours (rememberest thou ?) when our strokes were planned.
We were schooled for dear life's sake, to know each other's blade.
What can blood and iron make more than we have made ?
We have learned by keenest use to know each other's mind.
What shall blood and iron loose that we cannot bind ?
We who swept each other's coast, sacked each other's home,
Since the sword of Brennus clashed on the scales at Rome,
Listen, count and close again, wheeling girth to girth,
In the linked and steadfast guard set for peace on earth !

. . . . .

The Hush-ups

WE make no apology for the inordinate amount of space devoted to the Marconi question, which not only dwarfs all other domestic issues but will affect British politics for many years to come. The effrontery of the Hush-up Press which at every stage of the scandal has endeavoured to divert and mislead the public emphasises the duty of those engaged in the fight against Unclean Government. Ministers enjoy the advantage of a great and what should be powerful bodyguard of newspaper proprietors and editors in the so-called Unionist Press, whose main duty apparently consists in preventing any serious harm befalling the Asquith régime which all "white men" recognise as the curse of the country. The subject is rarely mentioned in print because these Yes-No Radical Unionist multi-millionaires control a large proportion of the Pooh-bah Press, but it is a constant topic of conversation, and does not tend to increase the influence of the Press. People are beginning to ask themselves whether the time has not

some when the readers of newspapers should be allowed to know whose opinions they are reading. As the Government are also supported by their own thick-and-thin partisan Press the odds would appear to be in their favour in whitewashing the present outrage. Happily events have proved that there is a great and ever-growing public, entirely independent of the Pooh-bahs, who, with the aid of a small but courageous body of journals which are fighting the fight for Clean Government to a finish, are bound to beat the Pooh-bahs. Indeed from time to time even the Pooh-bahs are poked into line, but they invariably relapse under Mandarin pressure, which takes various forms, though not the corrupt forms which some indignant onlookers imagine. Occasionally a dinner will do it, sometimes a lunch, or even a breakfast, or as often as not a cheap falsehood down the telephone. The Master of Elibank was an adept at pulling the leg of Unionist journalists, and the Isaacses, Georges, and other Marconi-ites have their warm friends and ardent admirers among us. The weekly Press has been admirable; for example, the *Outlook*, the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*—we have no desire to injure independent organs of other parties by praising them—while the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Express*, the *Globe*, and last, but not least, the *Financial News*, have all in their different ways rendered yeoman service—others have been more capricious—and it is they who to-day really represent public opinion and not the Hush-ups, whose latest effort to implicate the Unionist Party in Parliament in a discreditable compromise was as complete as previous fiascos of a similar character.

Marconi Reports

Of the various reports of the Marconi Select Committee (published on June 13) we need say nothing here, as they are fully dealt with elsewhere. The text of the Falconer-Booth Report, which was substituted for the Draft Report of the Chairman (Sir Albert Spicer), who alone among the Coalition contingent of the Committee attempted to do his duty, is reproduced *in extenso*. It needs no comment from us as it speaks for itself, and we strongly advise our readers to read every word of it. It was practically the handiwork of Mr. Falconer, though it contains touches of Mr. Handel Booth, and was approved by Sir Walter Essex, Mr. Gordon Harvey, Sir

Herbert Roberts (Radicals), Mr. James Parker (Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party), Mr. Mooney and Mr. William Redmond (Nationalists). We give the operative extracts from Sir Albert Spicer's Draft which caused its rejection by the majority because of certain very mild strictures on the scandalous conduct of the Marconi section of the Cabinet. The minority of the Select Committee consisting of Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Amery, Sir Frederick Banbury, Mr. Butcher, K.C., Mr. George Faber, and Mr. Donald Macmaster, expressed their views in a Draft Report which we also publish textually, which was drawn up by Lord Robert Cecil in conjunction with Mr. Amery. It also speaks for itself and is destined to exercise a profound influence on public opinion. No one who knows the facts of this astounding affair will suggest that it errs on the side of severity. Indeed several passages strike us as being unnecessarily lenient, and in particular we should like to have had a fuller statement concerning Mr. Herbert Samuel's unscrupulous attempt to bounce Major Archer Shee into withdrawing opposition to the Marconi Agreement last August after the Postmaster-General and the Prime Minister were aware that the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chief Whip had been speculating in Marconi shares. Had this effort been successful the whole business would have been finally buried and the country is deeply indebted to Major Archer Shee for sticking to his guns. A valuable sidelight has been thrown on this and other neglected aspects of the Marconi scandal during the Chesterton case which contains food for much comment though unfortunately lack of space prevents our dealing with it. Sir John Stirling Maxwell in a speech at Glasgow has expressed lay opinion on the conduct of Sir Edward Carson in appearing in Marconi cases, and we are familiar with the excuse. The prosecution of Mr. Cecil Chesterton by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs aided by Sir Edward Carson and others resulted in something of an anti-climax as though the jury returned a verdict of guilty on nearly all counts, Mr. Justice Phillimore did not see his way to passing a severer sentence than £100 fine—and costs.

AFTER some preliminary skirmishing as to the precise date of the Debate on the Reports of the Marconi Committee, Mr. Asquith finally fixed June 18, presumably with a view to inflicting the maximum inconvenience on the Unionist Party, as the Irish Unionist campaign of education, conducted by Sir Edward Carson, with the object of arousing the people of this island to the preposterous character of the Home Rule Bill would then be in full swing. However, it mattered comparatively little whether the discussion took place before or after members had had time to master the avalanche of Blue Books by which they had been suddenly submerged, and it was decidedly advantageous to get to business as soon as possible. It was likewise desirable that a day should be selected not hopelessly inconvenient to the periodical Press. The usual rumours were rife prior to the night as to what this person, that person, or the other person would or would not do. At one moment we were seriously invited to believe that Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George would at last take the only proper step left to them by resigning, but no serious student of political pachyderms credited this legend for a single moment, or the rival rumour that Sir Edward Grey and others were so shocked by the lowering of the accepted standards of our public life and by the discredit that had overtaken the Cabinet that they would resign unless the Marconi gamblers went, &c. &c. All possible alternatives were canvassed *ad nauseam* in parliamentary circles, but elsewhere people preserved their calm and were able to form a truer appreciation of probabilities than those actually engaged in the fray or living permanently on its fringe.

Preliminary Skirmishing

OUTSIDERS knew that there was at no time the faintest ghost of a prospect of any resignations. It was always a case of "Let us all hang together lest we hang separately." The word resignation is unknown in the vocabulary of Messrs. Asquith and Co. The supposition of the common or garden *gobemouche* that Sir Edward Grey would do something wonderful, never imposed on anybody outside a newspaper office. Indeed the effort to exploit him as *vir pietate gravis* and the special agent of Providence is becoming somewhat monotonous. The goods are never delivered. Though

Conflicting Rumours

a truthful man himself and above dirty tricks, there is no limit to the falsehoods or the dirty tricks which he is not only prepared to tolerate and palliate, but even to defend when perpetrated by colleagues. It is under the ægis of such men that corruption creeps into politics. To the pure all things are pure—even corruption. Sir Edward Grey's admirers and toadies term "loyalty" what is really treachery to public service. "Oh loyalty what crimes are committed in thy name." As our readers are aware, we have long held the opinion that either the present Cabinet will destroy the country or the country will destroy the Cabinet. Until recently we were doubtful as to the issue. The betting was even, but at last the stars in their courses have begun fighting against the Government which proceeds from one hideous blunder to another, so much so that it cannot be saved even by the Great Hush-up Press which, though nominally Unionist, appears to exist primarily for the purpose of pulling Radical Ministers out of every pit they dig for themselves. There were two conflicting rumours prior to the Marconi Debate which attracted attention outside the Lobby as tallying with possibility. It was said, on the one hand, that the discredited Ministers would brazen the whole thing out on the lines of the Report drafted by their friend and confidant Mr. Falconer, and that Mr. Lloyd George would delight the Radical Gallery by carrying the war into the enemy's camp in approved Limehouse fashion, and rake up or fake up imaginary misdeeds of former Unionist Governments. His newspaper henchmen bade us beware of the danger of arousing the Welsh lion. Alternatively it was alleged that the two eminent American "investors" would don the white sheet, and after eloquent appeals *ad misericordiam*, followed by general weeping, both Front Benches would fall upon one another's necks and swear eternal friendship. In this event "good feeling" would have been held to prevent the Unionist Party from ever again mentioning the word "Marconi," while corrupt and revolutionary Government would have been free to pursue its career of snobbery, jobbery, and robbery.

We own to having entertained some apprehensions on this score, as some of our friends in Parliament are emotional and ingenuous, while Mr. Lloyd George is what Canadians call "a great sob artist." The Hush-up Press would have been in all its glory and Panama would have arrived with the acquiescence of his Majesty's Opposition. The very mildness of the motion proposed on behalf of the Opposition by Mr. George Cave was in itself somewhat disconcerting. It offered a golden opportunity for a frank, open, unreserved confession and apology on the part of those of his Majesty's Ministers who had had the misfortune to be found out. Had they grasped it the doctrine that the sole duty of any Minister is to avoid detection might have become unanimously incorporated in the great body of parliamentary tradition, and even worse things would have happened in the near future than those already exposed. As events proved, the implicated Ministers are far too petty and self-satisfied, too imbued with a sense of their infinite importance and of that infallibility which hedges the Front Bench to make an *amende honourable*. They live, but they are unable to learn. They have expended themselves in struggling against the facts and they are physically, morally, and mentally incapable of appreciating the deplorable derelictions of duty of which they have been guilty—still less of apologising for them. A simple *peccavi*, followed by resignation and an immediate appeal to their constituents, would have been the only way out of the mess, but men of the Isaacs and the George type are devoid of moral courage, hence their undoing. The Premier on his side has not the pluck to part with them and the Coalition will become involved in a common doom in order that the country may be saved. Let us not repine. Mr. Cave opened the discussion with the following motion: "That this House regrets the transactions of certain of his Majesty's Ministers in the shares of the Marconi Company of America and the want of frankness displayed by Ministers in their communications on the subject to the House." The mover's speech was as moderate as his motion, but there was an unmistakable ring of reality about his measured indictment.

From Blunder to Blunder

Private Obligation v. Public Duty

We need not follow Mr. Cave in detail, because the Marconi Reports are abundantly dealt with elsewhere and the main facts have long been familiar to our readers. He handsomely declared that he had found no trace of any evidence of corruption, but he suggested that the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the late Chief Whip of the Party "have committed breaches of certain rules and traditions of this House, and, indeed, of all public life, without which public life would be impossible." Those rules were founded upon one general principle, that no Minister should embark on transactions which might bring his private interests or his private sense of obligation into conflict with his public duties. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had himself laid down two rules, namely that no Minister in making an investment should use any special information obtained by him in his Ministerial capacity, nor should he invest in companies whose profits depended upon contracts entered into with the Government. Mr. Cave wisely added a third rule, namely, "That a Minister may not receive in relation to his investments, or for any other purpose, any favour or advantage, direct or indirect, from a person contracting, or proposing to contract, with the Crown." He did not suggest that there had been any breach of the first of those three recognised rules, but the House must ask itself whether the second and third had been fully observed. The reader will understand that we are here summarising Mr. Cave's speech and not stating the issue in our own way, because on an exhaustive investigation of those fatal operations in April 1912 we cannot assent to the proposition, even when put forward by a man of the judicial competence of Mr. Cave, that the eminent "investors" were in precisely the same position as regards their knowledge *qua* Ministers of the investing value of Marconi shares as outsiders—like ourselves or Mr. Cave.

Ministers' Dilemma

As Ministers they were surely in a far better position than others to estimate the precise value attaching to the circular issued by the Marconi Company on March 7, announcing the acceptance of its tender by the Government. The present writer, as one of the ordinary public, never even heard of this circular for months afterwards, and

probably all that Mr. Cave knew, all that Members of Parliament knew, was that the Post Office declined to give any information whatsoever to the House about the Marconi Agreement, which we are now asked to believe, in order to save certain Cabinet Ministers, was substantially concluded on March 7. That is Sir Rufus Isaacs' whole case as set forth in the *Matin* libel action, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, and on every other occasion. It is also Mr. Lloyd George's whole case. But, on the other hand, the whole case of Mr. Herbert Samuel, as stated last October, was that he couldn't take the House of Commons into his confidence concerning the arrangement with the Marconi Company because there was no contract or even Agreement in March. We emphasise this for the moment only as indicating the generosity of the Opposition spokesman towards the speculators who remain paralysed by their own disingenuousness. Then followed a long and dispassionate review of their transactions, and the point was driven home that Ministers had committed a breach of the third rule, namely as to accepting any favour or advantage, direct or indirect, from persons contracting with the Crown when they utilised the valuable information of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. The suggestion that they did not understand the true position was merely a reflection on their intelligence, and as regards Lord Murray's later investment it was for Ministerialists to say how far they were satisfied that funds contributed for such objects as the disendowment of the Church should be obtained by gambles on the Stock Exchange. If, on the other hand, this was an investment and not a gamble the effect would be that not only the three Ministers but the entire party without their knowledge had a financial interest in the American Marconi Company, "which itself depended to some extent on the parliamentary confirmation of this contract." After dealing with the want of frankness shown towards the House of Commons last October, the disclosures in the *Matin* case, and the whitewashing Report of the Select Committee, Mr. Cave invited the Government to declare themselves, as so far there was no motion down on the paper.

Are you going to say that Ministers are without blame? Are you going to say that in their place you would have taken the same course, and that if the opportunity arises you will take the same course in the future? If so I think you will strike a blow not

only at the position and influence of this House, but at all the rules which ought to regulate public life. Our course is perfectly clear. This motion is, I believe, framed in moderate terms, but its meaning, I think, cannot be mistaken. What we want to do is to place on the journals of this House a resolution which will show clearly that, in the opinion of the House as a whole, the course taken by the Ministers concerned is a breach of the best of our traditions, that our rules have been infringed, and that they shall never, with impunity, be violated again.

Indian Penal Code

THE Attorney-General had been restive under the grave indictment of Mr. Cave, which caused much disquietude on the Treasury Bench, where apparently it had been hoped that because Mr. Cave happens to be a lawyer he would sacrifice national duty to Trade Union sentiment. Fortunately, unlike others who could be named, though they shall be nameless, he has proved himself to be both an honour to our public life as well as an ornament to his profession. He has reminded us that a lawyer may hold his head as high in politics as any other man—a fact upon which lately doubts had begun to arise, much to the detriment of the Bar. Lord Helmsley seconded Mr. Cave's speech, and was continually interrupted by Ministers, who are as sensitive about rumours concerning themselves as they are insensitive about their treatment of the public. The speaker concluded by aptly reminding the House, amidst a running fire of interruptions from the Attorney-General, that "if a subordinate in the Indian Service for which the Government were responsible did the same thing as the Attorney-General had done, then in that case no motive would be entered into at all, but he would be considered guilty of corruption under the Indian penal code. The House would see that valuable consideration was received, Ministers being public servants. . . . It must become apparent that if Ministers in high places did this, it was impossible for them to enforce throughout the whole Civil Service the high standard which ought to be enforced if public life and the Civil Service were to remain as pure and uncorrupted as it was the wish of this country that they should." We have not been able to do anything like justice to these speeches, which did not err on the side of severity. There was a subconscious feeling in the House that much would depend on the attitude of the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who between them succeeded in making matters very much worse.

of the right kind both might have put themselves right with an easygoing public, provided, of course, they made the tardy amends of Resignation.

"Intentional Concealment"

THAT both Ministers are Lilliputians despite their newspaper reputations was proved afresh. They were long-winded, turgid, theatrical. They seemed obsessed by the grievance that they had been found out. Coalition journals pretended that they scored the usual tremendous "triumph," and the "Hush-up" Unionist Press did its utmost, but it was "no go." Both performances were piteous. We agree with Mr. Ginnell, the Nationalist Member, who said "Not at all" when the Attorney-General, speaking after Lord Helmsley, declared himself and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—who in accordance with precedent would leave the House when they had finished their speeches—entitled to assume "that all that can be said and all that will be said in accusation against either my right hon. friend or myself in support of this resolution has been said by the honourable and learned member (Mr. Cave) who moved it, and by the noble lord who seconded it." Let us repeat, we agree with Mr. Ginnell. Sir Rufus Isaacs played the injured innocent, dwelling elaborately on the question of "intentional concealment" as regards his indefensible speech of October 11.

> What I understood him (Mr. Cave) to say, and the complaint which he made, was that we had not stated all these facts on the occasion of October 11. I agree with him, and I want to state it quite plainly and clearly to the House, so that there may be no mistake about it—looking back upon all that has happened, reviewing the circumstances as we now know them, bearing in mind the lapse of time from the appointment of the Committee to the date of our being called to give evidence, I think that the course we took was a mistaken course. I think the House is entitled—and when I say the House I am not referring to any Party or to any section of a Party; I think that all members of the House are entitled to get, not only from Ministers, but from each other, as Members of the House of Commons, frank statements in answer to any questions that may be raised in the House; and I say to the House as a whole, dealing with this matter, that the course which we pursued, and which I will explain in a moment in a little more detail, was a course which I think now, and by the light of all that has happened, was a mistaken one.

Any man who has made up his mind to apologise for a hideous blunder should make his apology as ample as his blunder, and should express unmeasured regret to those whom he has deceived. When Sir Rufus Isaacs talks of his concealment of disap-

stances which the House of Commons was entitled to know as "a mistaken one," does he mean that it was only a mistake because through an amazing chapter of accidents the concealed transaction has been revealed? He actually complained that although Mr. Cave had not suggested intentional concealment, "the words of the resolution are wide enough, if placed on the journals of the House, to imply that there was intentional concealment." We should hope they were. The suggestion of "unintentional concealment" is ludicrous on the face of it, as the lamentable speech of October 11 was elaborately constructed for the express purpose of meeting an indictment conveniently framed by the Attorney-General to suit himself and to evade the inconvenient fact that he was a Marconi shareholder. He next tried to hector Lord Helmsley, who "did say, I thought very deliberately, that there was intentional concealment." Lord Helmsley stood to his guns, presuming that Ministers had discussed what should and should not be mentioned during the Debate in question, upon which the Attorney-General had the effrontery to observe, "The noble Lord, I am sure, does not wish to shelter himself behind any quibble of words. It is the last thing he would want to do. There can be no difficulty in understanding what I am saying. I tried to make it clear. To come to a conclusion that a thing need not be stated may be, of course, a perfectly honest and a perfectly moral transaction, and at the same time it may be a course which you may regret hereafter. To come to a conclusion that you will make statements for the purpose of covering up a transaction so as to deceive those who are listening is a very immoral transaction." We entirely agree. Sir Rufus Isaacs added: "If the noble Lord means the first, I quite follow him. Does he mean that in the statement that was made and in the course that we took we intended to deceive?" Lord Helmsley refused to be bluffed, and the Attorney-General drew in his horns.

"Resentment"

THEN came the thrice-told tale with which our readers are only too familiar, as it was all set forth at immense length in "The Great Marconi Mystery" in the May number of the *National Review*. Sir Rufus Isaacs gave yet another laboured account of what he had said, and why he had said it, and of what he had

not said and why he had not said it. Probably few members had had time to read the evidence before the Select Committee, and it may have sounded plausible, though to those who have it remains as unconvincing as ever. The Attorney-General's speech must have been a genuine disappointment to members who fondly hoped that at last he would screw himself up to make a clean breast of it. Though he has spent his life in dealing with facts concerning other people's affairs he is incapable of facing facts concerning himself. It is futile to try to explain away the disastrous because disingenuous denials of the autumn, or the prolonged delay in his appearance before the Select Committee. All the world knows that Sir Rufus Isaacs had only to write a letter to Sir Albert Spicer directly the Committee had been constituted, asking to be allowed to come and explain at the earliest possible moment that his speech in the House was liable to mislead if it was interpreted—as it was interpreted—as covering any speculations in Marconi Companies, for as a matter of fact he had bought 10,000 shares in the American Marconi Company in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the late Chief Whip were also financially interested. However, candour is not in his line. "There is no charge to my mind so odious as that which imputes to men who stand in the relationship which we do to each other as members in this House that one member has attempted in a statement given at this Table to deceive. I am sure there is no member of this House who would not resent, and resent most bitterly, even the faintest suggestion of any such intention." Sir Rufus Isaacs seriously thinks that every difficulty can be disposed of by "resentment." It is not a question as to what men resent, but as to whether they are entitled to resent. Whether, in fact, they have or have not done what they are accused of. A groundless accusation of deception may be legitimately "resented"—but not a true accusation. "I assure the House that no such intention was ever present in our minds; that all that we meant was that this was not the opportunity; that the proper opportunity was at the Select Committee. I think also that in all probability, looking back upon it—certainly my mind was a little too full of the indignity of the charges of corruption which were then being circulated."

IT is unnecessary to remind the reader that charges of corruption could have been summarily dealt with by action against one of the newspapers which had made them. This, however, was vetoed by the Prime Minister last August ostensibly lest the circulation of the paper in question should be increased or its advertisements augmented.

American Marconis

We cannot disguise our belief that the cause of the inaction of Ministers *ex hypothesi* accused of corruption, as of the painful *suppressio veri* during the October debate, was that they hoped, with very good reason, that their American transactions would never see the light of day. We would even hazard the suggestion that the Master of Elibank's startling retirement into the oil trade in August was not disconnected with his "flutters." The wearisome explanation of the action against *Le Matin* was once more trotted out, while the speaker reiterated that no article had ever referred to possible Ministerial speculations in American Marconis. This false point is easily met by reproducing a portion of the article in the *National Review* of October 1912, published only a few days before the Debate, in order that Ministers might have no excuse for ignoring the rumours then current which had not been invented by us and were not referred to by us until many months after they were the common property of the City. Many of them have since been confirmed on oath by the Attorney-General himself and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as they would be by the Master of Elibank had he not wisely retreated to far Bogota. It is useless to ask Ministers to take note of any inconvenient fact in this business as they have lost their capacity for grasping facts. We are only concerned with our own readers, and therefore this paragraph from the article in the *National Review*, which was clearly present to the minds of Ministers during the Debate of October 11, is reproduced for their benefit as proving beyond a peradventure that rumours were not confined to the British Marconi Company, as we have persistently regarded Marconi Companies generally as comprising one group, to a large extent under common management, dominated in several cases by the same Directors, inspired by the common policy of securing a world-wide monopoly of wireless telegraphy which we believe would be as disastrous to science as it would be

to the British Empire. Here is the passage from Mr. Lawson's article which was severely left alone by his craftier or rather "better-informed" cross-examiners during his fortnight's ordeal before the Marconi Committee for reasons only too well known to the Attorney-General.

Mother Marconi has been a prolific parent and her chickens are spread all over the globe. They have assumed half a dozen different nationalities—French, Spanish, Russian, American, Canadian and English. But only two of them are as yet sufficiently developed to deserve a place on the Official List of the London Stock Exchange. These are the American and Canadian companies, both of which have shared with their spectacular parent the honours—and profits—of the recent bull campaign.

The mother company held last December 564,855 shares ($5) in the Canadian concern and 34,174 in the American one. The latter holding has, however, been largely increased since, thanks to the brilliant coup executed by Mr. Marconi and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs last spring. The directors of their principal American rival had shortly before been sent to gaol for fraud in connection with the capitalisation of the United Wireless Company. They had distributed three million dollars of paper in a very short time and then gone into liquidation. Mr. Isaacs arranged with the liquidators to wipe out their derelict stock and then promptly created seven million dollars of American Marconi shares in its place! . . .

The result was a South Sea bubble mania on a small scale. The coup was so skilfully boomed that both Wall Street and Capel Court literally lost their heads over it. One fine morning in April—it was the 19th, a few days after the *Titanic* disaster—dealings were started in the new American Marconis. The five-dollar or £1 shares were bid for up to £4, and thousands of shares were bought at that figure. Orders came rushing in from Ireland and the provinces to buy lines of 10,000, 20,000, and as high as 30,000 shares in a line. Fortunately all the London brokers were not so mad as their clients. They either cut down the orders to what they considered safe amounts or declined them altogether. By doing so they saved many a foolish plunger from absolute ruin, as before the end of the day the shares had flopped to 50s. or even less.

The Stock Exchange had witnessed nothing so disgraceful since the similar coup performed by Mr. Barney Barnato nearly twenty years ago. When that neck-or-nothing speculator capitalised himself under the name of the Barnato Consolidated Company his shares also went up like a rocket. The first morning that they were dealt in an enthusiastic crowd scrambled for them at £4—the same topnote on which American Marconis started. "Barneys" alias "Johnnies" have since been down to 17s. and American Marconis were within two months of their debut as low as 30s.

If a starting price of £4 a share could have been maintained the market valuation of the American Marconi Company would have been forty million dollars. Dividends on forty million dollars would have had to be earned in order to justify such a market price. That could only have been done by establishing as absolute a monopoly of wireless telegraphy in the United States as the Marconi Company are trying, with the help of certain Cabinet Ministers, to create in the United Kingdom. Only a nation of "the biggest fools on earth" could put itself at the mercy of such a voracious clique of patent exploiters and monopolists. The Marconi Ring apparently hope to make us

much out of wireless telegraphy as Mr. Andrew Carnegie got out of the steel tariff, but the day is past for high game like that.

It may amuse non-speculative as well as speculative readers to trace the sympathetic movements of the share market and the Imperial wireless negotiations during the past twelve months. . . .

Such is the sordid story of the Marconi scandal of 1912. In a small way it has been a repetition of the South Sea bubble. Ministers implicated in the South Sea bubble were impeached and severely punished. What is to happen to Ministers who directly or indirectly may have been responsible for the Marconi scandal? Further, what is to be done to prevent polyglot riggers of Marconi shares realising their impudent ambition to monopolise all the wireless telegraphy to the British Empire *and the United States*? [Our italics.]

Mr Lawson's article closed as follows:

For this sardonic Treasury Minute (defending the Marconi contract) the Chancellor of the Exchequer is of course officially responsible. It will therefore be necessary for the proposed Committee of Enquiry to have him before it. He will naturally be anxious to tell it all he knows about the wireless mystery. Altogether three members of the Government have figured more or less in this suspicious episode—the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster General. What have they to say to the unflattering comments that are being made on their conduct as public trustees?

A Hopeless Attitude

ALTHOUGH the Attorney-General's speech was very long it contained little that was fresh. It was an interminable flow of almost the very same words that had been heard in Committee Room No. 12, being one prolonged ineffective effort to justify the unjustifiable. Sir Rufus Isaacs had bought the 10,000 shares on April 17, 1912,

at the price stated to me as the market price. I bought them from a person (his brother, Mr Harry Isaacs) who had the same knowledge that I had, who sold them to me at the price which he said was the right price as between a willing seller and a willing buyer. I did not fix the price, and I knew nothing except what he told me. Here, again, I am dealing with absolutely uncontradicted facts, and no one in this House will dispute those facts. The hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Cave) says that when I bought those shares I was accepting valuable consideration—that I was accepting a favour from my brother Godfrey. How can that be made out? I did not buy the shares from my brother Godfrey on the 9th; I bought them eight days afterwards in a totally different state of the market from one who had no connection at all with the Marconi Company and who had no connection whatever with the Government.

No one would attempt to argue with a man in this hopeless frame of mind. "All that can be alleged, the whole basis of this structure which has been raised by the hon. and learned gentleman, of a breach

of these rules is that the information, or part of the information, upon which I may have been induced to purchase shares at 2 on April 17 was information given to me by my brother on the 9th, when he offered me the shares and wanted me to take them at $1\frac{1}{16}$. If you destroy that, the whole foundation of the charge as built up by the hon. and learned gentleman disappears. I submit to the House—and after all we do not require to be lawyers or trained men to judge a plain question—what advantage, what favour, what consideration was I getting from my brother Godfrey when I bought those shares on April 17 at the market price? I bought them from my other brother who had nothing whatever to do with the Marconi Company." When clever men are determined to be stupid they can be stupider than anybody else, and they cannot be saved from themselves. The speaker added: "What I ask the House to accept is that I was receiving no favour from my brother Godfrey, that I had accepted no favour, that the offer he made me I refused, and therefore from that moment all relations between him and me came to an end. Let me add one word further. The offer was never made to me by him as a Government contractor. It was made by him as a brother to me and to my other brother. Would the rules stated by the hon. and learned gentleman and by the noble Lord (Lord Robert Cecil) apply to my brother who chose, for example, on my silver wedding day, to send me a present on which he may have spent a couple of hundred pounds. . . . Moreover, the offer was never made to me as a Minister, it was made to me out of fraternal affection as a brother; it certainly was not made to me as a Member of the Government." Could folly go further?

"The Six Weeks"

To the end, it was not the Commons or the country who are legitimately aggrieved by the manner in which they have been treated by great officers of State. It is always Sir Rufus Isaacs who has been the victim of some wicked conspiracy, and it is because he cannot get this idea out of his mind that he remains in the morass. "Prejudiced persons" are on his track. No one can guard against the suspicions of "the evilly disposed." It had never occurred to him "that any human being could suspect"

me of corruption because I purchased American Marconi shares some six weeks after the announcement was made of the acceptance of the tender of the British Marconi Company by the British Government. It never crossed my mind that any one would ever think that." It is always the same old story though everybody by this time knows that there was no official announcement concerning the arrangement with the Marconi Company in March or for several weeks after Sir Rufus Isaacs' American investment, and, moreover, as has been asked before, what is the virtue of an interval of six weeks after the "announcement" of the Agreement of the British Marconi Company, seeing that his case depends on the fact that the American Marconi Company had no interest whatsoever in that Agreement and could not possibly benefit by it? However it is useless discussing with men who having put themselves hopelessly in the wrong have not the courage to admit it and prefer to lay the blame of their own misdeeds on those who circulated well-founded rumours that there had been Ministerial dealings in Marconi shares while Ministers swore by all their gods, or seemed to swear by all their gods, that there had been no such dealings. Much play was made of the "openness" of the transaction of the Attorney General and Mr. Lloyd George

without the faintest attempt at concealment, in such a way that, at any rate, a number of clerks and brokers must have become aware of the fact that we had engaged in these transactions, and whatever may be said with regard to my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at least no one will suggest that from my experience I was not aware of the possibilities of dealing in the name of nominees. . . . In such a transaction as I have described there could have been by no possibility any conflict of interest in me as a purchaser of these American shares, and in my public duty to the country as a member of the Government—&c. &c.

The argument lacks sequence. At one moment Sir Rufus Isaacs is furious that anybody should circulate rumours concerning his speculations and demands that this villainy be traced to its source, while in the next breath he tells us that the whole thing was perfectly open and above board and demonstrates his innocence by emphasising the number of persons aware of his speculation. We feel it to be a great reflection on our profession, and particularly on this periodical, that as the transaction was so notorious we failed to give full details in the Episodes of the

Month of May 1912 of the famous April transactions. We have endeavoured to atone for this lapse in some pages entitled "As it might have been written."

The speaker remained unable to make the whole-hearted apology to the House and the country, so long overdue. Everything he had done was in accordance with the strictest dictates of honour, &c. &c., and he would very much like to know who would challenge this fact, &c. &c., but "I say now that if I had had all the facts present to my mind at the time I entered into that transaction, if I had known then all that I know now, if all had been disclosed to me which subsequent events have revealed, if I had realised that men could be so suspicious of any action of mine, if I had thought that such misrepresentation could possibly exist, I state quite plainly that I would not have entered into the transaction." That does not amount to very much. "I need scarcely tell the House that I have given this matter very careful consideration before I made this statement, and I say solemnly and sincerely that in what I have stated, I think in plain terms, I agree, and will put it in language which, at any rate, is not too kindly to myself, that it was a mistake to purchase those shares." And there he remains stuck. "The mistake arose from the fact that, as I say, it never occurred to me that I could be suspected or that there were any of the subsequent events to take place which did occur." Apparently imagining that he was making an immense concession the Attorney-General added:

Épatant

> I will state that I should not have gone into the transaction. And I want the House to understand when I say this that I do it not merely because of the trouble which may have been caused to colleagues and to political friends and even to political opponents, of which I am deeply conscious, but because it was possible that it might give rise to misconception, that the transaction might be made in suspicious minds to assume an atmosphere of suspicion, the colour and complexion of which never occurred to me at the time. I should not stand at this Table speaking as a Minister, making the statement you have just heard from me, if that statement was not in my own deliberate judgment and in my innermost conscience a full, fair, and frank statement of my feelings and opinions with regard to the whole matter in controversy.

We do not dispute it for a moment, and it only confirms our conviction that Sir Rufus Isaacs is not qualified to hold the position of his Majesty's Attorney-General, a view we feel con-

vinced, whatever they may say to the contrary, is generally held by many Liberals both in Parliament, in the Press, and elsewhere. He permitted himself to conclude with this peroration: "I am guided in the course I have now taken solely by my desire to preserve the best traditions of public life, to say no word and to do no act which could by any possibility be construed as relaxing the rigidity of the rules of conduct properly applicable to Ministers of the Crown. This House may lay down rules, but in the end it is not rules but the high principle and the public honour of our public men, to whatever party they may belong, which are the best safeguards for the purity of our public life." The only word that we know adequate to cope with this oration is a French word—*épatant*.

Mr. Lloyd George's Performance

SIR RUFUS ISAACS was immediately followed by his associate Mr. Lloyd George, whose demeanour was equally unsatisfactory He appears to be—or pretends to be—totally incapable of understanding the manner in which his conduct during the past year is regarded by ninety-nine people out of every hundred, and it would be idle to try to open his mind. He is another injured innocent whose fair fame has been besmirched by a villainous conspiracy of ignoble beings animated by political or personal hatred, and incapable of appreciating the lofty motives and the exalted standards which alone govern his noble conduct. This is really no exaggerated account of the impression which these unfortunate Ministers endeavoured to convey to the House of Commons. Reflection had brought no wisdom; Mr. George repeated his evidence before the Select Committee, calling heaven to witness the impeccability of everything he had done. He is furious at having been brought to book. We are not concerned to argue with him and do not care a brass farthing what he or any of his satellites may say about the attitude of the *National Review* throughout this controversy. What we have written about Mr. Lloyd George we have written. We regret nothing, we qualify nothing, we withdraw nothing. We can only marvel at our moderation. We take this opportunity once more of expressing our deep gratitude to the very large number of people who have co-operated with us in a prolonged and what at one time appeared to be a somewhat hope-

less effort to elucidate the truth. In every complicated question involving an enormous mass of facts there is a liability and indeed a certainty of some errors, but in reviewing what has appeared in the *National Review* on the Marconi question we think that no fair-minded person could fail to be struck by the accuracy of statement and the striking fulfilment of forecast and anticipations. We believed the Rumours concerning Ministerial speculation in Marconi shares which politicians of all Parties disbelieved. We can make allowance for public men—who thought they were perfectly safe from detection—when their transgressions are brought to the light of day. Mr. Lloyd George's diatribes leave us completely cold. But we value the good opinion of the readers of the *National Review*, and fully recognise our responsibility to them. It suits Ministers and their sycophants to pretend, indeed, necessity forces them to it, that Rumour confined itself to Ministerial speculations in the English Marconi Company and that the American speculations were only trumped up as an afterthought after the disclosures in the *Matin* case, and according to the Ministerial mouthpiece, the *Westminster Gazette*, the American speculations offered no shadow of a pretext for what people are pleased to call the charges of corruption against Ministers. We have already quoted on a previous page a passage from the *National Review*, discussing the scandalous American gamble, prior to the October debate, which robs Mr. Lloyd George and his co-speculators of any shred of an excuse for pretending that the American Marconi Company was not in the indictment. In the Précis of Evidence which was sent in by the editor of the *National Review* to the Marconi Select Committee in the early days of January of this year and which was obligingly published in the Special Report of the Select Committee issued on February 12, will be found the following passage, which we make no apology for reproducing:

> The public are undoubtedly uneasy about this business, because the rumours about particular Ministers—not the Postmaster-General—are circumstantial and persistent, and it may be hoped that whatever else it may do the present Committee may be able to vindicate the fame of one and all of his Majesty's Ministers. I confess to sharing the general uneasiness as matters stand at present. Nearly four months* have elapsed since the discussion in the House of Commons, but Ministers have done

* Evidence given about six weeks after the Précis was submitted.

nothing whatsoever to dispel the mist of suspicion overhanging the affair. Mr. Samuel stated that Ministers "will be most ready to appear before"—I am quoting him—the Committee. One might have conceived that they would have appeared at its first sitting clamouring to state in the most categorical and emphatic manner that neither directly nor indirectly, in their own names or in other people's names, have they had any transactions whatsoever, either in London, Dublin, New York, Brussels, Amsterdam, Paris, or any other financial centre, in any shares in any (sic) Marconi Company throughout the negotiations with the Government, and that neither they nor any of their belongings have participated in the profitable rings, pools, and syndicates for dealing in options of which there are believed to have been an unusual number in this business. Doubtless they will be willing to produce the pass-books of all their accounts at every bank at which they bank, fortified by the evidence of the bank managers, in order to clear the matter up so far as such evidence is conclusive.

This was published two days before the libel in the *Matin*—an interesting conjunction of dates. That the Members of the Select Committee realised that the controversy covered all Marconi Companies is conclusively established by the question addressed by the Chairman of the Committee (Sir Albert Spicer) to the present writer: "*Have you any letters or copies of letters bearing on the rumours that Ministers were financially interested in any of the Marconi Companies*" The Chairman, like other people, imagined that Ministerial repudiations of speculations during the October debate applied not to one Marconi Company but to all Marconi Companies. He was genuinely shocked by the suggestion that Ministers had probably speculated in any Marconi Company and in all good faith reported the witness to the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith's refusal to take any action is now intelligible.

"Apology"

It was universally hoped that Mr. George would make an unreserved apology for his unpardonable observations during the October debate, but he could not bring himself to say more than that—"I should be deeply grieved indeed if the House of Commons thought that I had been lacking in any respect to it or to its great institutions, and, above all, should I regret it if they thought that I had been lacking in frankness and openness in my dealings. The decision we came to was not a decision, such as the noble lord (Lord Helmsley) rather suggested, not to reveal the facts. The decision we had to come to was between October 11 and the Committee, and we came to the conclusion that the Committee

afforded the better opportunity of presenting the whole of the facts." What can be done with a man who moves in this hopelessly vicious circle. "We might have been wrong; we were, I think, undoubtedly wrong *as events have turned out* [our italics], but it was a mistake in judgment, and not a mistake in candour to the House of Commons." If this means anything, it simply means that Mr. Lloyd George hoped he would never be found out, but as he has been found out he would have been wiser to throw himself on the indulgence of the House. He repeated what he had told the Select Committee about the partial disclosures in the *Matin* action, and dwelt on the uselessness of writing to the newspapers. "We had already intimated to the Prime Minister that we had American transactions. My right hon. friend the Postmaster-General and certain other colleagues of ours knew it. Therefore we fully intended when the opportunity came for us to appear before the Committee to state the whole of the facts on that occasion. Having disposed of that part of the case," &c.! It is not worth asking why Ministers were continually telling the Prime Minister about their American transactions seeing that *ex hypothesi* these were as suitable as any investment that could have been made either by the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Master of Elibank. Why worry the Prime Minister; all the more as they had occurred "six weeks" after the announcement of the contract, while according to both Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George there had never been any reference connecting their names with the American Marconi Company in the Press. Why then harass an overworked Prime Minister? It would have been equally relevant to send Mr. Asquith a list of the private letters his colleagues were writing every day. As regards the transactions themselves, "I say frankly that, having regard to the facts which have come to my knowledge, not merely since the transaction, but which have come to my knowledge, a good many of them since I appeared before the Committee, if these facts had been known to me at the time of the transaction, I certainly would not have touched it; not because it would have been wrong in itself, but because it would have undoubtedly lent itself to misconstruction, and perhaps to general misconception." Quite so—but only if it was found out. And that is the basis of the defence. Then Mr.

George slanged the Press, headed by the *Outlook*, and some purely imaginary confederacy "who have been working this together."

CONSCIOUS that this bluster was not going down, the Chancellor of the Exchequer tried another tack, admitting that he had been neither "judicious" nor "wise" nor "discreet."

"Foul Lip"

I say that looking at all the circumstances it was neither. I do not want to palter about words. I do not care which of the three words is used. I accept any of them. It was not. I would certainly not have gone through it again. I am not asking any of my friends or any hon member when he gives his vote to sanction anything I have done from the point of view of wisdom or discretion. I certainly ought not to have done it. But there is a vast difference between indiscretion which may be acknowledged and which may be rebuked, and an indiscretion in a private investment which warrants a solemn Vote of Censure from the House of Commons. What I did, I did it *bona fide*. I did it in my own name I did it frankly. Take every transaction of sale or purchase which I made, it was all in my own name. I telephoned in my own name; I wired in my own name, I wrote in my own name, and it is all entered in the ledgers in my own name There are hundreds of clerks who have seen it. At any rate, if I did wrong, and it was a mistake, I had not a notion at the time, and I will give the reason why, that I was transgressing any rule, implicit or otherwise. It was done quite openly.

To say that Mr. Lloyd George's original acquisition of 1000 American Marconi shares from Sir Rufus Isaacs at £2 "was done quite openly" is rather a strong order, even from Mr. Lloyd George, while his claim of candour is equally beyond the permissible, as there stares him in the face his fatal attempt to shut up Mr. Lansbury during the Debate of October 11:

The hon member said something about the Government and he has talked about "rumours." I want to know what these rumours are. If the hon. gentleman has any charge to make against the Government as a whole, or against individual members of it, I think it ought to be stated openly The reason why the Government wanted a frank discussion before going to Committee was because we wanted to bring here these rumours, these sinister rumours, that have been passing from one foul lip to another behind the backs of the House

It must have been pleasant for the Postmaster-General to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer's explanation of his American flutter.

I want the House to listen to me while I tell them why I entered into that transaction at that time (April 17, 1912) There was no controversy about the Agreement. There was only one question put about it by the hon. Member for Central Finsbury (Major Archer Shee), that and nothing else. Everybody treated that contract as an accom-

> plished fact. For four months there was not a murmur about it, after it had been blazoned forth and the market had been operating. What happened? I therefore thought the contract was definite. I should like to say this to the House, not so much as affecting the rules laid down by the hon. and learned Gentleman, but as something that undoubtedly affects the *bona fides* of my transaction. I had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the negotiations. The papers never came before me, and those who had seen the papers know that perfectly well. At the time when they might have come before me I was engaged upon the coal strike, and I could not give a moment's attention to them. I took no part in the negotiations at all. That accounts for the fact that I perhaps overlooked the question of ratification and the formal contract.

It would really be comic if the issues were less tragic. Mr. Samuel's sole excuse for withholding full information from the House of Commons until the middle of July was the prolonged negotiations with the Marconi Company in which several Departments were involved, including the Treasury, up to that month. If Mr. Lloyd George had nothing to do with the negotiations he was neglecting a plain duty, and the same observation applies to the Attorney-General, whose services should have been available to the country, which pays him prodigious fees, in connection with the drafting of a complicated contract involving enormously important issues and bristling with legal conundrums. Whichever ine they take in the game of "Marconi" Ministers always nanage to put themselves or their colleagues completely out of ourt. It is small consolation to be told by Mr. Lloyd George, 'Had I foreseen that the whole contract was going to be made matter of fierce controversy between the parties; had I foreseen hat the very name Marconi would rouse the most fierce political assions; had I foreseen that charges of corruption would be rought against Ministers, it would have been crass folly to have ntered into that transaction at all." Always the same story. t is the conduct of other people which is entirely responsible or what has happened. Ministers may have made "mistakes," ut they are morally blameless. The criminals are those who uspected what proved to be true, viz. that Mr. Lloyd George had een unable to resist the temptation of speculating in Marconi hares and snatching an unearned increment of several hundred ounds per day between April 17 and April 20 without having ut up a single shilling

It is only fair to say here that we believe that so far from being at the end of the Marconi revelations we are probably only at the beginning, and that other reputations besides those which have been hopelessly compromised will find themselves even more disastrously involved because the theory of "skulking in the background" so emphatically laid down by Mr. Winston Churchill will apply with double force to any members of the Government, either inside or outside the Cabinet, who in the face of the present crisis have elected to lie low and play the game in which their colleagues now in the limelight have been so singularly unsuccessful. Mr. Lloyd George ended by an unsatisfactory account of his relations with his broker, after which he fell back on the pathetic, though like the Attorney-General—with whom he was evidently acting in concert—there was an absence of any expression of regret for the wound he has inflicted on Parliamentary Government. Every man looking back on his past life "must see mistakes and misdeeds. . . . I do not think any member of the House would care much to go through the ordeal my right hon. friend and I have gone through in the last few months, some of it deserved, most of it, and the worst of it, undeserved—calumnies, slanders, insults. I am not complaining about it." Every man going into public life knew that he must face "poisoned shafts and endure their fester. I have been accustomed to it all through my life and therefore perhaps it does not hurt me as deeply as it might do." Considering the number of "poisoned shafts" which Mr. Lloyd George has launched against others he should himself be completely immune. Then he became the passionate parliamentarian and the tribune of the people.

Claptrap

Let me say this to the House That is not what has given me most pain. What has given me most pain has been the anxiety which a heedless action of mine has given to thousands, inside and outside the House, of those who have been comrades of mine in great struggles. Nothing—I ask the indulgence of the House while I make this personal statement—has grieved me more deeply than the apprehension lest some thoughtless [illegible] have put in jeopardy, even for an hour, causes in which I have been brought [illegible] as a religious faith. I am conscious of having done nothing which brings [illegible] the honour of a Minister of the Crown. If you will, I acted thoughtlessly, I [illegible] lessly, I acted mistakenly, but I acted innocently, I acted openly, and I [illegible] ly That is why I, with confidence, place myself in the hands, not merely of m[illegible] friends, but of members in all parts of this great Assembly.

Although this claptrap might momentarily impose on an emotional assembly it will not go down with the public at large because innocence, openness, and honesty have all been lacking throughout Mr. Lloyd George's conduct on the Marconi question, and he made his position very much worse by declining to express any regret and by trying to ride off by irrelevant attacks on other people who can fairly claim to have devoted themselves to unearthing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Lord Robert Cecil's Reply

We don't know how these speeches sounded or what momentary impression they may have made, as opinions vary, but they read badly, and the miserable case set up by Ministers was completely annihilated during the subsequent discussion. Lord Robert Cecil at once rose and expressed his disappointment with "the substance of the speeches which have been made. There was an avowal of mistake—there was an avowal that if all the facts had been before the right hon. gentlemen they would not have acted as they did: The important thing for this House to consider is whether the facts as known to the public apart from all personal motives and personal considerations establish a precedent which we can safely allow to stand." They could not accept as adequate such statements as had been made. While declaring his anxiety to avoid party recriminations the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a bitter attack upon Mr. Walter Guinness and the *Outlook*.

It is an entire misapprehension of the right hon. gentleman if he thinks that the rumours respecting Ministers' transactions had their origin in the pages of the *Outlook* or the *National Review* or the *Eye-Witness* or any such paper. The rumours existed months before those papers published them. Hon. members who have followed the attitude I took up on that Committee will know that I never defended the journalists at all. I did not think it was any part of my duty. I do not think it is right to suggest that they were responsible for the rumours or that those rumours were brought into existence by them. They were brought into existence by a large number of persons, and we were never able to ascertain whom. They existed for months all over the City of London. They were the common talk of the City of London. I must say I think it was a serious error of judgment on the part of the Ministers that they failed to put a stop to these rumours by taking action against the *Eye-Witness* or any other paper at the very earliest possible moment.

But Ministers had overwhelming reasons for inaction because

action meant exposure. Journalists make no complaint of Lor Robert Cecil's attitude towards them. He had implicitly truste the statements of Ministers, and in common with every leadin man in the Unionist Party, so far as we know, he regarde "the Marconi Mystery" as a "mare's nest," and thought i monstrous that anybody should give currency to rumours abou Ministerial Marconi speculations for which there was not a jo or tittle of foundation.

Journalists

LORD ROBERT CECIL was the severest cross-examiner of Mı Lawson on this subject, and according to the Radical Pres he co-operated with his colleagues on the Com mittee in trying to get the Editor of the *Nationa Review* shut up for declining to disclose the source of his accurat information. Lord Robert Cecil had not the advantage o Messrs. Falconer and Booth of having received a private an particular tip from the Attorney-General. He was entitle to be indignant with people for repeating rumours to the base lessness of which the honour of the entire Treasury Bench wa believed to be publicly pledged by the Debate of October 11 In their innocence of heart and delightful simplicity, our Party had been completely hocussed by Mr. Samuel, Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George, and it is an open secret that they wer literally thunderstruck by the *Matin* disclosures. They could scarcely believe their eyes as they had been deceived by thei ears. Lord Robert Cecil's speech followed the general lines o his Draft Report, which was rejected by a partisan vote of the Committee, though it was, as he told the House of Commons, no partisan document.

I believe that every statement in that Report can be fully justified, and I believe that the more the evidence is examined by the country the more they will be convinced that the conclusions at which that Report arrives are the conclusions which ought to be adopted by every honest man. What I conceived to be our duty was this: We had to take all the charges which had been made in connection with this branch of our subject, we had to weigh the evidence, and we had to decide which of them were proved and which were not. We wished the Committee to decide that the charges that the Ministers had allowed their conduct to be influenced by share dealings on the Stock Exchange, or the charge that they had used official information for these dealings was not true. We arrived at certain conclusions with reference to the Postmaster-General's action. I still think that had he seen his way to correct the false impression

produced by the publication of the Marconi circular, 7th of March, it would have been better. I still think it is regrettable that he did not do so. I still think it is regrettable that, knowing the transactions of his colleagues, he tried to obtain the assent of this House to the contract without disclosing these transactions.

His Draft Report, like the speeches of Mr. Cave and Lord Helmsley, had disclaimed any charge of corruption. "I wish to disclaim it now. If there was corruption, it would be before a Criminal Court that the Minister had to answer. We are not dealing with corruption at all. I understand corruption to be this: the acceptance of money in order to divert your official action from public duty. No such charge is made by any Member of the Committee against Ministers, but I do say that the charge of impropriety which we do make, and to which I adhere, is a very serious one indeed."

According to the speaker there were two elementary tests applicable to such a transaction as they were discussing.

Parent and Offspring

Do you put yourself in such a position that your public duty may easily conflict with your private interests? And, is your transaction perfectly open and disclosed not only to your official superior but to the public at large? I cannot help feeling myself that if you apply these ts to the transactions of some members of the present Government, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they were gravely improper. Did the Attorney-neral and the Chancellor of the Exchequer get an advantage from Mr. Godfrey acs? I do not think there can be any doubt about that. The Attorney-General d with great warmth that he received no favour, but really when you come to look the evidence is he warranted in making that statement?

the reader turns to the Minority Report he will find a clearer ccount of the whole financial transaction in which Ministers ecame involved with the Isaacs family than has yet been ublished anywhere, and whatever Radicals may say in public, n private they regard this business very much as we do. As regards the independence of the American and English Companies on which the "honour" of the Coalition nowadays depends, Lord Robert Cecil pointed out that no one who read the reports of the two Companies could doubt that the whole system consisted of a parent company here and subsidiary companies elsewhere, working the same system, using identical patents, and if the patents here sustained any injury it would react on the value of the patents in America. In reply to an

interjection, Lord Robert Cecil added that there was "grea[t] identity of management between the two." The whole credit o[f] the British Company was employed to carry through the re[-] construction of the American Company. There were thre[e] Directors common to the two Boards. The English Compan[y] had a large number of shares in the American Company They were constantly referred to in the circulars as belongin[g] to one another, as subsidiary companies, and, in addition, ther[e] was this important factor, "that any great increase of wireles[s] traffic which was brought to this country and carried from thi[s] country by wireless across the Atlantic to America would inur[e] to the benefit and advantage of the American Company." This could be elaborated.

What is the defence by both Ministers? It was that both the Attorney-Genera[l] and the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered into these transactions without appre[-] ciating what they were. If you deal on the Stock Exchange, and if a Minister select[s] for dealing the shares of a company of a notoriously speculative character, as it wa[s] at that time, which bears the same name as a Company with which the Government i[s] contracting, I think you do it at your peril. You are bound to inform yourself of th[e] facts of the case. Yet here again I quarrel with the whole line of the defence, whic[h] goes to the question of whether the Ministers were personally wicked. That is not th[e] point. The question is whether the precedent which they set up is a bad one. W[e] cannot look into their minds, but I say that if you are to sanction this precedent an[d] say the transactions between Ministers and companies in those circumstances ar[e] harmless and unobjectionable, you are setting up a precedent which may lead to grav[e] financial irregularity and possibly corruption?

The Attorney-General had demanded during the Debate that the charge of concealment should be specified, upon which Lord Robert Cecil observed:

Flimsy Excuses

There, again, I do not want to enter into the ethical aspec[t] of the question, but I want to say that right from the date when they made those transactions in August and in October, and right through the month[s] up to the time when Lord Murray left this country, and right on until the *Matin* cas[e] the Ministers never made a disclosure of this transaction. It is no use saying tha[t] they offered to come before the Committee. The Committee issued, as every member of it remembers, and as the Chairman recites in his Report, an invitation to all thos[e] who had information dealing with the transactions of Ministers, to bring it befor[e] the Committee without delay.

Lord Robert Cecil speaks with peculiar authority on the flims[y] excuses of Ministers.

There was no objection and no difficulty whatever in the Ministers iting a précis of the evidence they were prepared to give to us and nding it to the Chairman in any of those months. I do not want to into questions of suspicion, but I am forced to add that I cannot accept e view put forward by Ministers as to what actually took place in the *Matin* case. accept their statement that they were advised by their counsel that the evidence of e Chancellor of the Exchequer's transaction was not relevant to the *Matin* action. should have thought if the matter had come before me professionally, that a good al of the evidence in that case was irrelevant. But the point is that even the evidence hich they did give was not as full and frank as it ought to have been. The Attorney-neral did not tell the Court from whom he bought the shares. I do not charge m, and I do not wish to charge him, with a desire to deceive the Court or the public, it I say that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that there was, from whatever otive, a shrinking from full disclosure of those transactions.

ord Murray had "elaborately concealed the American arconi transaction which he had on behalf of the Liberal arty's fund. He went so far as to take it in his own name, nd to treat as his own for the time being shares which had bought on behalf of the Liberal Party. He did not ven tell the Patronage Secretary (Mr. Illingworth) of the ansaction into which he had entered." That surely threw me light on what Lord Murray thought of the nature of these ansactions, indicating as it did that "he was convinced that ey were not the kind of shares into which the Liberal Party, any Minister *a fortiori* ought to have put money." The eaker ended by declaring that "The danger of corruption is ot less but greater than before. Let this House of Commons ink twice and thrice before it establishes a rule or sanctions a ecedent which, however innocent it may seem to hon. members the present moment, will yet afford a precedent for corruption the future."

"Career"

THE anxiety of Ministers and the uneasiness of their followers, in spite of all their bluster, were manifest throughout the two days' debate. Mr. Buckmaster, a Radical lawyer, followed Lord Robert Cecil with a "tame" amendment, referring to the statements of the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning their American speculations and declaring that "this House accepts those statements, and deems it right to put on record its reprobation of the false charges of the gravest description brought against Ministers,

which have proved to be wholly devoid of foundation," whi prompted Mr. Stanley Wilson to make the apt comment, " whitewashing House of Commons as well as a whitewashi Committee." Our readers have already had an overdose of th Debate, and we had better leave the whitewashing to the whit washer-in-chief, Mr. Asquith. It is with reluctance that w pass over many excellent and some curious speeches. M Walter Guinness warmly and effectively defended the *Outlo* and Mr. Lawson, correctly pointing out that the article quote on a previous page appeared in the *National Review* and n in the *Outlook*, while the suggestion that either of these orga had invented the rumours was disposed of by the fact that the were not mentioned in print until months after they were ci culating in the City. They were never invented at all for th simple reason that they were true. Mr. Parker, the Labou Member of the Marconi Select Committee, whose attitude as Falconerite had caused keen controversy and strong disapprova in Labour circles, still further compromised himself and th Labour Party by declaring that "he was fully satisfied wit the Ministerial statements." Mr. Macmaster, a conscientiou and able member of the Marconi Committee, where his service as a searching cross-examiner have been invaluable, conclude an effective speech by retorting upon Mr. Buckmaster's remar that nothing must be done to "mar a great public career" tha "great as is the career of any individual man, greater still is th reputation and the tradition of this ancient and honourabl House."

"Peerless"

SIR WALTER ESSEX, a Radical Member of the Marconi Committee ended his somewhat obscure observations by an expression of hop that the House should declare "We rejoice in th knowledge that our House retains still among al the Council Chambers of the world its high peerless position unblemished, and believing that, as we do, let the matter drop, while like English gentlemen we regret that we have been led into a mistake." Though what the "mistake" was, or who were the "English gentlemen" is not altogether obvious, while we scarcely think that the present is a moment for increasing our reputation abroad as hypocrites by talking about the "high peerless position

unblemished" just at the moment when by a pure accident it has been ascertained that the late Chief Whip of a British Government was investing the Party funds in a speculative Company associated with another Company negotiating a contract with the Post Office which was still uncompleted and which would in any case require parliamentary ratification. "Peerless" our position may be just now, but "unblemished," no. Sir Frederick Banbury, a recent but a real acquisition to the Marconi Committee, strongly praised the Minority Report, which he had signed, though he had not drafted it. The speaker recalled the significant incident of the majority of the Committee endeavouring to burk enquiry when he was examining Mr. Heybourn (the chief Marconi Jobber),

> I asked him a question which was absolutely vital to ascertain the truth. I wanted to know to whom he had given these shares (250,000 American Marconis). I put it to every lawyer and business man in the House: How can you investigate who was really at the bottom of this arrangement between Mr Godfrey Isaacs, Mr. Heybourn, and certain other people, unless you know what Mr Heybourn had done with these shares? By a majority vote we were prevented from asking that question. That is evidence that the majority were not really animated by a desire to get at the truth.

Like other Unionists Sir Frederick Banbury confessed that after the declarations made on October 11 he had never conceived it possible that Ministers could have speculated in Marconi shares, and as a practical man of business "it never entered into my mind to distinguish between the American and English Companies." It is unnecessary to weary the reader with another characteristic Samuelian oration from the Postmaster-General, who still remains entirely unconscious of the appalling catastrophe for which his childish secretiveness and hopeless ineptitude and conceit are largely responsible. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, whom no one has ever accused of violent partisanship, closed the first day's Debate with a particularly vigorous attack on transactions which stir the indignation of all right-minded men in all classes and in every party as they have rarely been stirred before, and with eloquent scorn he held up to derision and contempt the outrageous contrast between the treatment meted out to Mr. Taylor, a subordinate official in the Post Office, for buying and selling a

handful of Marconi shares, while the Postmaster-General's colleagues had been speculating by the thousands. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton's attitude completely reassured the apprehensions of those who feared that personal friendships between political opponents might cripple the Opposition in discharging a plain duty, and both the tone and temper of his speech left nothing to be desired, though we are frank to say that we are not prepared to join in any encomium passed on any members of the Asquith Cabinet during the Marconi Debate. Members of Parliament should be in a better position to judge one another than outsiders, but the events of the last few months have proved that the less charitable view of Ministers is the more correct one. Wholesome suspicion is one of the first requisites of an effective Opposition, all the more as the Hush-up Press on our side—which is unfortunately largely under the control of close personal friends of the Ministers who have been found out—has worked overtime to try to save a Government which is heading for Panama.

The Happy Warrior

THE second day's Debate was heralded by the usual impudent effort of the Hush-up Press of both parties to pretend that Ministers had scored a conspicuous triumph and had said all they need. However, opinion in Parliament had hardened, so no harm was done to the cause of Clean Government. On the resumption of the Debate, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton finished his incisive speech, which prevented any possibility of a rot setting in among our Mugwumps, after which the ponderous hypocrite at the head of the Government took the field with a vast bucket of whitewash, in which he invited the Opposition to dip their brushes. Like the Marconi speakers, Mr. Asquith formulated the allegations in his own way, carefully ignoring the main indictment, after which he made an onslaught on "a certain section of the Press," followed by a tribute to the Hush-ups, of which we wish them joy. "I gladly acknowledge that the great organs of the Press, those in particular that represent the Party opposite, behaved from the beginning to the end of this transaction with dignity, with moderation, with restraint, and in a manner which calls for no adverse comment or criticism." This confirms all that

we have said, and it is only just that it should be placed on record by the Prime Minister, who owes his continued existence to newspapers which unfortunately bear a Unionist label, while consecrating themselves to cloaking the various sins of the Government. In his best heavy father style the Prime Minister declared after a misleading account of the origin of the Marconi Committee that:

The most obvious and the most salient result of that enquiry was that after an investigation of the manner and of the scope of which I will not, because I do not want to be betrayed into heated language, say more than that it pursued with relentless industry any rumour, or any nucleus for rumour, or any ghost of a rumour that came within its ken, after an investigation conducted upon those lines, by those methods and in that spirit, both the charges I have referred to, the most serious that could be made against Statesmen in this or in any other democratic country, have been conclusively disproved by the unanimous and emphatic decision of the Committee.

If Mr. Asquith is satisfied with the recent revelations we have no reason to be displeased. If he regards them as a tribute to the existence of Clean Government in this country we can only say that tastes differ, but we strongly demur to the suggestion that the enquiry is exhaustive, because, whereas Mr. Herbert Samuel gave the House of Commons and the country to understand last October that no Minister had gambled in Marconi shares, to-day, unless we have misinterpreted the Prime Minister's answers to questions, Mr. Asquith not only refuses to repeat Mr. Samuel's pledge, but he even declines to make enquiries among his colleagues or to make any statement calculated to allay public uneasiness.

What Next?

THE Marconi Committee cannot decently close its proceedings without hearing Mr. Asquith and those of his colleagues who have not yet testified and getting a declaration from them on oath that they have not directly or indirectly ever been interested in any shares in any Marconi Company during the negotiations between the Company and the Post Office. Mr. Winston Churchill has made such a declaration in the most emphatic terms, so has Mr. Herbert Samuel; but what of the others, especially now that the Ministerial Right to Speculate has been laid down on authority? Before the Marconi question is liquidated we must know what

Ministers are or have been financially interested in it so that the public may form an opinion as to the value of their judgment, and when we say Ministers we include Ministers outside as well as inside the Cabinet. After abusing Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Asquith, in horrified terms, pointed out that Mr. Cave's motion was substantially a vote of censure upon the "investors." Since that motion was proposed however, Ministers had given their explanation with which, needless to say, Mr. Asquith was enchanted.

> I do not think that I have ever heard or that anybody has ever heard a franker or more manly explanation. They both admit, fully and freely, that it would have been better for them at the time of the Debate in October to have given the House a full statement of these transactions, and they regret that they did not do so. But, at the same time, they both give reasons for their reticence, if that is the proper term to be used, on that occasion . . . which, I should have thought, in the judgment of all fair-minded men must, at any rate, acquit them of the very serious charge of want of frankness. Want of frankness means, if it means anything, that you are concealing, with the intention of deceiving, facts which it is material should be known There is no other interpretation I know of can be given of the term.

We are for once in agreement with Mr. Asquith in a definition though the rest of his assertions are absurd. Anything more inadequate or disingenuous or free from regret than the speeches in question we never remember to have read, and we feel bound to add that if the Prime Minister is satisfied with the conduct of his colleagues we are encouraged to believe, and our suspicions have proved well founded up to date, that there may be much worse things behind which we trust that our spirited contemporaries, the *Daily Express* and the *Globe*, to whom we owe the exposure of the investment of Radical Party funds in Marconi shares, may by dint of pegging away get to the bottom of.

Save me from my Friends

Mr. Asquith, who seems to have lost his head over this affair, like the rest of his colleagues, made the case very much worse by the information now imparted to the House, namely that the Master of Elibank had told him at the end of last July or the beginning of August "what I believe was repeated in a letter, which I am sorry to say I did not keep, a few weeks later, during the Recess, from my right hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General." We

also lament the loss of this letter. According to Mr. Asquith the statements made to him were to the effect that the three Ministers concerned had bought some shares "in an American Company which was carrying on, exploiting, or developing the Marconi system in America, that there was no connection of any kind between that Company and the English Company—no connection which was material in any sense of the term—that the purchase had taken place *some considerable time after the Post Office contract had been published to the world* [our italics], and that some of the shares had been sold." It is alleged by keen observers that even those who most detest the present Government would have enjoyed watching the faces of Mr. Asquith's colleagues during Mr. Asquith's speech. Naturally nowadays the reputation foı accuracy of Sir Rufus Isaacs and the Master of Oilybank does not stand very high, but is it conceivable that they can have told the Prime Minister that their April speculation occurred "some considerable time after the Post Office contract had been published to the world"? We should have imagined that even Mr. Asquith would know that that contract was withheld from Parliament until the month of July. We trust that if Mr. Asquith should by chance lay hands on Sir Rufus Isaacs's missing letter he will not fail to produce it, as this issue involves the good faith of two Ministers, if not three. The Premier added: "That was all I knew. I did not know the date of the transaction, I did not know the amount of the purchase, I did not know the price given, and I did not know any of the circumstances of the transaction."

The Unlimited Right

The Unlimited Right of Ministers to Speculate could not be more tersely expressed, though it may have been in consequence of this transaction that the Master of Elibank suddenly retired from his position and was pitchforked into the House of Lords—another episode on which light is needed. Mr. Asquith likewise informed the House that he was not present at the October Debate, and held no communication whatsoever with his colleagues as to their statements. "But I read them, and so little importance did I attach to what I had been told, and I have told the House the whole of it—that I really believe that at that moment it had

lmost passed out of my mind." Everything inconvenient invariably passes out of the mind of his Majesty's Ministers. "I thought this was a matter of no concern. Therefore when I read the declarations, which I did, of my right hon. friends, they seemed to me to be perfectly natural, proper, and full." We are very glad to pin the Premier down to the admission that although he knew his colleagues had invested in Marconi shares he thought it quite "proper" on their part to convey the opposite impression to the Commons. From this we gather that it would have been equally proper to invest in Spanish or Canadian Marconis, which will strengthen the public demand for a full and unreserved statement from all Ministers. All our callous cynic could bring himself to say was "I quite agree with my two right hon. friends, now that I know the whole facts, that they would have been better advised on that occasion to have stated the whole story to the House. They think it would have saved an enormous amount of time and trouble. I think so, too, but the answer to the charge of want of frankness seems to me absolutely complete and conclusive." Mr. Asquith has evidently not read the evidence of his colleagues before the Select Committee, where Mr. Lloyd George carefully explained that he had abstained from admitting his American Marconi gamble in order to save the time of the House of Commons on a Friday afternoon in October. However, we need not pursue the matter, as a few inconsistencies more or less are of no account; the main thing is that the Cabinet should be solid in its creed and that the public should understand that creed. The Prime Minister was equally delighted with the attitude of his colleagues towards the Select Committee and presumably approved of their action against *Le Matin*.

Lord Murray

WHEN some Member enquired "What about Lord Murray?" the speaker could only reply: "I was during two or three most anxious years in daily communication of the most confidential kind with him. I owe to him for his loyal, assiduous, and faithful service during that time a debt which it is impossible for me to measure, and during the whole of that time I never saw anything in his language or his conduct which led me to entertain the faintest doubt either of the soundness of his judgment or the integrity of his character."

We cordially echo these sentiments in this sense, that we are convinced that Lord Murray is in all respects up to Asquith standards. There is hardly a Minister who would not have bolted to Bogota under similar circumstances. The investment of the Party funds in American Marconis may be regarded as one of the wisest actions of any Member of the present Government, for the simple reason that it cost a pernicious Party several thousand pounds. Mr. Asquith's speech was ingeniously compounded of fatuous compliments and interesting revelations. It would be hard to say which were more damaging to his colleagues or himself, because, after all, he is the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the titular leader of a Party. In the first week of January of the present year, *i.e.* about the time the Master of Elibank vanished to Bogota, Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George "came to see me and told me first of all the history of what I may call the first transaction in April, and further—what I had never heard of in any shape or form before—the subsequent purchase of my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think, some time in the month of May, of shares without the knowledge of the Attorney-General, on his own account and that of the Master of Elibank. That is the first I heard of it." But when, we should like to know, did the Prime Minister first hear that the Master of Elibank, in sole control of the Party funds, had invested to the tune of many thousands in an American Marconi Company before the completion of the contract with the Post Office and *a fortiori* before its presentation to Parliament. Not only has the public been deceived, but these intimate friends have been singularly wanting in frankness with one another. So the Chancellor of the Exchequer bought shares in May "without the knowledge of the Attorney-General," while the Master of Elibank had bought shares in April on account of the Party without the knowledge of either the Attorney-General or the Chancellor of the Exchequer!

Quibbling

Mr. Asquith should pursue his investigations a little further and doubtless he would be rewarded by other revelations concerning the private affairs of these open, honourable, frank, high-minded, candid colleagues. When he was told what he was told in January, "My right hon. friends

entirely agreed, that, in that state of facts, of course it was their duty, as they acknowledged it was from the first, to seize the earliest possible opportunity of disclosing to the Committee everything that had taken place. There was nothing new in that. For some reason or other which I do not know, the Committee have been occupied, I dare say quite properly, in the intervening weeks in the discussion of other aspects of the matter, and my right hon. friends assured me that it was their desire to go before the Committee and tell them everything." As our readers who know much more about the Marconi case than Mr. Asquith are aware, the form in which his colleagues' desire to go before the Committee materialised was a private and scandalous communication to two members of the Committee, Mr. Falconer and Mr. Handel Booth—suitable confidants, we admit—so as to enable them to bully journalists into withdrawing their charges, doubtless so that a "majority" might have informed Ministers that there was no case to meet and they need not attend the Committee. However, as we know, this intrigue miscarried. Lord Robert Cecil asked the Prime Minister why Ministers did not go before the Committee. Observe the quibble of this master of mental reservation.

THE PRIME MINISTER That is exactly what they did. They told the Committee everything

MR. GOULDING. They told two colleagues on the Committee.

THE PRIME MINISTER. *I know nothing about that* [our italics]

As we have said before, he never knows anything inconvenient, and pretends to be ignorant of the fact which will be found set forth elsewhere that Sir Rufus Isaacs stated on oath in the Chesterton case that he had made the communication in question to Messrs. Falconer and Booth. Later on Mr. Asquith's shameless attitude was effectively exposed in Mr. Bonar Law's trenchant speech.

Compromise? We need not trouble to repeat the rules which Mr. Asquith affected to lay down concerning the financial interest of Ministers as they are only intended for eye-wash. It was more to the point and to the purpose that he should deny that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had indulged

in a gambling transaction, adding "there was no failure from first to last in these transactions to observe the rules of honesty and public duty." There speaks the real Asquith, and we need not carry it any further. He cordially approved the white-washing Buckmaster resolution, and wound up by declaring what we are delighted to hear, that though guilty of "an error of judgment" "their honour (*i.e.* that of the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer), both their private and their public honour, is at this moment absolutely unstained. They have, as this Committee has shown by its unanimous verdict, abused no public trust." This is a strong order, though we do not dispute the following for an instant. "They retain, I can say this with full assurance, the complete confidence of their colleagues and of their political associates." Mr. Balfour followed and though he paid compliments to Ministers, of which they are unworthy, he subjected their transactions to a fresh and deadly analysis. After describing the "investment" in inimitable terms, he observed:

> I really do not know what Mr Gladstone would have said if he had been told of such a transaction. Mark you, there is no question here of honour There is no question of dishonesty, not the least, but there is a question surely of the gravest indiscretion—the very gravest indiscretion. Whether it is proper or improper for the Attorney-General to have what, I am told is called "a flutter," I do not say. That may be a matter of doubt; I leave it to the casuists But there can be no doubt whatever, that no flutter should be indulged in by your Chancellor of the Exchequer

His reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's piteous complaint that no man in high office had time to look after his own affairs and manage his own investments was that "to buy speculative stock is not the way to obtain leisure. And when, in another part of his spech, dealing with a different part of the subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer drew a picture of himself telegraphing and telephoning in his own name openly, as he called it; at all events in his own name, to his broker, was that a picture of an overworked official?" Mr. Balfour added what must have struck every one listening to Mr. Asquith's speech, that though the Premier had talked a good deal about the expressed "regret" of his colleagues "the word 'regret' appeared very seldom, if at all, in the course of their speeches. If it appeared it was regret that such difficulties

had arisen subsequent to their operations, and in consequence of events for which I am bound to say they were not themselves responsible. I do not remember any regret being expressed." As we have said, they regret having been found out. Mr. Balfour concluded by suggesting that as the Opposition made no charge of corruption against Ministers and agreed to exonerate them on this score, they would support Mr. Buckmaster's amendment if the Government supported the Cave resolution.

I do not in the least care about censuring Ministers. I have no wish to do it one way or the other. What I do wish the House to do, is to leave on record something which indicates its regret at what has taken place. Now, mark you, that regret is universal. It is not a monopoly of gentlemen on this side of the House any more than the desire to free Ministers from the charge of corruption is a monopoly on that side of the House. I believe that the House is absolutely agreed in its heart upon both the Resolution and the Amendment. The only difference is that we are prepared to accept publicly, both the Amendment and the Resolution . . . If the Prime Minister can find a form of words which will express the regret which we all feel, and put it on the Journal of the House, so that it may be there for all time, he will find no enemies amongst us.

Mr. Bonar Law

A CONSIDERABLE number of Radicals are understood to have approved Mr. Balfour's proposal as offering a happy issue from the impasse, but it is alleged, and if true we may be grateful to them, that Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs declined to allow the House of Commons to express its own regret, and needless to say Mr. Asquith capitulated, though the Buckmaster Amendment was withdrawn in favour of a resolution of a similar character proposed by Sir Ryland Adkins with the object of luring the Unionist Party into a palpable trap. This Resolution ran as follows: "After hearing the statement of the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to their purchases of shares in the Marconi Company in America, accepts their expression of regret that such purchases were made, and that they were not mentioned in the Debate of October 11 last, acquits them of acting otherwise than in good faith, and reprobates the charges of corruption brought against Ministers which have been proved to be wholly false." For some reason unintelligible to outsiders the Adkins Resolution was allowed to be passed without a Division after the Cave Resolution of censure had been rejected

by an almost strictly Party vote—346 to 268—though there was much perturbation in the Labour camp. The Independent Nationalists abstained, and one or two Radicals like Mr. Munro Ferguson and Mr. Mason had the pluck to vote for Clean Government. Thus the Ministerial Right to Speculate and to Prevaricate becomes part of the established parliamentary tradition, and lively developments may be anticipated. The decision is entirely worthy of a House of Commons which we should never forget voted its members £400 per annum, and which is popularly known as the "eight pounders."* The Debate might have been better and the Opposition somewhat more robust. A few more speeches such as that of Major Archer Shee would have helped to clear the air for the benefit of the man in the street, who is beginning to regard the House of Commons as the home of humbug. The Leader of the Opposition spoke the exact truth in declaring, "All we ask is that the House of Commons should express in the mildest terms you like its disapproval of what has been done, and in voting for the motion which stands in the name of my hon. friend [Mr. Cave] to-night, we shall, in my opinion, be only expressing what is the almost universal feeling in the United Kingdom." As might have been expected our Marconi Ministers hailed the result as a tremendous triumph for the principle they personify, namely, the Ministerial Right to Speculate and to conceal, and we are delighted to observe that the National Liberal Club is organising complimentary banquets in honour of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George under the chairmanship of Mr. Churchill, while the Radicals of Reading pronounce the Attorney-General "a jolly good fellow." We do not know whether there is any truth in the rumour that Lord Haldane is retiring from the Lord Chancellorship to make room for him, and that Mr. Lloyd George is to be sent to Canada as Governor-General, but we expect that Mr. Falconer will receive his well-earned Judgeship and that Mr. Handel Booth will join the Privy Council. Meanwhile the friends of Clean Government must devote themselves to educating the country as to the nature of the Government we have got. If the constituencies are of the same opinion as the "eight pounders," there is an end of it. But we believe the Opposition to be in a position to destroy this Govern-

* The working classes reckon wages by the week.

ment and all its works, and great will be its responsibility if through any indifference, apathy, or want of grit it fails in its supreme duty. Unionists should cease giving certificates of character to those who don't deserve them and fight for the restoration of Clean Government.

Mr. Alfred Austin and Mr. George Wyndham

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Mr. Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate, at the ripe age of seventy-five. Mr. Austin wrote charming verses and much delightful prose, never adequately appreciated by our *intellectuels* owing largely to political prejudice. Mr. Austin was a keen Tory and passionate patriot, whose attitude was resented by journalistic Mugwumps as well as by the decadent literary school so much in vogue of late years, who regard love of one's own country as vulgar, though love of other people's countries is the hall-mark of a superior mind. Mr. Austin was one of the founders of the *National Review* over thirty years ago and remained in control until 1893. He was appointed Laureate in 1895 by the late Lord Salisbury. Let us hope that Mr. Asquith will make no worse appointment. The sudden death of Mr. George Wyndham in Paris in his fiftieth year came as a great shock to his countless friends and admirers, and is a serious loss to the Unionist Party which has no superabundance of enthusiasts and orators. Mr. Wyndham threw himself wholeheartedly into whatever he did, and adorned many things that he touched. His speeches on the larger aspects of Tariff Reform—very imperfectly reported—were equally brilliant and convincing. Indeed, competent judges have declared that some of them were as good as any speeches of the past ten years.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD AND HOUSING

THE ideas of the Local Government Board on the subject of cottage building do not furnish a very exciting topic for an essay, but the Memorandum just issued by the President of that Board "with respect to the Provision and Arrangement of Houses for the Working Classes," and the plans which accompany it, are of so extraordinary a character that I am grateful to the Editor of the *National Review* for permitting me to call attention to the subject, even at the risk of boring my readers.

It is very difficult, indeed wellnigh impossible, to give in words an adequate idea of any plans, and I am only too painfully conscious of how little mere verbal criticisms can convey to the reader the full absurdity of these plans in particular. I am even afraid lest I may be thought to be drawing upon my imagination when I attempt to indicate some of their defects, so wildly improbable does it seem that any Department should have issued so ridiculous an article. I would, therefore, earnestly invite any of my readers who take an interest in the subject to obtain a copy of the memorandum, which they can do for the not extravagant outlay of threepence, though that, it must be confessed, is, as an Irishman would say, sixpence more than it is worth.

The plans are five in number, beginning with type A, a house containing one living room and a scullery with two bedrooms over, and ending with type D, showing a parlour, kitchen, scullery, and three bedrooms on the first floor, and type E, a house without a parlour, but with rooms of larger dimensions.

When an ingenuous youth, actuated by a fervent desire to

benefit his fellow creatures, first attempts to draw a design for a model cottage, he will, if he is wise, begin with one having all the rooms on the ground floor. He will probably have some difficulty with the chimneys, but even a tyro can, without any transcendental effort of genius, put them in fairly correctly if he takes pains, and he may even grasp the idea that they should be gathered together in one or two stacks, and to this degree of efficiency signs are not lacking that the draughtsman of the Local Government Board has attained. Unfortunately for him, however, the rules of the memorandum to which these plans are appended, compelled him to sketch out a set of two-storied houses, and though, as we shall presently see, he pays no great attention to many of the suggestions of the memorandum (which he appears never to have studied), he does not seem to have thought himself at liberty to strike out a line of his own in this respect. Now a two-storied house is a great and subtle snare to the novice, because it involves a staircase. Where is the staircase to be placed? How high and how broad should the steps be? How many of them will be necessary in order to enable the inmates to reach the bedrooms? And then, unless you have unlimited space at your disposal, the troublesome thing must necessarily turn somewhere, and where is that turn to be, and how is it to be effected? The staircase is the *pons asinorum* of the budding architect. When he crosses it his education will not be very far advanced, but, at any rate, he will have overcome the first formidable obstacle.

It is, however, necessary to understand for what purpose a staircase is required. An examination of the plan marked A points to the conclusion that whoever is responsible for it, regards the chief use of a staircase to be to conduct all the smells of the cooking and other domestic operations of the ground floor, as well as the steam from the copper, into as many of the bedrooms as possible. He has not been quite so successful in securing this result in type B, and has happily failed altogether in types C, D, and E. How far this is owing to growing intelligence or to chance must remain a mystery. One thing, however, is clear. Whatever else a staircase may be needed for, he does not consider that it is for the purpose of enabling the inmates of the house to ascend to the floor above. In order to appreciate this properly, it is

necessary to go somewhat into detail. The memorandum recommends that the height of the rooms in these cottages should not be less than 8 ft., and that the height of the risers in the staircases should not exceed 8 in. According to the usual calculations this will give a tread of 8 in. also. Now will it be believed that if a staircase of these proportions is to be crammed into the space allotted to it in these plans, the head room, *i.e.* the distance between the tread of the stairs and the ceiling of the joist over them, under which any one using the stairs must pass, will be no more than 2 ft. 3 in.? On the other hand if the space for the staircase is to be sufficient to allow an ordinary Anglo-Saxon to ascend it in an upright posture, the whole of the arrangements of the bedrooms must be altered, the floor space allotted to them reduced and in point of fact the plans, so far as the upper floors are concerned, are misleading and worthless. There is indeed one other alternative, namely to put in ladders in the place of staircases. It would be interesting to know whether the Board is prepared to recommend this course.

If this gross blunder had showed itself in only one of the plans, it might have been attributed to carelessness, though of a very disgraceful kind, but as it is a feature in every one of them, the only conclusion it is possible to draw is that they have been designed by the Board's errand boy in his leisure moments.

In comparison with an instance of such ineptitude as this the fact that the roof of the porch in type A (the smallest of the houses) is in the wrong place, so that the porch is represented without a roof and the roof without a porch, is a comparatively small matter. As the house door opens directly on the exterior air, the dwelling will be a cold and comfortless one anyhow, so that it signifies little, but it is a blunder of which any country squire's estate office in Great Britain would be ashamed.

I have expressed a doubt already whether the person who drew the plans had ever read the preceding memorandum, and the more we look at them, the more doubtful we become on this head. For instance, with regard to staircases, the memorandum lays down that winders are to be avoided if possible, but notwithstanding they are shown in all of the plans except one, and in two cases quite unnecessarily. Again, the memorandum tells us that "it is desirable that the staircases should be arranged indepen-

is that of the chimneys. Every detached house suggested by the Board will have its chimneys built in the outer wall; indeed, it requires a good deal of skill to design a single two-storied house without this defect. Now there is hardly any discomfort more annoying to the cottager than a smoky chimney, and it is even a more serious matter in these days when coal is so largely used, than it was in former times when in many parts of the United Kingdom wood or peat fires prevailed. Every one who has had any practical experience of building knows, or should know, that a chimney in an outer wall is more likely to smoke than not, for the simple reason that the close contact with the outer air chills the chimney and proportionately diminishes its draught. This is by far the most important reason for building two-storied houses in pairs, if not in blocks, and the whole of the chimneys should be, as far as possible, in the centre between the two houses.

By this means also the maximum amount of heat is communicated to the house, and a great saving of fuel is effected. But to do this requires some experience in planning, and it is just one of those points on which the advice of the Board might have been useful had there been any one available who was qualified to give it. There may have been some advantage before the days of damp courses and hollow walls in placing the chimney in the outer wall, as it might be supposed to do something to dissipate the ascending damp, although even in that case moisture rising from the ground will probably affect the inner walls as much or more than those in the exterior of the structure, but there is no excuse for it if houses are properly built according to modern ideas.

Not the least amusing paragraph in the memorandum is that which contains the statement that "as a general rule the standard of construction should, in the Board's opinion, be such that with only a moderate annual outlay for repairs, the house should be capable of being maintained in a state in all respects fit for human habitation for a period of at least sixty years." It is very satisfactory to know that this is the Board's opinion, but they give no indication either of what they consider a "moderate annual outlay" for repairs, or of the exact meaning they attach to "in all respects fit for human habitation." Some landlords have found it a very elastic term as interpreted by local inspectors.

Still, if a somewhat vague statement, it may be doubted whether it is improved by the following admission that "special circumstances may exist in some cases rendering it desirable for the local authority to construct houses of a less permanent character." There is a good deal of truth, no doubt, in the observation, but if the local authorities have no more knowledge of building than the memorandum gives them credit for, it is very much to be feared that a dictum of this kind is likely to be extremely popular with the jerry-builder who so often hoodwinks local bodies as the experience of some Small Holdings Committees of the County Councils could abundantly testify were they willing to do so.

Another remarkable feature in the attitude of the Local Government Board is that it never seems to have realised that the problems associated with building town houses are entirely and essentially different from those which present themselves in rural districts, and that a memorandum applicable to the one cannot be a guide for the other. In the present instance it is plain that the experience of the author of this document has lain mainly if not entirely in urban centres. He remarks, it is true, that "the internal arrangements will no doubt be influenced to some extent by the custom of the locality, and the habits of the population," but there is no indication of any real appreciation of what these words imply. For instance, in the North of England and in parts of Scotland it has long been the custom to use the living room as a bedroom as well as a sitting-room, and although it is an arrangement repugnant to the ideas of the South country man, there is a good deal to be said for it if the living room is of adequate size. It saves firing, and it leaves space in the upper story for two good-sized bedrooms instead of three rather small ones. It would have been interesting to know whether the Board approve or condemn it, but we have no hint on the subject, although it vitally affects the cost of building.

There is one subject on which the memorandum comes out peculiarly strongly, namely that of baths. Whether a chimney smokes or not, whether a staircase is impossible or not, whether the beds are crowded up within a few inches of the fire-places, or have to cross the window—these things are trifles compared with the provision of a bath, and apparently the most appropriate

place for that piece of furniture is deemed to be the scullery. I venture to submit that though in some localities, or for men engaged in certain occupations, a bath in the scullery may be better than none at all, it is a most objectionable place for several reasons if it can be avoided. It is not an attractive subject, and I forbear to trouble my readers with details. So keen, however, is the Board for this arrangement that it has actually recommended that the bath be placed in the scullery even when, as in type E, there is plenty of space for a bathroom in the "covered space" at the back of the house.

If the bath is to be placed in a part of the house as much used as a cottage scullery is, and for the kind of work that goes on there, it can only be tolerated if the most scrupulous regard to cleanliness is observed, and thorough and complete ventilation is afforded.

The familiarity of the Board with the "habits of the population" may be fairly gauged by the astounding suggestion that the bath should be "fitted with a hinged top to form a table when not in use," so that any effluvia from pipes, soap-suds, &c., may be carefully bottled up, and the bath itself may form a receptacle for anything it may be desired to put out of sight.

One of the most useful provisions of the Housing and Town Planning Act was that giving power to the Local Government Board to compel a revision of the antiquated by-laws of local authorities. Of all the various influences which have retarded improvement in the housing of the people there is probably none more potent than the ill-advised restrictions inserted by well-meaning but ignorant officials into the rules and regulations of authorities, except indeed the heavy taxation to which landed property is subjected. In the debates on the Bill when it was passing through Parliament, it really did seem as if the Local Government Board had begun to realise this fact. It would be interesting to know how far they have ever put the powers they obtained in that measure into operation. Having been invested with them, it seems rather weak that they should now inform local authorities that "where the by-laws admit, it may be desirable to consider other arrangements of streets and buildings," than blocks of semi-detached cottages. To me, personally, it is interesting to observe that one of their suggestions is "the forma-

tion of the street which will be the means of approach for vehicles at the back of the house, leaving a stretch of garden ground between the fronts of the houses and a footway giving access to those fronts."

Some years ago I was building a series of houses in a county town, and I desired to adopt this very plan but was prevented from doing so by the by-laws in force in the district. Although I was hereby compelled to adopt a much less suitable scheme, a friend who owned property in an adjacent district thought sufficiently highly of it to ask me to let him see the specifications. When I sent them to him, he told me they were not admissible in his district because there the by-laws rendered it obligatory that the bedrooms should be 6 in. higher than I had allowed for. Speaking from memory, I think my rooms were 8 ft. high and my neighbour's authority insisted upon 8 ft. 6 in.

Now it is evident that, whether 8 ft. or 8 ft. 6 in. be the proper minimum, there can be no reason why two contiguous areas should not be compelled to adopt the same standard, and inasmuch as cottage building is getting more unremunerative every day, an increase of 6 in. in the height of rooms is a material consideration to a landlord whose property may be and very often is very heavily charged, and who is, moreover, a victim of the vagaries of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Such by-laws undoubtedly come within the provisions of Clause 44 of the Housing and Town Planning Act, as unreasonably impeding the erecting of buildings for the working classes, and instead of issuing a manifesto feebly recommending this or that "if the by-laws admit," the Local Government Board should, before it gives the public the benefit of its very nebulous thoughts on the construction of houses, see that the by-laws are so altered as to allow of the adoption of whatever the Board think fit to recommend.

Some of us feel inclined to wonder what has happened to Mr. John Burns. It suits the exigencies of most Party politicians, while talking very loudly about the deplorable way in which the people are housed and abusing the landlords and their agents, to be continually introducing vexatious legislation which affords the score for the blowing of trumpets on platforms, rather than to devote themselves to a courageous administration of their offices on sound lines for the benefit of the nation; but while

many of his colleagues are open to this charge, the President of the Local Government Board has since he occupied his present position never stultified himself by following their example, and many of those who dissented most strongly from his political opinions trusted to find in him a powerful and active administrator who was really alive to the necessities of the case and would see that they were met. He did not, like so many of his predecessors, immediately on taking office amuse the public by proposing new Acts of Parliament, and therefore, when in 1909 he introduced his Housing and Town Planning Act all parties were willing to believe in its necessity, and that he had really thought the matter out, and were ready to give him the powers he sought, and which we fondly believed he intended to use, especially those enabling him to reduce into something like common sense and uniformity the chaos of local regulations.

It is, however, the old familiar story. Act after Act has been passed giving increased powers to the central authority for the last fifty years, but they are never put into force except fitfully and often unwisely (apparently from the fear that they may be unpopular), and scarcely ever in the direction which most needs the attention of the responsible Minister.

Let us return for a moment to the question of the proper height of cottage rooms. It really signifies little for practical purposes what the height is, provided there is proper ventilation as near as possible to the ceiling. A room 8 ft. 6 in. or 9 ft. high with the top of the window 2 ft. or more below the ceiling is really very much less sanitary than a room 7 ft. 6 in. or 8 ft. high with a window opening within a few inches of the top of the room. Space above the windows is merely a receptable for the retention of foul air. A little more practical experience than the framer of this memorandum has evidently had of cottage building would have shown him that this is a fact very often overlooked, and one it would have been well to call attention to, but such details he has evidently either never heard of or he considers them beneath his notice. The only arrangements which have occurred to him are fixed louvres over the door (which, by the way, as we have already seen, can, according to the plan, only serve to admit the foul emanations from the scullery and kitchen), and that the door should be at the opposite end of the room from

the windows. If he were at all acquainted with the "habits of the population," he would know that before a house had been occupied a week his louvres would be blocked in some way, for there is nothing more universally detested than any means of ventilation incapable of being closed, and, considering the varying conditions of climate and of health, not unnaturally.

There are many details of cottage building upon which expert opinion is still in the course of formation and is not agreed. If, instead of a deliverance consisting of a medley of platitudes on the one hand and blunders on the other, the Board had thought it worth while to deal with some of these, it might have been more creditable to a Government Department, although, after the exhibition they have made, it may well be doubted if their advice would have been very illuminating. One of these points is whether it is not advisable to insert fire-places in all the bedrooms. It is noteworthy that in all the plans promulgated by the Board in this paper there is one bedroom without a fire-place. Probably this was due to the errand boy, to whom we have traced these efforts, being puzzled how to deal with the extra chimney necessitated thereby He deserves our sympathy because it is a real difficulty, but he may rest assured that it is one which has been overcome, and which he may confidently hope to surmount with a little perseverance and application.

Now while it may be conceded that it may be necessary in building the cheapest possible house to omit this feature, there can be no excuse for not considering it in the erection of dwellings of a superior kind such as types D and E. The former purports to provide a parlour in addition to a kitchen, scullery, and three bedrooms—though, to be sure, the third bedroom is so small (8 ft. by 7) that there is no room in it for any furniture besides the bed, let alone a fire-place I believe there can be no doubt that if the comfort of the inmates is the object it would be far better secured by three bedrooms "as large and airy as possible," to quote the words of the memorandum, each with fire-places, than by a kennel without a fire and a parlour. No doubt under ordinary conditions a fire in the third room will not often be lighted, nor is there any reason why it should be if the chimneys are, as I have already pointed out, massed in the centre of the structure so as to give warmth to the whole. But there are in the experience

of almost every family times when it will be a real convenienc The third bedroom is always the smallest of the three, and there fore the one occupied by the fewest persons. For instanc supposing a family of five, two girls and three boys. If one c them is ill, it is undoubtedly an advantage that there should b at least the power of isolating the patient, and the third bedroon is best adapted for the purpose without excessive overcrowding In such cases the importance of lighting a fire is very valuabl for ventilation if not for warmth, though, as this bedroom ha generally the worst aspect of the three, the latter is a consideration. But upon this the memorandum is silent.

There is another matter upon which a little guidance would have been welcome. Is it really necessary that a cottage should have two external doors? No doubt through ventilation is an essential object, but ought that ventilation to be constant? Practically through ventilation is a grand term for a thorough draught, and though a thorough draught is an excellent thing at proper times, it may be suggested that a continual thorough draught for the whole of the twenty-four hours in all weathers and at all seasons has its drawbacks. Yet this is what two entrances to a cottage, if it be a small one, too often entails, while through ventilation can be secured at proper times by opening the front window. When it is remembered how very seldom in many cases the front door is used, its existence seems to be much more a matter of sentiment than anything else, and while some working men set great store by it, others who care more for comfort than for appearances, are very glad to be without it. It is true that the door with its porch adds greatly to the picturesqueness of the building, and the lack of it gives a bald look to a cottage, but we are not now considering the demands of the artist

It would be easy to enlarge to almost any extent on the sins both of omission and commission chargeable to the singular effusion to which I have ventured to call attention, but enough has been said to give a general impression of its character. In itself it is rather food for laughter than for serious consideration, but from another point of view it is a graver matter.

We are constantly reminded that we live in a democratic age, and all history, as well as the experience of those who are

able themselves to look back on half a century or more, show that democracy is to a nation what senile decay is to the individual It is a sign of inevitable, though it may be slow, deterioration As individual existence begins and (if it escape an earlier fate ends in childishness, so do democratic institutions mark th birth and decline of a people. When an old man begins to drive the control of nurses and of friends is essential; at a later stag the mad doctor takes him in charge. When democracy show itself prominently in the institutions of a country, the natio must be governed by bureaux if anarchy and confusion are t be avoided. When it has got beyond the control of boards an councils it needs to be, and generally finds itself, in the clutche of a dictator.

The United Kingdom appears to be in the first stage. It governed by a series of bureaux, and the nominal heads of the bureaux form a council called a Cabinet in whose hands th supreme Government lies, but just as an autocracy has bee described as despotism tempered by revolution, so in this countr we have a bureaucracy tempered by General Elections. General Election means an appeal to the masses of the peop who have no experience of the art of Government, no exper mental knowledge of the exercise of the duties or of the enjoy ments of the rights of property, and no real acquaintance wit the administrative qualifications of the Ministers seeking the votes. The vagaries of such a constituency can only l influenced by bribery, whether it be the old-fashioned briber of Peerages, Baronetcies, or Knighthoods for the leaders, or th more modern expedients of Free Education, Old-Age Pensior and Insurance Acts for the rank and file. Looked at from an point of view it is a bad exchange for a limited monarchy an what used to be understood as constitutional government, an so far as inefficiency in the discharge of administrative functio is concerned, there seems to be little difference between o Party and another.

This is one of the worst features in our present bureaucrat system. However bad a form of Government may be if it l strong, intelligent, and able, it is better than if it is weak, ignoran and incapable. If the Home Office cannot protect property apprehend and punish offenders; if the War Office cann

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able themselves to look back on half a century or more, show that democracy is to a nation what senile decay is to the individual. It is a sign of inevitable, though it may be slow, deterioration. As individual existence begins and (if it escape an earlier fate) ends in childishness, so do democratic institutions mark the birth and decline of a people. When an old man begins to drivel the control of nurses and of friends is essential; at a later stage the mad doctor takes him in charge. When democracy shows itself prominently in the institutions of a country, the nation must be governed by bureaux if anarchy and confusion are to be avoided. When it has got beyond the control of boards and councils it needs to be, and generally finds itself, in the clutches of a dictator.

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This is one of the worst features in our present bureaucratic system. However bad a form of Government may be if it be strong, intelligent, and able, it is better than if it is weak, ignorant, and incapable. If the Home Office cannot protect property or apprehend and punish offenders; if the War Office cannot

provide an adequate scheme for an Army, or, indeed, is unable to carry into effect any scheme at all, and if the Local Government Board cannot produce intelligible plans for housing the population, in other words, if the machinery of Government fails to work in the very directions and for the very purposes for which that machinery was created, it is useless to delude ourselves with the idea that the country will put up with it indefinitely, or continue long to tolerate what amounts to the administration of permanent officials selected by the Chinese method of competitive examination, under the nominal control of Parliamentary incapables.

Such a system tends to chaos more or less pronounced, and through chaos to a dictator, and these results can only temporarily be deferred by amusing the people with sensational legislation.

Let us understand clearly, however, wherein the incapacity lies. It does not consist in the fact that the heads of Departments have no special knowledge of the peculiar work of their offices. Very few occupants of Government Benches have had such a qualification, but until comparatively recent times the Cabinet consisted of men educated to the control of establishments and to judgment of character, and familiar with the duties and responsibilities of leadership. They knew how to select their staff, and how to employ their various talents or lack of talent to the best public advantage; an art in which modern Ministers have had no training and are pitiably wanting.

For instance, nobody expects the President of the Local Government Board to know anything about cottage building, but we have a right to look to him to select some one who does to frame a document such as we have been considering before he issues it with his imprimatur.

NORTHUMBERLAND

THE CRIME

Mr. Percy Illingworth, Chief Government Whip, speaking recently at the Manchester Reform Club, said that on the Unionist side there was an infamous attempt to try to stampede the country into conscription. That was a crime against mankind, and would be resisted with every force at the command of the Liberals.—*Daily Paper.*

"A crime against mankind"? A crime to bear
Arms for your country and your home? A crime
To man the walls, when foemen threat to climb
And sack the city? Or a crime to care
For the same things as Nelson did, and dare
To think the same as Wellington! O time
Degenerate! O hearts abased! Sublime,
Compared to you, wild beasts that guard their lair.

Yours is the crime against mankind, who preach
Treason to Man's best instinct—the defence
Of all that he loves best. You claim to teach
Higher morality; a vain pretence!
Learn first the lower; strive at least to reach
Stern honesty and sturdy common sense.

LORD ROBERTS

'TWAS said of one, "England has need of thee";
And at this hour, when deep delusion's gloom
Hangs o'er her like miasma, *now* of whom
Has England need? Of him whose eyes can see
What lurks behind that cloud! Ah, where is he
Who dare not shrink from prophesying doom,
If she persist in worshipping the tomb
Of what has been, inert to what may be.

A man there lives, whose tongue no party guile
Has ever touched; who sets the nation's claim
Not only first in word, but first in deed:
A soldier that no politics defile
Nor any envious voices can defame.
England, he warns thee. Ere too late, give heed.

FRANCIS COUTTS

CHINESE LOANS AND THE BRITISH INVESTOR

THE intrinsic and realisable value of the security offered to investors in Chinese loans is becoming a matter of increasing importance to the British public, if only because the loan concluded last month, which adds twenty-five millions sterling to China's foreign debt, is admitted to be the commencement of a period of borrowing on a large scale. As matters stand, the man in the street, the man who takes his hopeful stand in the queue outside the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation's premises on the day of a new issue, is greatly influenced by the attractions of a Government bond, of good repute, which pays him 5½ per cent., and by a general sense of security induced, firstly, by the common belief in China's undeveloped resources, and, secondly, by the fact that the loan has been diplomatically encouraged by the Governments which stand behind the issuing Banks of the Five-Powers *consortium*.

Dimly aware that the new Republic is threatened by party factions within and aggressive forces without, the investor fortifies himself with the assurances reiterated in the Press, that China's productive capacity is great and her debt small, that her word has ever been as good as her bond, and that, with a reorganised Government, all will soon be well; finally, that, in the last resort, the British Government, which has taken a leading part in the promotion of the latest loan, must protect his rights as a bondholder. That China's credit is steadily diminishing and her financial difficulties increasing, is a fact which appears to carry but little weight: against it, he sets the comfortable words of financiers, whose profitable business it is to make Chinese bonds attractive. He believes, therefore, that the fiscal reorganisation and political

regeneration of the country are close at hand, and that in any case, the mysterious Salt Gabelle and Dr. Sun's magnificent railway schemes should provide ample margin of security for the future. He notes Sir Edward Grey's explicit statement that the British Government incurs no financial liability in the Five-Powers syndicate's loan agreements, but cherishes the belief that, should China eventually repudiate, the British investor will be protected by reversionary interests in some of her lucrative sources of revenue. The fundamental cause of this optimism, and of a situation which threatens eventually to produce complications more serious even than those of the Near East, lies in the fact that the public has hitherto derived its inspiration and its guidance in Chinese affairs from the opinions disseminated in the high places of cosmopolitan finance, failing completely to realise the position in which the British bondholder must inevitably be placed, whensoever the exigencies of world-politics at Peking put an end to the pact and proceedings of the financial *consortium*.

The Chinese Government and the financial syndicates whose representatives besiege the Ministry of Finance at Peking, frankly declare that China's immediate and future necessities can only be met by borrowing abroad on a large scale. It is common knowledge that, before the conclusion of the last loan, the Government was actually insolvent and that a large portion of this loan must be devoted to paying off accumulated arrears. It is also common knowledge that, at the present moment, Peking is unable to assert its authority over the provinces and to collect the revenues usually remitted and requisite for the purposes of administration and for the service of earlier loans. The investor's security and the financial stability of China depend absolutely, therefore, upon the good faith and reconstructive power of Yuan Shih-k'ai's government in the first instance and eventually upon the limit of the country's taxable resources. As Sir Robert Hart declared five years ago, "the security of any loan may be taken as the credit, character and income of the Chinese Government, pledged by the issue of an Imperial Edict sanctioning the loan; the assignment to its service of a particular revenue in detail, the value of which is a secondary, and in a sense, immaterial consideration."

Let us now consider briefly the "credit, character and income" of the Chinese Government. Writing in this Review over a year ago (April 1912) before the leaders of the Republican Radical party had proved no less incompetent and corrupt than the mandarins of the old régime, I observed that,

if one feature stands out more clearly than another from all the chaos of the past six months, it is the hunger of the officials of both parties to obtain foreign loans, and it may therefore safely be assumed that, whatever form may take the final settlement between Peking and the provinces, the latter will never surrender, except under compulsion, the precedent by which they secure the direct handling of such funds. . . . The policy of the Bankers' syndicate must inevitably produce endless discussions in the New Republic, fierce scrambling for its loaves and fishes, insatiable hunger for more, with rampant corruption and waste. The security for the foreign bondholder, to be recovered eventually by foreclosure on the realisable assets of the mortgagor, is sound enough, no doubt; but the indirect cost of collection promises to be extremely heavy. If the fatal course of complaisance be maintained, it can only end in the placing of China's finances under international control, a solution obviously undesirable. That China must have funds for her immediate needs is clear; but if these needs are not to breed a thousandfold in trouble for the future, it should be the policy of England, the United States and France to make common cause, and once for all to declare that these funds must be administered under the responsible supervision and control of European accountants.

Since this was written, the policy jointly followed by Russia and Japan, chiefly through the medium of the Banking syndicate, has made it clear that the cost of collection, in the event of foreclosure on China's assets, will be far heavier than seemed likely at that date. Everything that has happened in the past twelve months has justified an opinion which was generally criticised at the time as unduly pessimistic. In the matter of chaos and corruption there has been little to choose between the record of the Republican mandarins and those who served the Manchu Dynasty. The "war-notes," "patriotic" levies on traders, and unlimited issuing of paper-currency by irresponsible leaders in the provinces, have inflicted quite as much injury upon the productive industry of the country as the shifty and improvident proceedings of the Ministry of Finance at Peking. Both parties have concentrated their energies upon borrowing at all costs and regardless of the shrinking of their country's credit. Tang Shaoyi's "Belgian" loan was negotiated on the same *aprés nous le déluge* principles as the Minister of Finance's recent 6 per cent. "torpedo-boat" loans for £3,200,000, concluded with a German firm on behalf of

Austrian bankers. As the *Times* correspondent at Peking wrote on May 13, "to obtain money, they are prepared to mortgage the future in this reckless manner. Thus have walked other Oriental countries, which have had to accept foreign financial control, and thus will China continue to walk, if the protective policy of the Powers is not rendered more effective."

The credit of the Government is steadily dwindling. Under the latest Five-Powers loan agreement. China receives only 84 per cent. of the face value of her bonds, as against 94 six years ago. The character of the Government shows no sign of constructive reform, the hopes of its best friends being centred to-day upon the restoration of the autocratic régime at Peking as affording the best means of putting an end to the chaotic indiscipline of the provincial Councils and Tutuhs. The income of the Government from internal taxation, upon which, in the last resort, everything depends, has been a negligible quantity for the past year. According to a statement recently published in the semi-official *Peking Daily News*, the total amount remitted by the provinces in 1912 was Taels 1,640,000, as against an average revenue of fifty millions contributed under the Manchu Dynasty. It must be evident that, with or without the assistance of foreign "advisers," a Government which is unable to collect its regular land-tax, *lekin* and Excise revenues, cannot possibly give effect to the provisions of a loan agreement which would deprive the provincial authorities of their time-honoured rights over the Salt Gabelle and other local Collectorates. The proposed reorganisation of the Gabelle may serve the purposes of a loan prospectus, but the security of the bondholder remains fundamentally based on the taxing power of the Central Government and upon the taxable resources of the country; both of which depend, in their turn, upon the organisation of an efficient and honest administration by the Chinese themselves.

For the investor, the question of paramount importance is therefore, to what extent, and with what prospects of success, are the activities of the financiers, who are now engaged in providing China with capital, directed towards leading the Chinese to the organisation of such an administration. The British investor is here confronted by the fact that the group

of financiers to which the Foreign Office has for some years extended its monopoly of support is avowedly cosmopolitan in its constitution and tendencies; in other words, that the particular political industrial and commercial interests of Great Britain and the future welfare of China are likely to concern it less than the maintenance at all costs of the international syndicate, which enjoys a protected field of lucrative operations and may expect a rapid increase of opportunities, to be created by China's multiplying necessities.

The Foreign Office, in supporting the financial operations of the Five-Powers syndicate at Peking, has always been at pains to proclaim its sympathy with the Chinese in their difficulties and to believe in the benevolent intentions of those who, in return for a monopoly of support, pledged themselves to oppose improvident borrowing and to insist upon effective supervision of loan funds expenditure for reproductive purposes. Nevertheless, Sir Edward Grey had cause to suspect, four years ago, at the time of the Yangtsze Railways loan débâcle, that the good intentions of his policy in China stood but little chance of attainment under the auspices of the denationalised individuals who control the inner councils of cosmopolitan finance in London, Paris, St. Petersburg and Berlin. Had it not been for the critical needs of the situation created by the revolution, and their bearing upon British trade, there is reason to believe that British policy would have taken a direction similar to that followed by the State Department at Washington (though upon different grounds) and that the Foreign Office would have been led to discountenance all loans to China, unless and until they could be made with effective supervision over expenditure and relieved from the political complications resulting from the international character of the *consortium*. It is earnestly to be hoped that this course may yet be adopted, in the best interests of the Chinese people and of the British bondholder. If the French Government, in the interests of the *petit rentier*, can be persuaded to adopt the same policy; if the two great money-markets of the world can be closed to the Chinese Government until it consents to borrow and to spend foreign capital on a strict accountantship basis, for reproductive purposes; then, *ipso facto*, the only security which can permanently protect the investor will be forthcoming in

time—the security of increasing taxable resources and business methods.

Clearly, neither of these results can possibly be hoped for under the direction of cosmopolitan financiers. The history of the loan recently concluded proves beyond all doubt that when Powers, which have no capital to lend, become associated for political reasons in loans to China, the results can only benefit the financiers, who handle liberal flotation commissions, the mandarins who secure access to a considerable portion of the funds, and, in the end, the aggressive designs of the Powers which have everything to gain and little to lose by increasing the country's embarrassments. In other words, every new loan provided by British and French capital under these conditions serves to accelerate China's progress on the road to bankruptcy. The appointment of foreign advisers and controllers (who can never hope to advise or control under existing conditions) and the assignment to loans service of the Salt Gabelle and other provincial revenues, are merely face-saving devices, of no protective value to the bondholder. On this point there are no two opinions in the Chanceries at Peking, and it is therefore remarkable that the Foreign Office should continue to endorse expedients which, after full and fair trial, have been proved completely useless for the avowed aims of British policy.

If the British and French money-markets were closed to all such loans in future, the "get-rich-quick" mandarin might still be able to raise a few millions from Belgian, Austrian and German financiers, on terms similar to those of the recent "torpedo-boat" loan; but there would be an end to the wholesale pledging of the country's credit, and even the Continental arms-dealing money-lender would hesitate before advancing his capital if there were no further prospect of its being repaid out of new "reorganisation" loans drawn from British and French investors. The collective responsibility of the Powers for China's reckless borrowings acts at present as a direct incentive to independent predatory financiers and corrupt mandarins. These realise that the deeper the commitments of China to the Five-Powers Group, the less the chance of the Chinese Government being permitted to repudiate any [illegible]-period or provincial loan, until the final crash occurs.

Everything in the recent loan negotiations (and especially

the pressure brought to bear by St. Petersburg on the French bourse and Government) emphasises the difficulty of separating business from politics at Peking and of preventing our commercial interests from being sacrificed to the exigencies of a delicate and dangerous international situation. Nevertheless, it should be made plain to the British investor that, in so far as he is concerned, this situation presents only two alternatives. Either the British Government must abandon the *consortium* and henceforward discountenance all further loans to China, except such as are made under conditions calculated to increase the Government's revenues (*e.g.* loans like that which made and has maintained the prosperity of the Imperial Railways of North China), or the cosmopolitan financier will continue to assist China on the road to ruin, at the ultimate expense of British and French investors. If the first alternative be adopted, there need be no further monopoly of Foreign Office support for any favoured group of financiers; British capital might enjoy the "open door," provided the conditions of security for the bondholder were forthcoming. The latter alternative must lead, sooner or later, to the bankruptcy of China and to the control of her affairs by an international Debt Commission.

The certainty of this result is generally recognised, but in discussing it, politicians and financiers usually err in assuming that an International Commission would mean much the same, and work as well, in China as in Macedonia or Egypt; that it would be possible to take over and administer the Salt Gabelle, the railways and other sources of Chinese revenue pledged to the service of foreign loans. But Sir Edward Grey knows full well (as Sir Robert Hart knew) that only the strong hand of firmly established authority can impose taxation, old or new, on the provinces. No International Commission could ever collect China's revenues for her, unless it first set up an effective authority, an *imperium in imperio*, supported by material force. In other words, its debt-collecting powers would depend upon horse, foot and artillery in the background. The precedent of the Imperial Maritime Customs revenues, regularly collected under foreign supervision without show of force, is not applicable to inland collectorates (as was proved by Hart's futile *likin* experiment in 1899-1900) for the simple reason that the payment of import and

export duties can be easily enforced, by means of Consular or other control, over the entry and clearance of ships, but it would require a standing army to control the inter-provincial traffic in salt. The Chinese people would, no doubt, accept and benefit by the fiscal administration of an International Commission, once it had made good its right and title to administer, in the only way that ensures the respect of Orientals, that is to say, with unhesitating authority—there is evidence of this in our experience in governing the large Chinese population of Hong Kong and the leased territory at Wei-hai-wei as well as in the remarkable results obtained in the international government of the Foreign Settlement at Shanghai. But an International Commission for the regulation of China's finances, dependent for its efficacy upon military forces in reserve, must mean a Commission inevitably dominated by the interests of those Powers—Russia and Japan—which possess large forces on China's defenceless frontiers, and which make no secret of their intention to use them for the advancement of their respective political and territorial ambitions. However great the amount of British capital that may be invested in China, it is certain that under no circumstances will any British Government move a fleet or land an army to protect them, so long as the situation in Europe remains what it is to-day. In the event of repudiation by China, or foreclosure by other creditors on the general security of bondholders, it is safe to predict that the activities of the Foreign Office must be confined to dignified protests and diplomatic demurrers. The fate of the British investor will then depend, not only upon the potential value of China's taxable resources, but upon the good faith and goodwill of those Powers whose unmistakable ambitions already dominate the policies of the Five-Powers *consortium*.

What then ? *Caveat emptor*. Let the British investor understand clearly that the things which Chinese loan prospectuses set forth are less important t .. the things which are left undiscussed. Let him realise that the ultimate fate of Chinese bonds depends absolutely upon the credit and character of the Chinese Government, upon a systematic re-organisation of its fiscal administration, and upon the development of new sources of revenue by means of reproductive enterprises. Let him note that the latest loan imposes heavy burdens upon a country, already insolvent, for pur-

poses such as the real (or alleged) losses incurred by foreigners during the recent revolution (£2,000,000); the disbanding of real (or imaginary) Chinese troops (£3,000,000); the administrative expenses of the Peking Government Boards (£4,000,000 for six months); the repayment of various provincial loans (£2,900,000), and for "advances" to salt merchants and officials (£500,000) under a scheme to be approved by the foreign Banks. Let him realise that the appetites both of mandarins and loan negotiators must grow with what they feed on, and that, so long as capital is forthcoming, those who profit by China's improvident borrowing cannot be expected to discourage it. Let him remember that more than one of the Powers associated in the *consortium* has much to gain by encouraging China on the road to insolvency, and that, when the crash comes, the interests of cosmopolitan financiers are not likely to be identical with those of the private bond-holder. *Caveat emptor.*

Continuance in our present policy must either involve Great Britain in the grave dangers of a new crisis in the Far East, or, if the principle of *laisser-faire* holds good when that crisis occurs, must leave the British investor a sadder and a wiser man.

J. O. P. BLAND.

SOME GLIMPSES OF DISRAELI

Mr. Disraeli and his wife were neighbours, in the country, of Lord and Lady Chesham, with both of whom, but particularly with Lady Chesham,* they were on terms of friendship. Lady Chesham was a charming and accomplished woman, and liked to gather round her men famous in literature and politics; her husband was a true English country gentleman, devoted to sport and agriculture, and never liked Disraeli. He differed from him in politics and distrusted his elaborate un-English manner and conversation. He usually spoke of him as "that prodigious humbug," and was never tired of telling a story which he said showed "the impudence of the fellow."

There was an agricultural show at Aylesbury, and Disraeli, who knew nothing of agriculture, was to speak at it. "And instead," said Lord Chesham, "of telling us something he did know, he walked me about for half an hour before the meeting began, and found out all I'd got to say about farming, and then he went and brought it all into his speech as if it was his own opinion." But as a staunch Whig he repudiated any ground of agreement with the Tory statesman. One who was present at the meeting remembers the vigour with which he exclaimed, "No! No!" on Disraeli observing in his speech, "I believe I may say that my friend Lord Chesham and I agree on the subject of roots."

Mr. Disraeli no doubt enjoyed this spirit, and liked to call it forth. He turned one evening to his host at Latimer, "My dear Chesham, do you ever think of the irresponsible rhetoric in which you used to indulge on the hustings?" Lord Chesham, who was not likely to have indulged in rhetoric, whether irresponsible or

* William Cavendish, 2nd Lord Chesham, married Henrietta, daughter of the Hon. W. Lascelles.

not, at any time, merely said "Ha! Ha!" and closed his lips tightly, with anything but a smile on his face.

The announcement in the following letter to Lady Chesham, however, must have pleased Lord Chesham as much as it was intended to do, for he was a connoisseur of good cookery and wine.

GROSVENOR GATE, *March* 4, 1871.

MY DEAR LADY,—Alas! we cannot find ourselves under the delightful roof of Latimer on the 18th. Indeed when once we get to town we are, in general, chained to the galleys—social I must call them. As you are always (dispensing ?) hospitality Lady Beaconsfield has sent Chesham a Strasburg pie of the highest calibre—with her love, wh: if like its brother, that has been our guest, I doubt not that the change of nationality has not deteriorated the inimitable art of the city famous alike for the invention of Pâtés and Printing.

Ever yrs sincerely

D.

One winter's evening Mr. Disraeli arrived at Latimer. In the hall a wood fire was burning very sulkily. "That fire," he observed to a fellow guest, "is not baronial." A little later a lady entered the drawing-room and going to greet him, said, "You don't remember me." "I do," replied Dizzy with fervour, "and cherish the recollection."

He was at Latimer towards the end of the Franco-Prussian War. Those present have never forgotten how one day they sat round entranced while he discussed the situation in France, ending up with the difficulty Bismarck had to contend with in not knowing with whom to negociate, with the Emperor shut up at Wilhelmshohe and only a Provisional Government in Paris. "In England," he concluded in his sonorous voice and with imperturbable gravity, "no such difficulty could ever arise, for were the Constitution abolished and the Dynasty destroyed, there would still be the Lord Mayor, with whom any foreigner would be only too happy to deal."

Lady Chesham seems to have preserved but few of his letters, but the felicity of style that distinguished all he wrote makes the slightest note of interest. The first letter is dated September 4, 1871. The Bishop was Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *September* 4, 1871.

MY DEAR LADY,—Our Harvest Festival is on Tuesday the [illegible] and the Bishop is to preach before our banquet, and then we are to distribute horticultural prizes. Once, you said you would not dislike to assist us on this occasion, and Lady Beaconsfield joins

with me in the hope that we may induce yourself, Lord Chesham and your daughter, to come to us on the previous Monday and stay at least till Wednesday, for you know your visit to Hughenden before was but a glimpse. Am I to thank Chesham for some grouse wh came from Bolton Abbey ? * It must be he. I don't think any other Cavendish would feed me.

In the rural little country of Buckinghamshire, Harvest Homes were kept in the good old-fashioned way with feasting and jollity by all the country-side. The statesman with his sphynx-like face, his dyed black locks, and cryptic utterance must have appeared strangely out of place amidst the smock-frocked yokels and their simple mirth. He writes again, September 7, 1871, from Hughenden Manor, "I am not going to Aylesbury: not even to meet you, wh: with me would be always the greatest of inducements to do anything. The truth is, that after two months of coquetage (?), I shrink from being in evidence, and can hardly muster courage to figure in an humble harvest home. I cannot get over the conviction that the country is sick of what are called 'public men.'"

Lady Chesham and her daughter Mary went to Hughenden for the "Harvest Home," and there is a note from Mr. Disraeli written to Lady Chesham while under his roof, begging her to extend her visit, ending, "Don't trouble yourself to answer this now, but answer it with a smile when we meet at breakfast." As they were going up to their rooms on their arrival, Miss Cavendish asked her host what time the post went.

"The post," he repeated, turning to Sir William Harcourt, who was also there, "Does the post ever go ?"

"No," returned Sir William, following his host's lead, "I believe not," and the young lady who only wished to send a line to her dressmaker, proceeded upstairs, feeling sorely puzzled and foolish. At dinner she asked Sir William what they had meant, and he said, "Don't you see, he is your host and you are being entertained here, and nothing from the outside is to intrude." The guests at Hughenden had yet another ordeal to face. It was Mr. Disraeli's custom to put in his guest's rooms books that he thought suitable to their characters. In Lady Chesham's room he put a book of sermons and a book of poetry; her daughter was provided with a book of fashions and "Vanity

* The Duke of Devonshire's place in Lancashire. The grouse were from him.

Fair." But one day Lady Beaconsfield told Lady Chesham, "Dizzy says your daughter is very intelligent, and has more to say than most young women of her age."

Besides Sir William Harcourt there were also staying in the house Bishop Wilberforce and an elderly Colonel of no particular fame. It was curious to see the awe Disraeli inspired in these men. None of them were at their ease, and whenever any of the three uttered a remark they looked at their host to see how he took it. After the banquet and during the speeches at the Harvest Home, Dizzy called to Sir William, "Harcourt, will you now respond?" And Sir William, quaking with terror, like a schoolboy in the eye of his master, got up and stammered forth a few sentences, mainly protesting at being called upon to speak without preparation, and as he sat down he said to his neighbour, "It was awful having to speak before him."

The next letter was written shortly before Lady Beaconsfield's death.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *October* 1, 1872.

MY DEAR LADY,—It did not seem a very promising venture to return home in the equinox, and at the fall of the leaf, but things have turned out better than I had hoped. The Equinox was tranquil, the foliage is (illegible) and my wife, if anything, is better. Our departure from Grosvenor Gate was rapid, for Lady Beaconsfield, having tried everything to regain her appetite in vain, resolved to try change of air, and we begin to believe that it has produced good results.

I did not feel my imprisonment very much. I never once entered the town, or touched the pavement. I was resolved that, when business recommenced, Pall Mall and Whitehall should be as fresh to me as to my more fortunate friends, shooting in Scotland or scaling the Alps. We took the opportunity of becoming acquainted with our beloved metropolis, wh is a much more wonderful thing than those who pass their lives in a dozen streets and a couple of squares, can comprehend such miles of villas, all of different architecture, such a prodigious number of beautiful churches, and, I grieve to add, gorgeous gin palaces. In those drives about the environs, we travelled more than 200 miles, and felt the same interest we should have done in a strange land.

Our labourers do not trouble us and seem content, even prosperous. We have had a splendid harvest, wh: does not appear to have been a common lot this year. The "working classes" of radical Wycombe are on strike, and there is a plan to transfer the chain trade to Tory Marlow. This would be a Party triumph, wh however, I should feel in my wood sales. . . .

The next letter was written after Lady Beaconsfield's death.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *January* 16, 1873.

DEAREST LADY CHESHAM,—My thoughts have been occupied with you for several days. I wish to express to you how grateful I was for your sympathy in the supreme

sorrow of my life, when your letter reached me this morning. I think it very probable, at least I hope it, that your house will be the first that I shall visit—but at present it is impossible for me. I have not yet seen any one, and the resumption of public labour, tho inevitable, seems to me impossible. Lord Cairns is coming down here on Monday wh will break the ice, and then I must see others—and the time is pressing. I have also a good deal of private business. I have now no home except Hughenden, and I must find one. It is a difficult thing. I feel that the fox has his cave and the wild birds have their nests, but I have no place wherein to lay my head. Lord Beauchamp and others of my friends have placed their houses at my disposal, but I love my friends too much to visit them with my cares and sorrows. I suppose it will end in taking refuge in an hotel but that is not an easy business. There are only two or three hotels that one can go to; and I want a great deal of accommodation. I must have waiting rooms and receiving rooms, and the other conveniences, wh the conventional programme of an English hotel can scarcely supply. There is also a great deal to arrange here, and at once. Forgive me for troubling you with all this, but I wish you to believe that if I am obliged to decline your kind invitation, it is not (that) I do not appreciate it. I remember your friendly relations with her with satisfaction, and how often she used to say that Latimer was a house it delighted her to visit. I must ever regard those who recall her with tenderness and respect.

He wrote again three months later.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, *April* 18, '73.

MY DEAR LADY,—I have been here a fortnight, in absolute solitude, without interchanging a word with human being—scarcely heard a voice except that of the peacock's screeching on the terraces. I had half a plan to come once to give you a couple of hours but I observed you were in mourning, and my spirit of enterprise is slight.* I write this that I may know when there is a chance of seeing you in town, whither I go on Monday morning; as I have few pleasures left, and one is to see you.

This is the last letter in the packet.

* The first visit he paid to Latimer after Lady Beaconsfield's death, he was clothed in black from head to foot, wearing a deeply black-bordered pocket handkerchief, the corner carefully turned down from his breast pocket, so as to show a large black embroidered 'D.' Thus he sat in the little parish church, his hands clasped on a black walking-stick.

MAUD WYNDHAM.

THE FIGHT FOR CLEAN GOVERNMENT

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

PARLIAMENTARY procedure is a mystery wholly unintelligible to outsiders, which is maintained for excellent reasons—namely, that only "old parliamentary hands" may be able to thread their way through the Westminster maze. No one who has spent less than ten years in the enervating atmosphere of the House of Commons is even permitted to entertain an opinion upon the management and methods of the Mother of Parliaments. The vested interests of parliamentary pundits equally require that parliamentary proceedings shall be published in a manner so hopelessly bewildering to the person perpetually appealed to as "the plain man" that the services of a separate set of experts must be sought in order that the aforesaid "plain man" may have a chance of acquiring a glimmering of the contents of the costly Reports which are from time to time shot upon him concerning some matter in which he would take an intelligent interest if he could. This second set of experts usually consists of Lobby correspondents frequently inspired by an active desire to stand in with the powers that be—when the Radicals are in office, who are skilful in practising the art of helping those who will help them.

In opinion the House of Commons is, as we all knew even without the opportune reminders from the electors of Newmarket, Altrincham and Wandsworth, several years behind the times; while in procedure it is several generations out of date. The more alert of its own members are alive to the fact, but the Tite Barnacles of the Front Benches, many of whom owe their position

exclusively to their reputation as "parliamentarians," block the way to any serious reform, though when the worst comes to the worst they are prepared to fob off zealots by the usual Committee which is the approved means of gaining time for wasting time.

These observations, which might be indefinitely amplified, are prompted by the latest instance of parliamentary mystification—namely, the so-called "Report from the Select Committee on Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, Agreement; together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Appendices. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 13th June 1913."

If the electorate were confined to, say, the members of the Athenæum Club, the Fellows of All Souls, Oxford, or the Dons of King's College, Cambridge, it might be possible for them, with the aid of any of their number who happened to have had parliamentary experience, to understand this truly astonishing bundle of documents, which we defy any man of average intelligence to make head or tail of. And as the majority of electors, for whom *ex hypothesi* these papers are produced, are perhaps below the average level, they have no earthly chance of picking their way among them. That is where unscrupulous journalism gets its opportunities and reaps its harvest. We are not ashamed to say, speaking as ordinary men in the street, that we were completely misled by a first glance at this so-called "Report," and Cocoa headlines on "triumphant Ministers" appeared for once to be announcing an elementary truth. When you open the large white pamphlet, technically called, we believe, a White Paper, you are confronted with the word "Report," consisting of two pages and a half of whitewash, which, on the face of it, would appear to justify Radical assertions that Ministers are pronounced by the Select Committee to be whiter than the driven snow; in fact, it reads more like an article in the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, or the *Daily Chronicle* than anything we have read outside the columns of those organs during the last few months.

We publish this "Report" textually, and strongly advise our readers to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest what may be regarded as the accepted creed of the Coalition concerning what the *Financial News* so happily describes as "the Ministerial Right to speculate." There are no signatures at the

end of this "Report," whence the uninitiated might imagine it to be a unanimous verdict in favour of our Marconi Ministry, involving a handsome certificate of character from political opponents, which would indeed have been a triumph for much-maligned men. But unfortunately further research reveals the painful fact that this "Report" is no report at all as that term would be ordinarily understood. It is not even the Report of the Chairman (Sir Albert Spicer), whose draft is buried further on in the White Paper—a sufficiently mild document in all conscience, but not mild enough for the whitewashers of the Coalition. Still less does the "Report" represent the opinion of the Unionist Members of the Select Committee, consisting of Mr. Amery, Sir Frederick Banbury, Mr. J. G. Butcher, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. George Faber, and Mr. Macmaster, whose views are set forth in another draft ultimately discoverable on page 39 of the White Paper. This we also reproduce textually. It is generally acknowledged by almost every man who is not a paid member of the Radical Party to be both a remarkably able and a singularly judicial document, which, while giving Ministers the benefit of reasonable doubts, emphasises the gross impropriety of their conduct.

The so-called "Report" which is being trumpeted about the country by the Ministerial press is merely the partisan opinion of the small Coalition majority on the Select Committee who discarded their own Chairman's draft and voted down Lord Robert Cecil's Report by eight votes to six. It is acknowledged to be substantially the handiwork of Mr. James Falconer (at one time described as the "new Sir Charles Russell" of the Radical Party, though the designation can scarcely be regarded as a compliment to the old Sir Charles Russell), and Mr. Falconer's confederates consist of Mr. Handel Booth, Sir Walter Essex, Mr. Gordon Harvey, Mr. Mooney, Mr. James Parker, Mr. William Redmond, Sir Herbert Roberts. It is not approved, so far as we can make out, though we write subject to correction by Parliamentary pundits, by the Chairman nominated by the Government. It would be difficult to pick out from the Coalition ranks in the House of Commons any eight men carrying less weight than Mr. Falconer and his colleagues, with the solitary exception of Mr. William Redmond, who is

a thoroughly representative Nationalist, who would probably declare that so long as Messrs. Asquith and Co. are prepared to "toe the line" as regards Home Rule, it is the duty of Nationalists to "toe the line" on all other subjects. The public will weigh as well as count votes, and the first question to be asked of the signatories of these various Reports and Drafts is a question which the Select Committee has very properly addressed to every witness, and which witnesses have willingly answered.

May not we enquire of Mr. Handel Booth and his associates, Have you had at any time, "either directly or indirectly, personally, or through any relation or friend, any interest of any kind in any Marconi, Poulsen, or other wireless company, syndicate, or undertaking in this country or abroad"? Our readers will be interested to learn that this formula is borrowed from a letter written by Mr. William Redmond to the Chairman of the Committee so recently as May 7, 1913. According to the jejune official recital on Wednesday, May 28, 1913

The Committee deliberated.

The Chairman read the letters from Mr. William Redmond and Lord Robert Cecil (Members of the Committee), as follows:

DEAR SIR ALBERT SPICER, *7th May*, 1913.

In view of various statements which have appeared to the effect that some Members of the Committee are or have been interested in Marconi shares, I desire to place on record that I have not now, nor have I ever had, either directly or indirectly, personally, or through any relation or friend, any interest of any kind in any Marconi, Poulsen, or other wireless company, syndicate or undertaking in this country, or abroad.

Yours very truly,

Sir Albert Spicer. WILLIAM REDMOND.

DEAR SIR ALBERT SPICER *7th May*, 1913

In view of various statements which have appeared in the Press to the effect that some Members of the Committee are or have been interested in Marconi shares, we desire to place it on record that no one of us has now, or has ever had, either directly or indirectly, personally, or through any relation or friend, any interest of any kind in any Marconi, Poulsen, or other wireless company, syndicate, or undertaking in this country or abroad.

Yours faithfully,

G. D. FABER.
ROBERT CECIL.
F. G. BANBURY.
B. AMERY.
J. G. BUTCHER.

7th May, 1913.

I made my declaration to the above effect personally before the Committee on the 8th January last, and in my letter of same date, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee—and the letter is embodied in the official copy of the Minutes, p. xv.

DONALD MACMASTER.

The reader will be peculiarly interested in these specific declarations from Mr. Redmond and the Unionist minority on the Committee. At one moment almost the entire Committee was conscious of the importance of putting itself right with the public on this matter, as is clear from a brief statement of its private proceedings recorded in one of the earlier Blue Books, where we find that on January 8, 1913

The Committee deliberated

Motion made, and Question put, that each Member of the Committee should have an opportunity to make a *declaration on oath* (our italics) of disinterestedness, in a form to be approved by the Committee.—(Lord Robert Cecil.) The Committee divided

Ayes 12

Mr Amery	Mr Parker
Mr Booth	Mr Primrose
Lord Robert Cecil	Mr William Redmond
Mr George Faber	Sir Herbert Roberts
Mr Falconer	Mr Harold Smith
Mr Gordon Harvey	Mr Henry Terrell

No, 1

Mr Macmaster

A few days later, January 13, Mr Macmaster explained why he had voted "against the proposal that each of the members of the Committee should voluntarily take an oath that he had no interest in the matters under investigation I need not say that I declared when the matter was under discussion, and do now declare, that I have no interest, either directly or indirectly, in any of these matters, or in the shares of any of the companies referred to in the investigation, and never have had, and I make the same declaration in respect of, and on behalf of, each and all the members of my family." Mr. Macmaster simply objected to taking this voluntary oath "because no oath is required from a Member of Parliament in order to qualify him to sit as a Member of a Select Committee and discharge his duties in connection therewith; and, moreover, I have serious doubts as to whether Members of the Committee are justified in taking an oath that,

in my opinion, is not warranted by law, or founded in precedent, and for the utterly insufficient reason (in my opinion) that some person has offensively suggested that such an oath should be taken." This statement makes Mr. Macmaster's position perfectly clear, though we demur to the suggestion that there is anything offensive in asking a member of a Select Committee to take an oath which all witnesses before that Committee have been requested to take.

Later, on January 30, Mr. Mooney, the second Irish Nationalist Member of the Marconi Select Committee (absent on January 8) addressed the following letter to the Chairman:

DEAR SIR ALBERT SPICER,

I desire that my reason for not making a declaration on oath that I have not had at any time any interest whatever in the Marconi Company should be entered upon our Minutes.

I have no hesitation in stating that I have no interest, either directly or indirectly, in any of these matters, or in the shares of any of the companies referred to in the investigation, and never have had, but I object to the taking of a voluntary oath, because no oath is required from a Member of Parliament in order to qualify him to sit as a Member of a Select Committee and discharge his duties therewith, and I have a strong objection to establishing a precedent of this kind merely because some person, on grounds not disclosed, suggested that such an oath should be taken.

In my opinion the settled practice of Parliamentary Select Committees should not be altered to meet the suggestions made by irresponsible individuals.

Yours very truly,
JOHN J. MOONEY.

We acknowledge to not being experts in deciphering Blue Books, and therefore we may be in error, but we have been unable to ascertain that the resolution carried by the overwhelming majority of twelve to one on January 8 has been followed up save in so far as we have the written declarations of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Mooney, the two Nationalist Members, and the six Unionist Members of the Select Committee. We suggest that before any further step be taken all the Members of the Committee which is still sitting shall individually make declarations similar to those made by witnesses, and which, it may be noted in passing, Ministers were delighted to swear. Neither Sir Rufus Isaacs (the Attorney-General), Mr. Lloyd George (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) nor Mr. Herbert Samuel (the Postmaster-General), could contain their gratitude when this question was raised. Question and answer are worth recalling

for the benefit of any members of the Select Committee who were so eager to act on Lord Robert Cecil's proposal on January 8, but whose eagerness appears to have evaporated in the interval. An oath of disinterestedness is peculiarly needed from six authors of the so-called "Report," laying down the doctrine of the Unlimited Right of Ministerial Speculation. What Ministers may do, surely Members of Parliament may do. Nevertheless, the public are entitled to know who, if any, of the Select Committee have practised what they extol in Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Master of Elibank—the more because Mr. Churchill *regards any imputation of Marconi* speculations, and concealment of such speculations, as one of the seven deadly sins. We refer to the "six" authors of the Report which was approved by eight because the two Nationalist members are understood to be prepared to make the suggested declaration on oath.

The example has been set by Ministers themselves. On March 25 (Q. 296) Mr. George Faber asked Sir Rufus Isaacs, "In the Court of King's Bench and again this morning you stated most clearly before this Committee that, except for the transaction in the American Marconis, you have not benefited in any sort or kind of way, directly or indirectly by any share-holding or dealings in any Marconi Companies?" To which Sir Rufus Isaacs answered, "Yes, any Marconi or any other company."

> *Q.* Are you able to include all the members of your family in that enunciation. I will tell you why I am asking that, because in the questions we have put to each witness on leaving the box we have asked whether they or any members of their family have? *A.* May I answer the question so far as I can. So far as all the members of the family for whom I am responsible, that is to say those of my own household, are concerned. I cannot go beyond that. I do not know. I have relatives abroad in Berlin, Paris, and places I cannot tell, but so far as those for whom I am responsible, those in my own house, are concerned, I say that they have no interest of any sort or kind, and never have had in any Marconi contract or company or enterprise, and have never held any shares or any interest in shares. They have nothing whatever to do with them.

Towards the close of Mr. Lloyd George's evidence (March 31) a similar question was put by Mr Faber (Q. 1627). "This question is only putting into my words, I think, a statement that you made earlier in your evidence, that you had had no transaction

except this in any Marconi Company. May I put it specifically like this: Have you ever, directly or indirectly, benefited or attempted to benefit in any way from operations conducted by yourself or by any one acting on your behalf in any Marconi shares in this country or elsewhere?" To which Mr. Lloyd George answered: "Except the transactions which I have revealed to the Committee, certainly not—never."

MR FALCONER: Will you repeat the question, because I am not quite sure I followed it

MR GEORGE FABER: 'Except for the transactions?' *A* I will read it if you like in an affirmative form if you think it is comprehensive, because that will make it very much better than saying "Aye" or "No." I will read it as a declaration if you like

Q. I will imagine you are saying it: 'Excepting for the above transactions I have not, either directly or indirectly benefited, or attempted to benefit in any way from operations conducted either by myself or by any one acting on my behalf in any Marconi shares in this country or elsewhere?' *A* *Yes, I make that declaration specifically and I am very glad that you have given me that opportunity. It is the first time the question has been put and I am delighted that you have put it I am obliged to you for putting it* [our italics].

Q. Following the usual form put by the Chairman, could you extend that to your near relatives so far as you know? *A* Certainly I can, to all my relatives

Q With the exception of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Lord Murray we know now they had shares in the American Company - of your own knowledge, could you extend that to the other members of the Government? *A* Certainly I would I have no hesitation in doing it But at the same time it is not for me to answer though I am certain of it, and absolutely certain of it—perfectly certain

As we have since learnt from the extraordinary disclosures caused by the collapse and flight of the Master of Elibank's stockbroker (Mr Fenner), Mr Lloyd George was inaccurate in this sweeping declaration concerning his colleagues—even so intimate a colleague as the Master of Elibank had invested £9000 of the party funds in the American Marconi Company unknown to his bosom friends, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General. It shows how carefully we must proceed in this investigation where every statement, however positive or plausible, requires microscopic examination. Mr. Lloyd George spoke in ignorance of the facts not for the first time in his life.

The Postmaster-General, Mr. Herbert Samuel, expressed his gratitude to the Select Committee for the opportunity of

supplementing his unfortunate disclaimer in the House of Commons.

(April 2. *Q.* 2099.) MR. GEORGE FABER: I ask you, and no doubt your answer will be in the affirmative, if I may put to you the same form of renunciation that I put to Mr. Lloyd George a few days ago, because the renunciation you have made is not quite covered by the form of words I put then?

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I shall be very much obliged if you will stop up any hole that may still remain. I tried to make it as comprehensive as I could.

Q. Having put the question in this form to him, I should like for that reason, and for that reason only, to put it in the same form to you: Have you ever, directly or indirectly, benefited, or attempted to benefit in any way from operations conducted by yourself, or by any one acting on your behalf, in any Marconi shares in this country or elsewhere? *A.* No, I have never done so.

Q. To what extent could you include your relatives. I understand there may be a difficulty, because we cannot speak for all our relatives? *A.* I have never heard of any of my relatives, near or distant, having ever invested in any Marconi shares. I have no reason to think they have done so. I know several of my near relatives have not done so—those with regard to whom I have information have not done so.

Q. I only added that rider because we have been accustomed to put it to everybody? *A.* I am very glad indeed you have.

Every one remembers the grotesque exhibition which Mr. Winston Churchill made of himself when summoned before the Committee on April 28 under circumstances which would probably repay research, in order to dispose of rumours connecting his name with Marconi speculations which up to that moment had been regarded as so many acts of virtue by Right Honourable and Honourable Members of the Coalition, as well as by ninety-nine Coalition journalists out of one hundred. However, Mr. Churchill elected to regard the rumour as tantamount to an accusation of crime, and he displayed his genius for giving away his colleagues by the way he met it.

I am grieved beyond words that a Committee of my fellow members of the House of Commons should have thought it right to lend their sanction to the putting of such a question to me. Having said so much, I will proceed to answer your question. I have never at any time in any circumstances, directly or indirectly, had any investment or any interest of any kind, however vaguely it may be described, in Marconi telegraphic shares or any other shares of that description in this or any other country of the inhabited globe—never. And if anybody at any time has said so, that person is a liar and a slanderer.

After this we cannot see how members of the Select Committee can object to answering the question which they have so freely

asked other people, and which—with the exception of Mr. Winston Churchill, who worked himself up in a towering passion and escaped the ordeal of cross-examination—Ministers and other witnesses have been equally ready to answer. As already noted, at one moment the Committee were in favour by a majority of twelve to one of a declaration on oath of disinterestedness. We may say at once, speaking from the public point of view, that no statements made in the House of Commons will suffice. Once bitten, twice shy. There have been too many attempts, and they have been too successful, to mislead the country on Marconi matters.

On the motion for the adjournment of the House (June 16), Mr. Oliver Locker Lampson pointed out that his request to the Prime Minister to enquire as to whether any members of the Marconi Committee had ever dealt in Marconi shares had been ruled out of order, and he therefore raised the matter on the publication of the Marconi Report, which indicated *inter alia*.

> That every Unionist member of that Committee signed a declaration to the effect that he has never had any dealings in Marconi shares. The Nationalist members signed a declaration to an exactly similar effect. I ask whether this would not be a favourable opportunity before the Report is discussed on Wednesday and Thursday, for those members of the Committee who did not sign the declaration to do so, and if they could not do that to give this House some adequate explanation. I venture to ask this in the hope that it may restore public confidence in the Committee as a whole.

Sir Albert Spicer, Chairman of the Committee, reproduced the various statements which will be found on preceding pages—namely the motion carried by twelve to one on January 8 in favour of a declaration on oath of disinterestedness, and the subsequent letters of Mr. Macmaster and Mr. Mooney and later on the letter from Mr. Redmond and the written statement from the Unionist members of the Committee. Sir Albert Spicer added: "There the matter remains at the present time. All I would say is that I have never had any interest in any Marconi Company." Every one will accept Sir Albert Spicer's disclaimer concerning himself—even though it be made in Parliament—but he would, we should imagine, agree that the matter cannot remain where it stands. The attitude of other Coalitionists was the reverse of edifying. Mr. Parker,

who is, we understand, the Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, and whose adherence to the Falconer "Report" damns the Labour Party by committing it to the creed of the new Radical plutocracy as to the Unlimited Right of Ministers to Speculate—made the fatuous observation: "As regards these Debates I take it that neither I nor any member of my party would have taken a seat on that Committee if he had had any personal interest in these companies, and would have regarded it as an insult on the part of those who wished him to do so." Surely "insult" has had its day. It was once an "insult" to suggest that any Minister had speculated in any Marconi Company. The signatories of such a disgraceful document as the "Report" must put themselves right with the public so far as they can by a specific comprehensive declaration on oath. The attitude of Mr. Handel Booth was such as might have been expected after his behaviour on the Committee. He concluded some irrelevant observations with the absurd remark: "I say quite frankly that I do not believe that the two Conservative members who retired from the Committee were interested in any way with any of the companies which come under review. I do not believe that any one of the fifteen members who remain on the Committee is in that position either." No one cares a brass farthing what Mr. Booth believes. Will he declare on oath that he has never had, directly or indirectly, any financial interest in any Marconi Company? If not, why not?

Sir Frederick Banbury observed that the Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party's suggestion that it was "an insult" to be asked to make such a declaration as he proposed "was absolutely absurd. Surely any right-minded person might have felt that it was his duty to come forward under the circumstances and make a declaration. He could not conceive how any member of the Committee could have refused to sign such a simple declaration." Mr. Falconer was as mysterious as ever. "He was utterly indifferent whether he made the declaration or not, never having had shares in any Marconi Company, but he thought, if there was to be any rule of this kind, it ought to be laid down by the House." Many Members of Parliament behave as though the country exists for the House and not the House for the country.

Another Radical member of the Committee, Sir H. Roberts,

was furious at the suggestion, for "he had sat on a good many Committees and it had been the invariable practice not to ask for a declaration of this kind. Certainly he would never have joined this Committee if he had had the slightest or remotest interest in any Marconi undertaking."

Owing to the behaviour of particular members of the Committee unpleasant rumours have recently flown about on this subject, and if the Committee is collectively capable of any act of wisdom they will hasten to place themselves right with public opinion by giving effect to their own resolution of January 8, 1913, which, let us reiterate, was carried by a majority of twelve votes to one: "Motion made, and question put, that each member of the Committee should have an opportunity to make a declaration on oath of disinterestedness, in a form to be approved by the Committee (Lord Robert Cecil)."

What has happened since January 8, 1913, to prevent the majority of the Committee from giving effect to their own decision? The mystery cannot be accounted for by changes in the Committee, because, as will be gathered from a previous page, the resolution was supported by the following members, who are still serving on the Select Committee:

Mr. Amery	Mr Gordon Harvey
Mr. Handel Booth	Mr Parker
Lord Robert Cecil	Mr William Redmond
Mr George Faber	Sir Herbert Roberts
Mr. Falconer	

Why should it nowadays be regarded as "an insult" by any of these gentlemen to carry out their own undertaking, upon the fulfilment of which public opinion will insist?

Another document lying *perdu* in the White Paper is the Draft Report of the Chairman of the Committee, Sir Albert Spicer, an eminent Radical Nonconformist. He was among the last men expected to show independence of party ties, and it is no insult to him to assume that he was chosen for the Chairmanship by Mr. Asquith, Mr Samuel, or whoever had the matter in hand, because he was regarded as a docile partisan who would do whatever momentary party exigencies required. It must never be forgotten that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Samuel were both aware at the time of the constitution of the Marconi Select Com-

mittee last October that some of their colleagues—how many we know not—had gambled in Marconi shares. It was vital from their point of view to provide both for a "hush-up" or a "whitewash." It is to the credit of Sir Albert Spicer, if we may be permitted to say so without breach of privilege, that he was not regarded as a suitable agent for the dirty work of the Government—which was entrusted by the Attorney-General to Messrs. Falconer and Booth—but Sir Albert Spicer's attachment to the Ministry was evidently deemed sufficiently strong to permit him to participate in the whitewashing business in the improbable event of the collapse of the hush-up policy

In this, however, Messrs. Asquith and Co. misjudged their man, as though Sir Albert Spicer was manifestly wanting in strength and too frequently surrendered to the "honourable" members on his left, he has refused to subscribe to the Coalition creed of the "unlimited right of Ministers to speculate." His Draft gave the culprits the benefit of every conceivable doubt, and perhaps something more, but he refused to refrain from mildly censuring those who have brought such discredit on the country, on the Radical Party, on themselves, their colleagues and Parliamentary government generally, and though so often overborne by the Booths and the Falconers, he maintained his refusal. His discarded Draft Report, dealt with later on, remains on record as a slender monument of the existence of a still small Nonconformist conscience. It may be described as the solitary asset which up to date stands to the credit side of the Radical account throughout the whole Marconi business. We confidently predict that before the close of the controversy the Coalition will profoundly regret the folly of its nominees on the Committee in following Mr. Falconer instead of their Chairman. From the public point of view we unreservedly regret the action of this majority in paving the way to the establishment of Panama Government in this country. But from a purely party point of view nothing could be more desirable, or indeed in accordance with the fitness of things, than that a Coalition led or rather followed by a professional time-server of low ideals, no public spirit and less patriotism, should be openly tarred with the Falconer-Booth brush, and should hail a prodigious catastrophe as a glorious victory.

II. REPORT*

PART I

At the commencement of their sittings your Committee publicly announced that they were prepared to consider all evidence relevant to the subject-matter of the Enquiry, and invited all persons in possession of such evidence to communicate with the Clerk to the Committee.

Among the circumstances attending the formation of the Contract which your Committee had occasion to investigate were certain allegations or suggestions originally circulated in the form of rumours, which became current before the date of the acceptance of the Tender upon which the Agreement was based.

The allegations or suggestions, which reflected on the conduct of several Ministers of the Crown, notably the Right Honourable Sir Rufus Isaacs (the Attorney-General), the Right Honourable David Lloyd George (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), and the Right Honourable Herbert Samuel (the Postmaster-General), ranged themselves under two main heads. It was stated or implied: *First*, that a Member or Members of the Government, acting in the interests of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, hereinafter referred to as the English Company, and in disregard of the public interests, had exercised undue influence to procure for the Company a Government contract, or had, in some way, exercised improper or undue influence, direct or indirect, in the course of the negotiations for such a contract; and, *Secondly*, that a Member or Members of the Government, with a knowledge acquired in his or their official capacity of the nature of the negotiations and of the probability that an Agreement would be completed of great value to the English

* This document is only intelligible to those who realise that it only secured the approval of Coalition members of the Select Committee minus the Chairman, Sir Albert Spicer.

Company, during the progress of the negotiations had purchased shares in that Company with a view to selling them at a profit on the announcement of a favourable result of the negotiations.

On October 11, 1912, on the occasion of the motion for the appointment of your Committee, Sir Rufus Isaacs, speaking on behalf of himself and his colleagues, took the opportunity of publicly informing the House of Commons that all such statements or suggestions were baseless fabrications. He expressed himself in the following words:

> The one (i.e. charge) is that some person has used his influence to obtain a contract for the Marconi Company with the Government, or has in some way acted to the advantage of the Marconi Company in the negotiations which took place with reference to this contract. I want to say in reference to myself that I have never, from beginning to end, in any shape or form either by deed, act, or word, or anything else, taken part in the negotiations in reference to this company. . . . Let me go to the next charge, which is, I think, a worse charge. It is that some Member of the Government not named, but hinted at—some Member or Members of the Cabinet—knowing that these negotiations were taking place, knowing that there was a contract in contemplation, and thinking the shares would go up when the announcement of the contract came to be made—the price of the shares being then 14s. or 15s., and eventually rose to £9 after the announcement of the contract was made—thereupon and in consequence of the information which some Member of the Government had got bought shares in this company at a low price, in order to sell them at the higher price when the contract was announced.
>
> I desire to say frankly, on behalf of myself, that that is absolutely untrue. Never from the beginning, when the shares were 14s., or £9, have I had one single transaction with the shares of that company. I am not only speaking for myself, but I am also speaking on behalf, I know, of both my right hon. friends the Postmaster General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer who, in some way or other, in some of the articles have been brought into this matter.

It has been proved to the Committee that there is no foundation for any of the charges made against these Ministers.

In addition to issuing the public invitation referred to, the Committee during the months of January and February 1913, summoned to appear before them the Contributors, Editors, and Proprietors of the journals who were responsible for the publication of the charges referred to, and Sir Theodore Angier, who was reported in the Press to have repeated similar charges against Members of the Government. All of these have appeared before the Committee with the exception of Mr. Cecil Chesterton, who asked to be excused on account of the state of his health

and also on the ground that he was being prosecuted on a charge of criminal libel and could not give evidence on the matters in question without prejudicing his defence to that action, and Sir Theodore Angier, who has asked to be excused on account of the state of his health and has gone abroad.

The charges referred to appear to have originated in rumours on the Stock Exchange, which commenced in December 1911 or January 1912.

They were first published in the *Outlook* in a series of articles contributed by Mr. W. Ramage Lawson, which commenced with an article on July 20, 1912. They were repeated in various forms in subsequent numbers of that journal, and in the *Eye Witness*, the *New Witness*, the *National Review*, and the *New Age*, and they were also referred to in the *Spectator*.

In these journals the suggestion was repeatedly made and referred to that the contract in question was obtained by the English Company through the influence of the Attorney-General, who is the brother of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the Managing Director of the Company. It has been proved to the Committee that there is no foundation for such a suggestion, and that the Attorney-General had no negotiations direct or indirect, either with the Postmaster-General or with any official or Member of the Government.

The journals also made repeated references to alleged transactions by Ministers in shares of the English Company during the course of the negotiations which took place with the Postmaster-General prior to the acceptance and publication of the Company's tender on March 8, 1912.

No evidence of any kind has been submitted to the Committee to justify any of these charges, and they have been denied on oath by the Postmaster-General, the Attorney-General, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Lawson admitted that he was never able to verify any of the rumours or to discover any definite ground for them. All the other witnesses responsible for their publication who have appeared before us have also failed to specify any ground on which they could be justified or to produce any evidence in support of them.

It has also been suggested that the Postmaster-General unduly pressed for the approval of the Agreement before the rising of the House of Commons on August 7, 1912.

. .

The Committee cannot adopt this view. The construction of the Imperial Chain of Wireless Telegraphy was declared by the Imperial Defence Committee to be a matter of extreme urgency; and this was also the view of the Admiralty and the War Office. Statements to that effect were made to the Committee by representatives of both Departments in public and their evidence was further explained and emphasised at meetings with them held in private.

Having regard to the urgency of the matter and to the fact that he regarded the Agreement as a satisfactory one, the Committee consider that the Postmaster-General was bound to do everything in his power to secure the approval of the Agreement at the earliest possible date.

Your Committee beg to submit a Special Report in relation to the matters bearing upon the allegations affecting Members of the Government. Your Committee find as follows:

No evidence has been forthcoming or disclosed to your Committee, nor have they been able to discover any evidence to support any allegation or, in any way, lend colour to any suggestion, that any Member of the Government has or had exercised undue or any influence to procure for the English Company a Government Contract, or has or had directly or indirectly sought to exercise any such influence, or has or had otherwise acted in the private interests of the Company, or in disregard of the public interests.

Nor was there any evidence forthcoming or disclosed to your Committee to support any allegation, or lend colour to any suggestion, that any Member of the Government has or had taken advantage, or sought to take advantage, of any knowledge acquired by him in his official capacity in relation to the purchase or sale of shares in the English Company, or otherwise.

Your Committee further find and report that there was no evidence adduced before them to support any allegation or suggestion that any member of the Government purchased or sold, directly or indirectly, either by himself or his agents, or was in any wise concerned in the purchase or sale of, any share or interest in the English Company, either with a view to securing a profit to himself or otherwise at all in fact.

Your Committee further find and report that the charges

made against Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Herbert Samuel are absolutely untrue and that the persons who are responsible for their publication had no reason to believe them to be true.

The Committee cannot too strongly condemn the publication in such a way of unfounded charges against the honour and integrity of public men. The combined and persistent action of the journals named has given widespread currency to a slander of a particularly vile character on the Ministers against whom it was immediately directed and on the whole public life of the nation.

PART II

The Committee have also investigated the circumstances relating to a purchase by the Attorney-General from his brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, on April 17, 1912, of 10,000 shares of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America (hereinafter referred to as "The American Company"), and the purchase from the Attorney-General on the same day of 1000 of these shares by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of 1000 of them by Lord Murray of Elibank, and the subsequent purchase of 3000 shares by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Murray on May 22, 1912, and also to separate purchases made by Lord Murray of 2500 shares on April 18, 1912, and 500 shares on May 14, 1912.

The Committee find that in these transactions there is no ground for any charge of corruption or unfaithfulness to public duty, or for any reflection on the honour of any of the Ministers concerned.

In purchasing shares in the American Company Sir Rufus Isaacs acted in perfect good faith and with a sincere conviction that his personal interests conflicted in no wise with his public duty, believing as he did from enquiries which he made and information which he received that the American Company was not in any way concerned with the solvency or success of the English Company or with any of its contracts or undertakings. Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray in acquiring shares in the American Company acted on the faith of the assurance given to

them by Sir Rufus Isaacs that the American Company was in no way concerned with the English Company.

The first purchase of shares in the American Company took place on April 17, 1912, more than five weeks after the tender of the English Company had been accepted by the Postmaster-General and its acceptance had been published, and the second purchase took place nearly ten weeks after the publication of the acceptance. Neither of these purchases could therefore have any connection with the negotiations prior to the acceptance of the tender or with the origin of the rumours before referred to, which commenced in December 1911 or January 1912, and related to dealings in English Marconi shares during the negotiations.

The circumstances under which the shares in the American Marconi Company were purchased by the Attorney-General, and the subsequent dealings with them, were stated by him in an action raised in the English Courts at his instance against *Le Matin*, a French newspaper, and the whole circumstances relating to all the dealings by him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were fully stated by them to the Committee, and it was explained by them that they had hoped to have had an opportunity of placing these circumstances before the Committee shortly after its appointment.

In addition to the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Committee examined Mr. Harry Isaacs and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, and also a number of witnesses who were concerned in the issue of the shares of the American Company. In the opinion of the Committee, these witnesses gave their evidence fully and frankly.

Owing to the absence of Lord Murray from England the facts regarding the separate purchases made by him were proved to the Committee by his brother Captain Arthur Murray and Mr. F. S. Salaman, the trustee of the estate of Charles Edwin Fenner, stockbroker, and other witnesses. These shares were purchased by Lord Murray on behalf of a political fund at his disposal. Copies of the cablegrams which have passed between Lord Murray and the Chairman of the Committee are printed in the Appendix to this Report.

The Committees have examined the two agreements between

the English Company and the American Company dated April 18, 1902, and March 29, 1912, with the view of ascertaining whether the American Company would have any interest in the proposed agreement between the English Company and the Government if it were entered into, and they are satisfied that the American Company would not have any interest in the agreement. They are not parties to it, and could have no interest in the construction of the stations to be erected under it or in any profit which might be derived by the English Company from the construction or from the operation of these stations when constructed.

The agreements provide for the exchange of messages between New York and London by means of a station to be erected in New York by the American Company and a station to be erected in London by the English Company, but these stations, if erected, would not form any part of the Imperial Chain or have any connection with it.

[Copies of these Agreements are printed in the Appendix to this Report.]

In regard to these transactions the Committee report as follows:

(1) They find that before any purchase was entered into by the Attorney-General he made special enquiry, and was satisfied that the American Company had no interest in the agreement between the Postmaster-General and the English Company, and that there was no ground on which a purchase of its shares by a British Minister would be open to objection. He informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Murray of the result of his enquiries when offering shares to them.

(2) That the Ministers concerned, when entering into the purchases, were all bona fide convinced that the American Company had no interest in the agreement, and that there was no ground on which the purchase of shares in the American Company would be open to objection.

(3) That the American Company is a company formed and registered in New York; that its organisation and operations are confined to the United States of America; that it has no interest, direct or indirect, in the proposed agreement with the British Government, and no interest, direct

or indirect, in any profits which might be derived therefrom.

(4) That neither the English Company nor its managing director, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, was a party to any of the transactions in question, or in any way directly or indirectly interested in them.

(5) That in connection with the transaction between the Attorney-General and Mr. Harry Isaacs, neither the Attorney-General nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor Lord Murray, received any favour, advantage or consideration of any kind, either from the English Company or from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. The shares were acquired by the Attorney-General from his brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, who had no connection with or interest in the English Company. They were bought by the Attorney-General on April 17, 1912, at £2 per share, which the Attorney-General had ascertained from Mr. Harry Isaacs to be the market price at the time. Other sales at or about that price (some being slightly below and some slightly above) took place on the same day, and although the price of the shares rose rapidly on the 18th and 19th, this was owing to an exceptional rush on the part of the public to buy.

(6) That neither the Attorney-General nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor Lord Murray, nor Mr. Harry Isaacs, was a party to or in any way concerned in any arrangement or understanding with any other person or syndicate with regard to the purchase or sale of shares.

PART III

On the whole matters relating to the conduct of Ministers which have come before the Committee, the Committee find that all the Ministers concerned have acted throughout in the sincere belief that there was nothing in their action which would in any way conflict with their duty as Ministers of the Crown.

III. CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT REPORT WITH COMMENTS

THE rejection of Sir Albert Spicer's Report by the "wild men" of the Select Committee might encourage the delusion that it is a drastic document severely censuring, as it deserves, the conduct of the speculative triplets from the moment Sir Rufus Isaacs allowed himself to be beguiled by one or other of his brothers, and in turn tempted his colleagues to invest money they had not got in American Marconis on April 17, 1912—though the episode has become enveloped in an impenetrable fog owing to the subsequent mysterious operations of the quondam Master of Elibank, who went abroad at the moment he was most wanted at home and has obstinately remained there ever since. Far from it. Sir Albert Spicer's Draft is as mild as mother's milk—the culprits being treated with a tenderness they have done nothing to merit. The Chairman throws some, though not enough, light on the earlier procedure of the Select Committee, which should, after the promises given by the Postmaster-General in the Debate of October 11, have commenced with the calling of Ministers to dispose of rumours. All the more because we are asked to believe that they were positively pining to take the world into their confidence concerning Marconi speculations upon which they had been singularly secretive and slim in the House of Commons. Why did a Committee, containing an unbroken majority of enthusiastic Ministerialists, torture Ministers by refusing them audience week after week and month after month while it maundered over the official evidence in support of the preposterous Marconi Agreement, the negotiation of which, accepting the story of the negotiators, was a monument of Departmental ineptitude? At any moment a single line from any of the illustrious "investors" to the Chairman to the effect that their honour would brook no further delay in announcing their American speculations, would

have secured the desired object, and Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Samuel might have made a clean breast of their various though diverse transgressions so long ago as last November. Even a casual word to the Chairman from the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the omnipotent Master of Elibank, would have given Sir Albert Spicer a chance of realising the urgency of the Ministerial evidence, and as the ex-Chief Whip had not then betaken himself to Bogota we should have enjoyed the inestimable advantage of hearing his account of transactions in which he had played a far larger part than ingenuous colleagues imagined—among the most mystified of the mystified being his co-investors! All that Mr. Samuel would have had to ask the Chairman was for an early opportunity of supplementing his misleading and emphatic repudiation on behalf of the entire Cabinet that there had been any Marconi speculations. When he had spoken of "this Company" the public had erroneously interpreted it as embracing the entire Marconi group and not merely the English branch of that group or system or whatever you may choose to call it. In those days it was never suggested by any one that while it would be an unthinkable crime for one of his Majesty's Ministers to invest in the English Marconi Company it would be an act of unimpeachable integrity appealing to the strictest purist to invest money he hadn't got in any other Marconi Company. Mr. Asquith had not yet laid down the new Coalition creed of the "unlimited right of Ministerial speculation." The Prime Minister was responsible for the deceptive disclaimers of his colleagues in the notorious debate because he had been already informed of their initial American venture, and therefore he must have known that their speeches were calculated to deceive. To that extent at any rate he is *particeps criminis*. No one will ever again think of him without a feeling of contempt.

On the assumption that Sir Rufus Isaacs and Co. were burning to fill up the interstices in their speeches by explaining that when saying that they had never held any shares in "this Marconi Company" they were not precluding transactions in "that Marconi Company," why did they not demand instant audience of the Select Committee? The question cannot be repeated too often as it will never be answered. They hoped that by

hook or by crook they might escape altogether and avoid the exposure of a transaction which in one breath they tell us was innocent and irrelevant, while the next they speak with uncontrollable passion of the acute and prolonged sufferings caused by their inability to disclose this innocent and irrelevant investment. Indeed Sir Rufus Isaacs was finally reduced in his eagerness to put himself straight with the world to bring that most mysterious action against *Le Matin*, of which the genesis still remains obscure, and in which Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith gathered laurels only eclipsed by their brilliant performances at the Old Bailey in the Chesterton case. How incomprehensible of these great generals—the Attorney and the Postmaster—to lie low all this time and then suddenly issue a writ against a foreign newspaper when they might have cleared the air weeks and months before by similar proceedings against the *Eye-Witness*—which, however, would have involved a risk of a revelation of the American gamble out of due season. Was the *Matin* case inspired by a praiseworthy desire to break an innocuous investment gently to the British public or by a dread lest it might leak out elsewhere? Why was the *Matin* privately informed of what had been withheld from the House of Commons where it would have been far more relevant, as the House was discussing the rumours then afloat concerning Ministers and Marconis, *including American Marconis*, whereas the *Matin* had probably never even heard of the American Company and made no allusion to it? Why, again we may ask Right Honourable and Honourable Whitewashers, should the public life of this country be suddenly convulsed by the discussion of an investment which, according to leading lights of the Coalition, had no more to do with the English Marconi Company than had the Baltimore Railway.

We are concerned for the moment with the Draft Report of the Chairman, Sir Albert Spicer, who stands clear of the dirty tricks practised by the Government and some of their supporters. He was not deemed a suitable repository for the sinister secret concerning the American gamble which the whole resources of the Government were employed to conceal until terror drove them to reveal it in the *Matin* case.

It is necessary to bear the general course of events in mind.

The Select Committee, for reasons at which we can now guess, had shown no signs of summoning Ministers prior to the *Matin* case, but after the confession of the chief culprit there was no longer any excuse for postponing their evidence, and the journalistic witnesses upon "rumours" were discarded in order that Ministers might be heard upon actual speculations which formed the basis of these rumours. Sir Rufus Isaacs was naturally cross-examined concerning his astounding speech in the House of Commons on October 11—his only public utterance which has any chance of immortality—and his lame and impotent explanation of his secretiveness is upon record for all men to judge whether he is fit to hold his present position or the yet higher positions into which his friends at the Bar and in the Press are anxious to push him. Mr. Macmaster asked (March 27, Q. 845): "I want to put to you that some people might think—I know what your own view is with regard to it—that while you were making a full disclosure of your relationship to the shares you should also have made a statement with regard to these American shares, but you do not agree?

SIR RUFUS ISAACS. "I agree, if you mean when I come before the Committee; I quite agree. As I have told you, a number of persons knew all about it."

What a curious confusion it is. "A number of persons knew all about it," and yet journalists were scoundrels for referring to rumours that Ministers might have been tempted to speculate in Marconi shares during the negotiations between the parent Company and the Government, not necessarily the shares in one Company but in any Company. That this was well understood before the *Matin* case began lifting the veil on Ministerial transgressions was not only made perfectly clear by an article in the *National Review* (see October number, 1912, published at least ten days before the Marconi Debate of October 11) but it was actually present to the mind of the Select Committee, as is shown by the question (18,338), addressed by no less a person than the Chairman, Sir Albert Spicer, to so humble an individual as the present writer.* Remember that the *Matin* libel on which

* We are reminded of this significant fact by an admirable letter of Mr. R. L. Paxton in the *Financial News* of June 17. The services rendered by this organ to the cause of Clean Government could not be over-praised. It has set a splendid example to its contemporaries, which many have been unworthy to follow.

it was deemed desirable for reasons not yet fully divulged to take action was printed in Paris on February 14. It was two days before this, *i.e.* February 12, that Sir Albert Spicer in all good faith asked the editor of the *National Review* the following question, of which we italicise the most important word: "Have you any letters or copies of letters bearing on the rumours that Ministers were financially interested in *any* of the Marconi Companies?"

The Chairman's question completely shatters the whole case laboriously reared by the Coalition from Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey and other advocates of the "Unlimited Right of Ministers to Speculate" downwards who nowadays pretend that the only accusation against Ministers *was* that they had speculated in shares of the English Marconi Company. The Chairman's question disposes of that fiction, as did the *précis* of evidence of the editor of the *National Review*, which had been in the hands of the Committee since the early days of January, and, like the Chairman, emphasised *any* Marconi Company. In the light of subsequent events some apology is due to the Chairman for the rather tame answer to his question, which is thus printed in the Blue Book: "I (Mr. Maxse) do not know whether I have any letters at the present time; but if I had any letters, it would not be possible for me to produce them, because they are confidential, and editorial discretion would prevent my giving away my correspondents."

That was the natural and obvious answer at the moment, but one can now realise that it would have been far more effective and strictly accurate to reply: "*Mr. Chairman, there is no need for me to produce any letters concerning rumours that Ministers are 'financially interested in any of the Marconi Companies,' because you have sitting on your left an Honourable Member, Mr. Falconer, who was informed by the Attorney-General about a fortnight ago that he and Mr. Lloyd George and the Master of Elibank were all 'financially interested' in the American Marconi Company, while another Member on your left, Mr. Handel Booth, can corroborate him, because he is also a confidant of the Attorney-General concerning a fact which has been known since last August to the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General.*" It will always be a matter of lasting regret to the witness that he was unable to make this reply; but unfortunately he was not then aware of these particular facts, and

unless it had been stated on oath no one would have been found to believe it possible that an Attorney-General of England would have behaved like Sir Rufus Isaacs or that Members of Parliament sitting on a Select Committee would have behaved like Messrs. Falconer and Booth. However, the Attorney-General has spoken on oath in the Chesterton case, and it was one of the many uses of the Chesterton case to get this statement from him which in fairness it must be admitted Sir Rufus Isaacs had tried to tell the Select Committee.

The interest of this evidence has greatly increased since it was given. Mr. Macmaster (846) asked Sir Rufus Isaacs: "With regard to coming before the Committee, had you in mind at that time (*i.e.* at the time of Sir Rufus Isaacs's speech in the House of Commons on October 11) that this was a circumstance (*i.e.* the American deal) which should be explained to the Committee?" To which Sir Rufus Isaacs replied:

> What I had in mind was that I should come before the Committee, and go from the beginning right up to the end with the story exactly as I have done.
>
> *Q.* As you have done here? *A.* Yes.
>
> *Q.* Did you really have in your mind at the time you made that statement to the House that when the Committee was appointed you would come before it, and that you would make the statement before the Committee that you have made here now? *A.* Yes; I had a statement in my mind that everything I knew in connection with the Marconi Company, either before or after the period covered by the charges, would be stated before the Committee from first to last.

Observe the following:

Q. Did you go to the Chairman of the Committee after the appointment of the Committee and tell him you had an important communication to make to the Committee, and ask for urgency to hear it? *A. I do not look upon it as an important communication.* [Our italics.]

Q. You do not. *A.* I never have.

Q. Did you mention to any member of the Committee, before you came here as a witness, your relationship to these American shares? *A. Certainly.* [Our italics.]

Upon this the unconscionable Falconer intervened with a premeditated impromptu objecting to the question which had already been answered, and the Committee, by the usual "majority," with a fatuity unexampled even in the annals of this "majority,"

solemnly forbade Mr. Macmaster's question to be answered after it had been answered. The reader who has followed the story is aware that great stress was laid on this "certainly" of the Attorney-General in "The Great Marconi Mystery," (May *National Review*) and the right inferences were drawn both from the answer of the *Attorney-General and the obstruction of* Mr. Falconer, *though it* was curious to have to go to the Old Bailey to get them.

We take the following tit-bit from Sir Rufus Isaacs's cross-examination in the Chesterton case by Mr. Wild, who has placed all lovers of clean government under the deepest obligation by the great ability and splendid courage with which he fought the beasts at Ephesus:

MR. WILD Do you say that your dealings in the American Marconis had nothing whatever to do with the British public?

SIR RUFUS ISAACS. Nothing whatever.

Q. Quite irrelevant? *A* Quite irrelevant

Q. And that is the reason you did not tell the House of Commons? *A.* Yes, in that Debate, and it was not my thought that I did not know till a week or two weeks after—nobody knew that a Select Committee appointed to investigate these affairs would not call us till six months after it was on. I gave them notice that I held myself in readiness to come at any moment in the twenty four hours.

Q. Did you tell any Members of the Select Committee? *A.* No, not at that time.

Q. Did you previously tell any Member of the Select Committee before you were examined? *A.* Yes.

Q. Whom? *A I told Mr Falconer, who I knew was going to examine the journalists* [our italics].

Q. And Mr Booth? *A.* I told Mr Booth I am not sure whether it was the same day or the day after

Q. Mr Falconer and Mr Booth when they examined the journalists knew of your dealings in them? *A.* Yes, they knew that I had had dealings.

Q. And did you tell them about Mr. Lloyd George? *A* Yes.

Q. And the Master of Elibank? *A* Yes, but I do not mean to say I went into the whole details It was a very short conversation. I only wanted to have my opportunity of getting before them that the only transactions I had anything to do with in Wireless companies was in America, which took place some five or six weeks after.

We cannot hope that the Chairman, Sir Albert Spicer, will read these pages, and he has probably not had time to read the evidence in the Chesterton case, which was vilely reported in most newspapers, but if he were so fortunate as to hear of Sir Rufus Isaacs's evidence at the Old Bailey he would learn that the latter made these communications to Messrs. Falconer and Booth

because "I only wanted to have my opportunity of getting before them," *i.e.* getting before Messrs. Falconer and Booth, not before the Chairman or before the Select Committee generally, and obviously that Messrs. Falconer and Booth should steer the enquiry so far as they could off ground dangerous to the Government. They did their utmost, but failed ignominiously owing to a chapter of accidents and in the eyes of all right-minded men their conduct makes them a disgrace both to the House of Commons to which they belong and to the constituencies which were beguiled into electing them.

Mr. Falconer, the personification of unctuous rectitude, had the hardihood and hypocrisy to make this statement on February 12 (when he had already known of the Isaacs-Lloyd George-Elibank gamble since January 22).

The witness (Mr. Maxse) has given evidence that the information which he received and declines to disclose satisfied him that there were grounds for suspicion, and upon the strength of that he wrote his articles publishing these rumours, or whatever charges he has made in his articles. It is really for the Committee, but I put it to you that if we are told that the witness has information which will disclose grounds of suspicion, *is not that the very thing we are here to get at?* [our italics.]

MR. DOUGLAS HOGG (Counsel for the *Outlook* and the *National Review*) I think the answer is that the witness has not refused and, as I understand, does not refuse to give you the *purport* of the *information* which he got which he considered constituted grounds for suspicion.

MR. FALCONER (with his accurate knowledge of Ministerial punting in Marconi shares). I do not want to get into an argument about it, but merely put it so that you may have, so far as you are concerned, the reasons for which I think it important that *we should search this out to the very bottom* [our italics.] We can make no enquiry unless we have not only the purport of the rumour but the persons who have the information which was conveyed to the witness upon which he based his statement.

MR. DOUGLAS HOGG I should have submitted to the Committee until they know what the purport of the information is they cannot be in a position to offer an opinion as to whether or not the name of the person who gave it is material or helpful.

The Attorney-General's second confidant, Mr. Handel Booth, also participated in this controversy, in the course of which he with his profound knowledge from headquarters of Ministerial Marconi speculations professed to be horrified lest information should be withheld which might enable the Committee to plumb these rumours to the bottom. In his own words: "We have a lot of journalists to come. I want you to realise that when we come to a decision on this point, it is of greater importance

than your client's position, because it affects every subsequent witness, and our decision may not be so much personal as with a view to our general procedure. *Your client is one of those who has pressed upon the Committee the need for thorough investigation, and he himself wants us to examine the pass books and secret documents of bankers*" [our italics].

We all know now why the Falconers and the Booths were so bent on discrediting, destroying, or suppressing the journalistic evidence, as with their actual knowledge of discreditable and discrediting transactions they appreciated the vital importance of preventing Ministers from ever giving evidence, a result which could be easily attained if with their guilty knowledge and the Committee's innocence they were able to persuade the latter by "a majority" to inform the gamblers in the Government that as no case had been set up against them there was nothing for them to answer and the Committee would not propose to waste the valuable time of the "great wise and eminent" by inviting their evidence, and the great Marconi Scandal might have been snuffed out. Happily the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley. So it was in the present case.

People are beginning to ask themselves, however, despite the efforts of the Hush-up Press on both sides of politics, which are being renewed at the time of writing, as to whether the conspiracy to conceal the facts did not extend infinitely beyond the intrigue between the Attorney-General and two members of the Marconi Select Committee.

One turns to the Chairman's Draft Report for further light on this subject, because though a keen political partisan, Sir Albert Spicer would not knowingly tell a lie, which is more than can be said of many professional politicians of his persuasion. Who in the first instance diverted the Select Committee from its immediate duty of probing rumours concerning Ministers, in accordance with the specific undertaking given on behalf of the Government during the Marconi Debate when Mr. Herbert Samuel informed the House of Commons, "This Committee (*i.e.* the Marconi Committee) which will be appointed will enquire into every aspect of this question, and Members of the Government will be most ready to appear before it. Every member of the House may have full confidence that while every part of this

transaction will come under the searchlight of examination, it will be shown that there is no uncleanliness in any quarter!" Who, we repeat, diverted them from a line of enquiry which the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General, as well as the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew to be of the utmost peril to the Coalition? We are, of course, aware that a Select Committee is master of its own procedure.

From the Chairman's Draft we learn: "As the preliminary step in their enquiries your Committee resolved to undertake a comprehensive and detailed investigation into the origin and conduct of the negotiations which culminated in the signing of the Agreement submitted for their consideration." Was this, we repeat, the result of any suggestion from official quarters, who, we now know, must have regarded the existence of this Select Committee with the utmost apprehension, and indeed Mr. T. P. O'Connor gave us in *Reynolds's Newspaper* a piteous account of the plight of Ministers during the autumn and winter, presumably because they felt a sword of Damocles to be hanging over their heads? Was it the Postmaster-General through Mr. Falconer who assumed the part of leading Counsel for the Post Office, who threw out the suggestion that proceedings should begin not with the rumours, which *ex hypothesi* could be easily disposed of because there was nothing in them, but with a long and intricate enquiry concerning the negotiation of the Marconi Agreement, and provided an interminable witness in the person of Sir Alexander King? This should be cleared up. Then as another red herring, a confidential Blue Book was pitchforked into the Committee which would probably strengthen their resolve to get on the wrong tack. As the Chairman puts it, "They (*i.e.* the Committee) had been furnished with a chronological statement of the proceedings relating to the contract for the establishment of Imperial Wireless stations, including copies of correspondence and memoranda of interviews dealing therewith. They determined to summons as witnesses in the first instance those persons who, in their official capacity as representatives of the various Departments, had taken an active part in the negotiations." The public would like to know, and is entitled to know, as to what, if any, communications passed between the Government and the Select Committee at the outset

of their proceedings, and to what extent Mr. Falconer was employed to steer the enquiry into safe waters. The Chairman hardly helps us here—having been kept in the dark—as he merely observes: "Your Committee were of opinion that the adoption of this course was advisable, and indeed necessary, to enable them to sift and appreciate any evidence that might thereafter be tendered, whether by way of complaint or criticism as to the terms of the Agreement or in relation to the circumstances incidental to its formation or by way of rebuttal to any such complaints or criticisms."

In justice to the Committee it must be remembered that at this time (*i.e.* October 1912) all its members were completely innocent of Ministerial Marconi speculations, and like the majority *of the rest of the world, excluding ourselves, had accepted the* denials of the Postmaster-General and the Attorney-General in the House of Commons as conclusive, as is shown by the Chairman's question previously quoted, when he was still ignorant of what had been confided to two of his colleagues (Mr. Booth and Mr. Falconer). His Draft gives a long detailed and charitable account of the American transactions discussing the meeting between the three brothers on April 9, 1912, when Sir Rufus Isaacs refused his brother Godfrey's offer of American Marconi shares at the "parity" rate of $1\frac{1}{16}$, informing the Committee that "He made up his mind to have nothing to do with it." Then on April 17 Sir Rufus Isaacs purchased from Mr. Harry Isaacs 10,000 shares at £2, and as he was living at that time "under the same roof and on terms of the closest personal intimacy with Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray of Elibank (the Master of Elibank)" on that same day "Sir Rufus mentioned to these gentlemen the transaction he had engaged in with Mr. Harry Isaacs, and said that 'if they liked they could have 1000 shares each of the shares that I had bought—of course at the same price.' They both said: 'What about paying for them?' Sir Rufus replied they need not bother about that, as he would always give them plenty of notice when he required the money. Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray acquiesced in the proposal and accepted the offer. They thus acquired a right in respect of 2000 subject to any operations by Sir Rufus Isaacs or Mr. Harry Isaacs in the 56,000; but it was agreed that not

more than half the holding was to be dealt with, as Sir Rufus Isaacs would not be at liberty to operate with more than 1000 of the 2000." The reader will understand that we are quoting the Chairman's Draft Report. "The other 1000 would be at the disposal of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray to sell or retain as they chose, but they did not at the outset in fact contemplate any sale of the 1000. However, on the morning of April 20, *i.e.* after the issue had been authorised, Mr. Lloyd George's broker urged a sale as the market was 'much too high,' and Mr. Lloyd George asked Sir Rufus Isaacs if there was any objection to a sale, and he was told that they could do as they pleased: 'Sell them if you like, or keep them if you like.'" Again, "on April 20, 1912, the 1000 was disposed of at $3\frac{5}{32}$ through Mr. Lloyd George's broker in the ordinary way. Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray thus took together one-fifth of the interest of Sir Rufus Isaacs, so that after the completion of the operations by Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Harry Isaacs, they would be indebted to Sir Rufus Isaacs in the sum of one-fifth of the sum of £8129, and were entitled to receive one-fifth of Sir Rufus Isaacs's reduced holding of shares." Then there was another transaction. "On May 22 Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray purchased 3000 shares at $2\frac{3}{32}$; but in this transaction Sir Rufus Isaacs was in no way concerned. It was a purchase in the ordinary course through a broker, in the name of Mr. Lloyd George. The shares were taken up at the settlement in June." The Chairman also gives a detailed account of the sellings of Sir Rufus Isaacs in conjunction with his brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, leaving the former ultimately with 6430 shares. "If Mr. Harry Isaacs were to pay for the shares, Sir Rufus Isaacs would, therefore, be indebted to him in a sum roughly taken by Mr. Harry Isaacs at £8129. June 20, 1912, was fixed for special settlement, and Sir Rufus instructed his brokers to take the shares from Mr. Harry Isaacs's bank as against payment. The shares were delivered to Mr. Harry Isaacs about September 1912, and Sir Rufus Isaacs paid him £8129 in January 1913." We may say in passing that this has always struck us as one of the many mysterious gaps in the transaction. The Chairman lays stress on Sir Rufus Isaacs's ignorance of any Marconi negotiations with the Government prior to March of last year, and his refusal to

discuss the Marconi question with his brother in April 1910, while he was not fully informed as regards the precise circumstances of the issue of the reorganised American Company in which he took shares. In the words of the Draft Report: "Your Committee are of opinion that, in making the agreement whereby he acquired certain rights in respect of the proposed issue of shares in the American Company, Sir Rufus Isaacs acted in perfect good faith and with a sincere conviction that his personal interests conflicted in no wise with his public duty, believing as he did that the American Company was not in any way concerned with the solvency or success of the English Company or with any of its contracts or undertakings." But Sir Albert Spicer, though among the keenest Nonconformist Radicals in the House of Commons, as an honest man could not refrain from adding the following paragraphs to his Report, which led to its rejection by the Coalition majority on the Committee, who preferred to adopt a Draft Report prepared by Mr. Falconer, of which the more important part is embodied in the Report printed on a previous page which, as we have said, was carried by a strict party vote. So far as we can make out from a rather bewildering Blue Book, on failing to secure the adoption of Lord Robert Cecil's *Draft Report*, printed on a subsequent page, the Unionist Members of the Select Committee supported Sir Albert Spicer's Draft in each case being defeated by the Coalition majority on the Committee. These are the passages in the Chairman's Draft which made it distasteful to the Booths and Falconers. They are mild enough in all conscience.

Nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances detailed in their Report, Sir Rufus Isaacs would, in the judgment of your Committee, have been well advised if, when invited by Mr. Harry Isaacs to acquire these rights (in the American Company) he had adhered to the resolution formed by him when Mr. Godfrey Isaacs made a similar proposal, and had "nothing to do with it."

Your Committee are further of opinion that, having regard to the relation then, in fact, subsisting between the two Companies and the contractual engagements of the English Company in respect of the purchase of the assets of the United Wireless Company and other matters, any acquisition by Sir Rufus Isaacs of rights in the proposed issue was liable to give rise to some such "misconception" as Sir Rufus Isaacs himself apprehended as a possible consequence of dealings direct with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs.

As already stated, it appeared from the evidence adduced before your Committee that Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray acquired one-fifth of the interest of Sir Rufus

Isaacs on the faith of his assurance that the American Company was in no way concerned with the English Company.

Any subsequent dealings by or on behalf of Mr. Lloyd George or Lord Murray took place after the actual issue of new shares, in the open market, through Mr. Lloyd George's broker and in the ordinary course of business.

If, on the occasion of the debate in the House of Commons on October 11, 1912, it had occurred to the Ministers whose conduct had been impugned to make a statement of the facts as disclosed in the action against *Le Matin*, such a statement would, in the judgment of your Committee, and as subsequent events have proved, have tended to avert much misunderstanding and to lessen, in considerable measure, the labours of your Committee.

23 v.13

Lord Murray (who, for some time prior to August 7, 1912, was Patronage Secretary to the Treasury) left England in January 1913 and was unable, for business reasons, to return from abroad to give evidence, when asked to do so by your Committee. But, from evidence adduced before your Committee at a later date, viz. on June 5, 1913, it appears that Lord Murray purchased, through a stockbroker named Fenner, *who absconded later and was declared bankrupt*, 2500 *shares of the proposed new* issue of the American Company at 3¼ on April 18, 1912, and, through the same broker, a further 500 shares at $2\frac{7}{16}$ on May 14, 1912. These shares, amounting in the aggregate to 3000, were paid for in June 1912, on delivery of certificates, by three cheques of the total value of £9419.

This information was corroborated by Captain Arthur Murray, M.P., brother to Lord Murray, who attended before your Committee on June 10, 1913, and further stated that these specific purchases had been made by Lord Murray "on behalf of the Party."

On June 11, 1913, your Committee received a telegram from Lord Murray confirming the above.

11.6.13.

IV. LORD ROBERT CECIL'S REPORT*

1. It was apparent from the debate which resulted in the appointment of the Committee that our enquiry fell into two parts. We had to consider whether the Marconi system was the right one to be adopted for the Imperial Wireless Chain and, if so, whether the terms proposed were fair and reasonable from a public point of view. And we had, further, to ascertain whether there were any financial transactions of an improper character by Ministers or others with the Marconi Company or any one connected therewith, and in particular whether certain charges and suggestions which had been made in the Press and elsewhere had any foundation. It is with the last-named portion of our inquiry that this Special Report is concerned.

2. The negotiations between the Marconi Company and the Government for the construction of a chain of long-distance wireless stations round the Empire were opened by a proposal made by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the managing director of the English Marconi Company, in March 1910, and were continued during 1911 and the beginning of 1912. On March 7, 1912, the Post Office signified its acceptance of the general terms of the Marconi Company's tender. After a series of further discussions between different Government Departments and between the Post Office and the Marconi Company an agreement was signed on July 19, 1912, subject to ratification by the House of Commons. This agreement, in the opinion of the Company, as expressed in its annual report, dated June 8, 1912, was one the importance of which to the Company "could not be exaggerated." Apart from any profit on the construction of the stations, the profits

* Representing the opinion of Mr. Amery, Mr. Butcher, Sir Frederick Banbury, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. G. D. Faber and Mr. Donald Macmaster.

from the royalty on the first six stations have been estimated at various figures from £4000 to £31,000 a year, a figure which would be increased if further stations were erected by the Company.

3. But the indirect advantages of the contract were, in our opinion, far more important than the direct ones. The contract was in itself a striking recognition of the strategical and commercial importance of wireless telegraphy in general and of the Marconi system in particular. The erection of a chain of stations extending half-way round the globe would not only provide an additional traffic to existing long-distance stations on the Marconi system within range of any of the Imperial stations, but would, in our opinion, constitute an inducement for the erection of future stations, public or private, on the Marconi system rather than on any other. It would, in fact, as stated in the Company's circular of March 7, 1912, "contribute to a material increase in the Company's general and telegraphic business in all parts of the world."

Further, the actual terms of the contract, involving as they then did a five years' monopoly of the erection of all stations in the British Empire, as well as a heavy penalty by way of continued royalties, unless all patented Marconi apparatus were eliminated, were calculated to give the Marconi Company a position of great advantage over all possible future competitors, and to act as a powerful lever to induce inventors to sell their patents to the Marconi Company and thus strengthen its position still further. All these important indirect advantages were, we consider, advantages not only to the parent Marconi Company, but to all the subsidiary companies of the Marconi system, and these companies were all, consequently, in a greater or less degree interested in the ratification of the contract.

4. The financial importance of the agreement is clearly indicated by the effect of the course of the negotiations upon the price of the Company's shares. During 1910 and the opening of 1911 the £1 shares of the Company had stood at $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$, and in order to secure the necessary capital to carry on its business considerable blocks of shares had been issued at 25 per cent. discount. From the beginning of the active negotiations with the Government, which may be dated from the decision of the Cables (Landing Rights) Committee on March 23, 1911, that an

Imperial Wireless Chain was desirable, and that the Marconi Company should be approached as to the terms on which they would co-operate with the Government, the shares began to rise and continued to do so with no very serious set-back until they reached the price of 9⅝ on April 19, 1912. The movement in the shares of the parent Company was in its later stages closely reflected in the shares of other Marconi Companies, such as the Canadian and Spanish, which were successively brought on to the London market.

5. It is not suggested that this rise was wholly due to the Government negotiations and agreement. There were other important contributory causes, such as the successful patent action against the British Radio-Telegraph and Telephone Company in February 1911, the acquisition of the Lodge-Muirhead patents, the payment of a 10 per cent. interim dividend in the course of 1911, and the successful American negotiations in March 1912. But a comparison of the crucial dates in the negotiations with the market movements of the shares indicates that the Stock Exchange was not only kept well informed of the progress of the negotiations, but that their success was regarded as likely to be of great financial importance to the Company. Thus the great rises which began in May 1911, in December 1911, and at the end of January 1912, were each of them preceded by a definite step forward in the negotiations with the Government.

On May 18, 1911, the Cables (Landing Rights) Committee adopted a draft report previously prepared by the Post Office definitely recommending a wireless chain, stating that the Marconi Company alone had experience of long-distance commercial working, and entertaining the Company's proposed terms subject to modification. The shares rose almost continuously from 1¼ at the beginning of May to 2½ at the end of June. On December 18, 1911, the Post Office and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs practically came to an agreement as to the chief terms on which the Marconi Company would undertake the erection of the wireless stations. The shares, which stood at 2¾ in the middle of December, went nearly to 4 by January 9, 1912.

On January 24 the Post Office informed the other Government Departments that the Poulsen system could not be considered, and that it would not be advisable to defer the conclusion

of an agreement with the Marconi Company. The negotiations were in fact brought to such a point that Mr. Godfrey Isaacs informed the Press on that date that he hoped the agreement with the Government was about to be signed. This date may be regarded as approximately the starting-point of the great boom which culminated on April 19. The actual acceptance of the tender on March 7 was not followed immediately by any very remarkable rise. But it seems to us that the acceptance had no doubt been largely anticipated, and that the further tendency to rise would naturally, for the moment, be checked by realisations. We cannot accept the view that the movement of the shares during the days immediately following March 7 indicates the whole effect of the contract, and that the further rise during the next few weeks was unaffected by it.

6. In this connection it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that upon the acceptance of the tender the Company published in a circular of March 7 a version of it which omitted all mention of the right of the Government to terminate the royalty period at any time, upon using a system entirely independent of the Marconi system, and which was calculated to convey the impression that the Marconi Company had secured a complete monopoly of all wireless stations in the British Empire for eighteen years. This misleading version of the tender was the only version accessible to the public for over four months. The Post Office apparently made no attempt to insist upon a correction, and the Postmaster-General did not take the opportunity to clear up the matter properly, either in answer to repeated questions or in his otherwise detailed account of the contract in the debate on the Post Office Estimates on May 20.

Mr. Godfrey Isaacs told us that he omitted from the circular any reference to the provision that if the Government made use of a system entirely independent of the Marconi system the payment of royalty should cease, because he regarded it as practically meaningless, upon the ground that no wireless system could be independent of the Marconi system without abandoning the transmission of signals by ethereal waves. We are unable to accept this curious explanation. It is clear from the notes of the interviews of Janualry 19, February 9, and March 5, 1912, between Mr. Isaacs and the Post Office, that both parties intended

the condition to relieve the Government from the payment of royalties if they ceased to use Marconi apparatus, and Mr. Isaacs, in fact, regarded the condition as of so much importance that at first he asked that it should be kept secret.

7. Before the acceptance of the tender for the Imperial Chain negotiations had been in progress for an arrangement between the Marconi Company and the United Wireless Company of America. This Company, according to Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, "really commanded practically all its business of value in the United States." But the validity of its patents was in dispute, its directors were in prison for financial irregularities, and its affairs were being carried on by trustees in bankruptcy and by a shareholders' reorganisation committee. The terms suggested on behalf of the United Wireless Company were not satisfactory to the Marconi Company, which decided to proceed with the American Marconi Company's action for infringement of patents. This was fixed for March 25, and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs and Mr. Marconi sailed for New York on March 9, two days after the acceptance for the tender of the Imperial Chain.

8. On their arrival in New York on March 16 a banquet was organised in honour of Mr. Marconi by the *New York Times*, and as a feature of the banquet certain eminent persons in England, including the Attorney-General, were induced to send congratulatory wireless telegrams. The message of the Attorney-General to the *New York Times* was in these words: "Please congratulate Marconi and my brother on the successful development of a marvellous enterprise. I wish them all success in New York, and hope that by the time they come back the coal strike will be finished." It has been suggested that this telegram had some connection with the financial proceedings of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs in America, but no evidence to sustain this suggestion was brought before us, and the Attorney-General denied that any special significance was to be attached to it. This denial we accept.

9. Meanwhile the United Wireless Company's representatives had decided to come to terms, and approached Mr. Godfrey Isaacs as soon as he reached New York, and agreements were signed on March 21 by which the representatives of the United Wireless Company admitted infringement, submitted to a perpetual

injunction, and agreed to sell all its patents and assets to the British Marconi Company for 700,000 dollars in fully-paid shares of the American Marconi Company, whose total capital it was now decided to raise from 1,511,200 dollars to 10,000,000 dollars. The object of this increase of capital was mainly to provide a series of long-distance stations at New York, Cuba, Panama, San Francisco, Hawaii, and the Philippines and elsewhere on American territory, which would put the United States into wireless communication with all parts of the world. As a part of this scheme the English Marconi Company undertook, in its agreement of March 29, 1912, with the American Marconi Company, that (subject to the licence of the British Postmaster-General) it would erect in or near London a high-power station for the purpose of wireless communication from America to places in and beyond London, and from England to places in and beyond America.

In order to secure facilities for the collection and distribution of the traffic passing through these stations, an agreement was made on April 1, 1912, between the British and American Marconi Companies on the one hand and the Western Union Cable Company and North-Western Telegraph Company of Canada on the other, by which these latter companies agreed to collect and distribute Marconi messages at the reduced rates enjoyed by the cable companies. In securing these agreements the Marconi Company was, we cannot help thinking, materially assisted not only by the prestige of the agreement with the Post Office, but by a consideration of the fact that if the practical occupation of the field of wireless telegraphy in the Eastern Hemisphere by the Marconi system could be supplemented by a similar occupation of the Western Hemisphere, the advantages already gained in respect of the former would be still further enhanced and an exceptionally strong position created.

10. To raise the capital required in America was, however, a difficult matter, as the American public had already lost heavily over both the American Marconi and the United Wireless Companies. The former company had never paid a dividend, and its shares, after having been reduced from 100 dollars to 25 dollars, were at that time standing at a nominal figure of 10 dollars, but were practically unsaleable. The British public,

on the other hand, were eagerly buying Marconi shares of all descriptions. Canadian Marconis had doubled their price between March 8 and the end of the month. Spanish Marconis had risen from 30s. in February to 42s. at the end of March. British Marconis had begun a fresh upward rise on rumours of successful negotiations in America, and their movement was apparently stimulated by cables from Mr. Heybourn, a member of the firm of Heybourn and Croft, the leading jobbers in the Marconi market, who had accompanied Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Marconi to New York in the expectation that some large financial reorganisation would be required. There was little doubt that the greater part of the new American issue could be floated on the London market.

11. The total amount of new capital to be subscribed was 7,000,000 dollars, the British Marconi Company under the agreement with the American Company of March 29, 1912, receiving from the American Company 1,488,800 dollars in fully-paid shares for the assets of the United Wireless Company and for its services in the reorganisation. According to the laws of New Jersey, the existing shareholders of the American Company were entitled to apply for the whole of the new issue at par, and it was decided to offer them the new shares at the rate of five dollars' worth of new shares for one of the old. Of these shareholders the British Marconi Company was the largest, holding shares to a nominal value of 875,000 dollars (35,000 25-dollar shares). The rest of the old shares were held by several thousand small holders scattered all over the United States.

By this agreement the British Company bound itself to take up at least 1,250,000 dollars (250,000 five-dollar shares) of the new issue at par, and secured an option for twelve months over the whole balance of the issue not applied for by existing shareholders within fifteen days of the offer to them of the right to subscribe. The British Company thus secured complete control for a year of all operations in the shares of the American Company, save such as might be actually taken up during the first fifteen days by the small American shareholders or those to whom they might transfer their shares.

Under these conditions Mr. G. Isaacs arranged with Mr. Marconi to place 500,000 of the new shares in readiness for their

introduction on the London market immediately after the meeting of the American Company to authorise the new issue which was fixed for April 18. Of these he placed 250,000 with Mr. Heybourn, originally at 1 $\frac{1}{16}$, the par equivalent in pounds of five dollars, a figure subsequently altered to 1 ¼. Another 150,000 were placed with certain financiers in New York at par. The remaining 100,000 were placed by Mr. Isaacs immediately after his return to England on April 8, 56,000 with Mr. Harry Isaacs, 10,000 with Mr. Marconi, and the rest among the directors and staff of the Marconi Company.

12. According to Mr. Isaacs, the English Company, or rather Mr. Marconi and himself on behalf of the English Company, were compelled, in order to induce the American directors to sanction this very large increase of capital, to guarantee the issue of the whole 1,400,000 new five-dollar shares, and this was, in effect, so stated by Mr. Marconi at the annual meeting, on July 9, 1912. Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, however, on being pressed, admitted that the formal agreement between the English Company and the American Company was only that they should take 250,000 shares, and that the guarantee was in the nature of a "moral obligation." The fact that the British Marconi Company had a twelve months' option on all the shares not taken up by the original shareholders was only disclosed when the actual agreements and minutes of the English Company were subjected by Mr. Isaacs, very reluctantly, to the consideration of the Committee.

As regards the 500,000 shares which he undertook to place, Mr. Isaacs in his evidence informed the Committee that these shares had been sold to him outright and that he was entitled to deal with them as he pleased and to make any profit he could out of them, but that, as a matter of fact, he had passed on £46,000 of profits so made out of the sale to Mr. Heybourn to the credit of the Company. He stated that a record of this sale of 500,000 shares to him would be found in the minutes of the English Company. On inspection, however, it turned out that no such minute existed, it being merely stated that the managing director reported the placing of 500,000 shares and 200,000 more on option on certain terms.

We feel compelled to state that Mr. Isaacs's account both of

his own position with regard to these share dealings and with regard to the whole of the transactions connected with the introduction of these American shares upon the London market was not satisfactory. Owing to a decision of the majority of the Committee we were precluded from recalling Mr. Isaacs in order to explain the discrepancy between his statements and the records produced.

13. On April 8 Mr. Isaacs reached London. He told us that directly he returned he was informed that the rivals of the Marconi Company who were interested in the Poulsen system intended "to make a very strong attack indeed upon the Marconi contract" in order to prevent its ratification. He was even told that a powerful syndicate had been formed with this object, including members of Parliament and other influential persons. On April 9 he invited the Attorney-General and another brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, to lunch with him. He told his brothers of his proceedings in America, and particularly of the contracts with the Western Union Company and Great North-Western Company, which were not to be made public for the present, and he told them further that he had still about 100,000 shares to dispose of for which he was personally responsible, and that they could "take any number of them they liked." He further said that it was considered that they would be thought well of and would certainly go to a premium. The Attorney-General asked about the relation between the English Company and the American Company and was told that the American Company was not interested in the profits of the English Company or in the agreement with the British Government. He, however, declined to take any of the American shares on two grounds, firstly, that to do so might be a very risky transaction, as the issue of capital was a very large one, and, secondly, that he thought it better in the circumstances, as a matter of delicacy, not to have any dealings with the English Company or with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. He then went away leaving his two brothers still talking over the matter.

14. As the result of a long discussion between them, Mr. Harry Isaacs agreed to take 50,000, later increased to 56,000, shares at par, that is to say, at $1\frac{1}{16}$. Mr. Godfrey Isaacs told us he had never made any similar offer to his brothers in connection with

any of the other Marconi Companies, and that he offered the shares on this occasion because he thought they were likely to be of considerable value.

15. Meanwhile the British Marconi shares were still rising, and on April 11 reached $8\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$, or double the price at which they had stood on March 7. Though no official information as to the terms of the agreement concluded in America was given by the Marconi Company until after the American Company's meeting on the 18th, enough was allowed to be known to cause considerable demand for the American shares. The eagerness of the public was still further intensified by the *Titanic* disaster, details of which began to come in on the 15th and 16th, and gave striking evidence of the value of wireless telegraphy.

16. The Attorney-General was at this time living on terms of the closest personal intimacy with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the present Lord Murray, then Master of Elibank, the Chief Whip of the Liberal Party. He told them both of his conversation with his brothers. Between April 9 and 17 Mr. Harry Isaacs saw him more than once, and urged him to take some of his American shares, and on April 17, in the evening, he persuaded him to take 10,000 shares at 2. The figure 2 was based on the statement of Mr. Harry Isaacs that the price then was "round about 2." The question of selling was then discussed. It was contemplated by the Attorney-General and Mr. Harry Isaacs from the first that there would be sales of the shares belonging to each of them, and it was agreed between them that any sales made by either of them should be treated as sales made on account of both.

17. The shares had not actually come into existence. The American Company was to hold its meeting on April 18, at which the new issue was to be sanctioned, and it had been arranged that Messrs. Heybourn and Croft were to "introduce" the shares on the London Stock Exchange on the morning of the 19th. In such a case it is unnecessary in law to issue a prospectus giving the statutory particulars as to underwriting contracts and so on, and the public had thus no means of knowing how many shares were available or who controlled them.

As a matter of fact, until the 19th, the available total was strictly limited and controlled. Apart from the 500,000 placed

by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the only shares not under the control of the British Marconi Company were those for which the old American shareholders might apply. So far as we can ascertain, some, but apparently not a great many, of these had sold their rights to dealers in New York. The rest were scattered all over America, and could not in the most favourable circumstances be informed of their rights or dispose of them until the morning of the 19th in America, that is the afternoon of the 19th in England. Of the 500,000 placed by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, 250,000 were, as already mentioned, placed with Mr. Heybourn, and the remaining 250,000 were placed among three small groups—namely, certain American financiers who took 150,000, Mr. Harry Isaacs, and the directors and staff of the Marconi Company.

Even in the absence of any direct restriction upon the right of any of these to dispose of their shares to the public before the 19th, they may all be presumed to have known enough to see that their obvious interest was to await the successful opening of the market before realising. A certain number of speculators do appear to have ordered from America through the arbitrage dealers shares which the New York dealers were able to secure from American shareholders. The dealings do not seem to have been very large, but they were sufficient to cause the price of the shares to rise rapidly in the New York market.

On the 15th they reached 8¾–9 dollars (36s. 6d.–37s. 6d.) with a total volume of 4000 shares sold, and on that day an investor with inside information was able to secure an option on 5000 out of 10,000 shares asked for at 9½ dollars (39s. 9d.).

On the 16th they varied between 9⅛ dollars and 9½ dollars; on the 17th between 9¾ dollars and 11¾ dollars (40s. 9d.–49s.), and on the 18th between 13¼ dollars and 16 dollars (55s. 2d.–66s. 8d.).

A leading arbitrage dealer stated before the Committee that if he had been given an order for 10,000 shares on the evening of the 17th he would have had to pay 14 dollars ([illegible]8s. 4d.). Even, therefore, if the transaction had been carried out in New York through arbitrage dealers, a purchase of 10,000 shares could not have been made at 2 on the evening of the 17th.

18. But the general public in this country do not seem to have been given the opportunity of buying in New York. The

leading brokers and dealers in Marconi shares appear to have agreed not to deal in the American issue until the 19th. The brokers were all referred to Messrs. Heybourn and Croft, who consequently received for days prior to the 19th large orders for the purchase of the new shares at the opening price. The result was that if an ordinary member of the public had gone to his stockbroker with an order to buy 10,000 American Marconi shares on April 17, the order would not have been carried out until April 19, when the shares were formally introduced to the English market by Messrs. Heybourn and Croft and the purchaser would have had to pay 3¼ or over. Moreover, such member of the public would not, on April 17, have had any authoritative information about the agreement made with the Western Union and Great North-Western Telegraph Companies to which Mr. Godfrey Isaacs attached so much importance.

19. The Attorney-General, therefore, on April 17, had information from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs not authoritatively announced to the public. He himself stated that he "would not have bought those shares in the market, for the reason that he would have been knowing something which the other person did not know." He urged, indeed, that in buying from his brother "he was knowing nothing but what he knew," but we cannot see that this, in fact, diminished the advantage which he enjoyed over the general public. He further got his shares at a lower price than could have been obtained by a member of the general public even if such a person had known how to get any shares at all on that date. These advantages accrued to him through the instrumentality of his two brothers, Mr. Harry Isaacs and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the managing director of the English Marconi Company.

20. On the evening of April 17 the Attorney-General saw the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of Elibank and offered to them 2000 of the 10,000 shares at the same price at which he had agreed to take them. He informed them that the American Company had no interest in the British Government contract or the British Company. He gave them substantially the same information as had been given to him by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. Among other things he told them of the contract with the Western Union Cable Company, that the purchase of the

shares at that price was a very good investment, that it was thought that they would undoubtedly rise in value, and that his information came from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. He said that "if they went up at all considerably he should sell part of his shares so as to reduce the price he had paid, but that he intended to hold at any rate half and probably more as a definite investment." He was asked about payment for the shares and intimated that payment need not be made immediately.

Mr. Lloyd George and the Master of Elibank agreed to take the shares and it was apparently arranged between the three that the Attorney-General should sell for all of them, at any rate so far as one-half of the whole number of shares was concerned. With respect to the other half the position is not clear. In his earlier answers the Attorney-General appeared to indicate that all the selling was left to him. Later, he explained that that only applied to 1000 of the 2000 shares sold to his colleagues, and that with respect to the other 1000 "they were entitled to deal with them as they liked."

21. On the 18th the American Company formally agreed to issue the shares, and the price rose still further in America and in street dealings in England. During the course of this day the demand for the shares became so great that Mr. Heybourn bought from the English Company through Mr. Godfrey Isaacs two more lots of 50,000 shares at $2\frac{1}{8}$ and $2\frac{7}{16}$ respectively.

Late on that evening Messrs. Heybourn and Croft issued notices to the various stockbrokers who had sent in orders for shares, stating that the applications had been so numerous that it was impossible to let them have for their clients more than 15 per cent. of their orders at opening price. They at the same time sent to a certain number of persons letters offering them for their personal account shares in the Marconi Company of America at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$. This was described by one of the witnesses as a sale on "ground-floor terms," and it was explained that the recipients had been earl er promised such shares in order to secure a free market.

We were told that it was not unusual in the City to distribute shares on "ground-floor terms" among those whom it was desired to conciliate. In this case the recipients of the shares at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ were able to sell them again the next day at a

profit of £2 per share and were consequently, in effect, given that amount of money on each share. This practice must be borne in mind in considering the nature of the transactions between Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, Mr. Harry Isaacs, and the Attorney-General.

22. On the morning of the 19th the shares were formally "introduced" to the Stock Exchange by Messrs. Heybourn and Croft at a price of £3 5s. and an official announcement was made as to the agreement concluded in America and as to the objects of the new issue. Owing to the large number of orders received by stockbrokers which had not been satisfied by Messrs. Heybourn and Croft before the market opened, the price quickly rose until it touched £4, and then fell away again on receipt of selling orders from America.

On the same day Mr. Lloyd George informed his broker that he was interested in American Marconis. His broker, Mr. Rice, said he was sorry as he did not consider it a desirable investment, basing his opinion upon the past history of the Company, the methods of flotation, and the panicky state of the market, and he urged the Chancellor to sell. The Attorney-General also informed his broker of his purchase and was advised strongly to sell, as the price at which the shares stood was too high. The Attorney-General sold on that day, first 5000 and later 2000 more. On the 20th Mr. Lloyd George sold on behalf of himself and the Master of Elibank 1000 at the price of $3\frac{5}{32}$, and on May 3 the Attorney-General sold another 1000.

Meanwhile Mr. Harry Isaacs had sold 11,700 of his shares, and since he and the Attorney-General had agreed that any sales made by either of them should be treated as sales made on account of both, the net result was that the Attorney-General was treated as having sold 3570 shares out of his 10,000 at an average price of £3 6s. 6d. Of these shares 357 were credited by the Attorney-General to Mr. Lloyd George's account and 357 to that of the Master of Elibank. These figures, however, are only right if it be assumed that as between the Attorney-General and his brother, the Attorney-General was still in possession of the shares sold by Mr. Lloyd George on April 20, and that the sale of these was, in fact, an independent transaction.

23. If the sale on April 20 is treated as a sale of shares bought from the Attorney-General, the transactions, so far, had resulted

in a clear profit to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and th Master of Elibank of £743 each and left them each with 14 shares, costing them nothing. So far as the Attorney-Genera was concerned he had 5144 shares left, and on the shares tha he had sold he had made a profit of £3808.

On May 22 Mr. Lloyd George bought for account of himse and the Master of Elibank 3000 more American shares at price of $2\frac{5}{32}$, and these they still hold. After setting off agains the cost of these the proceeds of the 1000 shares sold on April 2(there remained a balance of £3486 due to Mr. Lloyd George' brokers in respect of these shares. One-third of this amount viz. £1162, was paid by Mr. Lloyd George to his brokers in October and the rest of the amount due he borrowed from hi brokers at rates of interest varying from 5¼ per cent. to 7 pe cent. The shares have never been delivered to Mr. Lloyd Georg but are still held by the brokers as security for the loan.

The Attorney-General did not pay Mr. Harry Isaacs unt January 6, 1913, when he paid him the £8129 due to him i respect of the balance of the shares bought by the Attorney General. Nothing has been paid to the Attorney-General by th other Ministers, nor has he, in fact, transferred to them any shares

Very late in our enquiry we discovered that, in addition t the transactions already mentioned, the Master of Elibank o April 18, 1912, bought 2500 American Marconi shares at 3¼ and another 500 at $2\frac{7}{16}$ on May 14. These were paid for by thre cheques, the first for £3000 on June 9, the second for £1900 o June 19, and the third for £4519 8s. on June 20, making altogethe £9419 8s. These purchases were made through Mr. Fenner, th broker through whom the Master of Elibank had invested Libera Party funds, and were made on behalf of those funds.

24. In forming a judgment as to the propriety or otherwis of the transactions described above, certain considerations shoul be borne in mind. In the first place the agreement with th British Government was, in our opinion, an essential factor i the whole structure of Marconi finance. Its value to the Englis Company and to the subsidiary Marconi Companies we hav already pointed out. We do not doubt that it played an im portant part in the American negotiations. As the Attorney General said, in answering a question about the effect of hi

telegram of March 16, "If they (*i.e.* Mr. Godfrey Isaacs and Mr. Marconi) wanted that Company (*i.e.* the English Company) to appear strong could they get anything stronger than to say that the Postmaster-General, the responsible head of the telegraphs in this country, had accepted the tender which they had offered ?"

In any future business negotiations, whether with the United States or any other foreign Government or the cable companies, &c., that would be equally true. And if for any reason the agreement ultimately were to break down a serious injury would be inflicted upon the whole Marconi system.

25. Secondly, on April 9, 1912, the agreement was by no means secure. The Attorney-General indeed told us that in April he "never thought there was any question about it or its ratification," and as a description of his state of mind at that time we accept what he said. But as a matter of fact the view expressed by the Postmaster-General that until July "it was not a contract—it was merely the acceptance of a preliminary tender"—seems to us more accurate. There was in truth a most elaborate series of communications and conferences between the Admiralty, the War Office, the Colonial Office, the Treasury, and the Post Office before the contract was signed on July 19, and as late as July 18 there was apparently some risk of the negotiations between the parties breaking down. Even when signed it had still to be ratified by the House of Commons, and in point of fact it has not yet been ratified.

Thirdly, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs told us that on April 9 it was "very very common talk in the City" that "those who were attempting to float the Poulsen Company were arranging a strong attack upon the contract." It is true that we were not able to get any information of this assertion, and it may not be accurate. But it is at least an indication of the frame of mind of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs on April 9.

26. Nor must it be forgotten that each of the three Ministers might have had to deal with the contract in his official capacity after April 17. The legal difficulties in connection with various clauses, more particularly the five years' monopoly provisions of Clause 3, might at any moment have been brought before the Attorney-General, and his decision might have seriously affected the value of the contract to the Marconi Company.

27. If the objections raised by the Treasury officials to certain provisions in the contract had been somewhat more strongly pressed they would have come before the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, and he would have had to decide whether they constituted sufficient ground for withholding Treasury sanction from the contract.

28. If the Government had persisted with the intention of carrying through the contract in the House of Commons in the summer of 1912 it would have been Lord Murray's duty, as Chief Whip, to persuade Liberal critics of the contract to restrain their criticism and to vote for its ratification.

29. It was in these circumstances that the Managing Director of the English Marconi Company offered to his brother, the Attorney-General, an undefined portion of 100,000 shares in the American Company, on "ground-floor" terms. Had Sir Rufus taken, say, 50,000 of them, he could, as things turned out, have made over £100,000 profit in ten days' time. So great a rise was certainly not in the contemplation of the parties on April 9, but "it was considered . . . that they would certainly go to a premium," and something like 10s. per share was mentioned.

It must be remembered that at this time the boom of the English shares was in full swing. On March 22 they had been about 5; on this date, April 9, they were between 7 and 8, and they were still rising rapidly. The Canadian and Spanish Marconi shares were also booming. The atmosphere of reckless speculation and excitement was well reproduced by a series of quotations from the *Financial Times* given to us by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, which incidentally show that the rise in the Marconi group was in part at least due to the news coming from America.

It must further be borne in mind that, as already explained, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs had made such arrangements with Mr. Heybourn as practically to give to those two gentlemen the control of the market in the American shares when they were introduced. Assuming that there was a demand for the American shares, as it was tolerably certain there would be, these arrangements enabled Messrs. Isaacs and Heybourn to regulate the price within fairly wide limits. The offer, therefore, of April 9 to the Attorney-General was almost eqaivalent to an offer of a considerable though uncertain amount of money.

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30. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the rights to the shares offered to him actually belonged to the English Marconi Company. It is true that Mr. Godfrey Isaacs told us that they had been sold to him. This account of the arrangement is not borne out by the minutes of the Company, very reluctantly produced by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, nor did Mr. Marconi's recollection on the subject appear to be very clear. In any case Mr. Godfrey Isaacs's rights, whatever they were, to the shares offered to the Attorney-General were subject to his undertaking to place them, and they never actually came into his possession. When issued they belonged to the English Marconi Company, and were at the disposal of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs as the agent of that Company.

Sir Rufus seemed to attribute the offer made to him by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs entirely to fraternal affection. It may have been so. But having regard to all the circumstances of the case, and particularly to Mr. Godfrey Isaacs's evidence as to the rumours which he heard immediately upon his arrival in England of a strong Parliamentary attack to be made upon the Government contract, we cannot feel certain that his offer to the Attorney-General was not in part due to other and less creditable motives. We have no doubt that this view of the transaction did not present itself to the Attorney-General.

31. As a matter of fact, Sir Rufus refused, as we know, the offer made by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, partly upon the ground that he did not wish to have any dealings with the English Company or its Managing Director. Mr. Harry Isaacs later pressed him to take some of the shares which he had bought through Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, and after several interviews the Attorney-General agreed to take 10,000 at 2 under conditions which, as we have explained, put him at an advantage over the ordinary public.

Sir Rufus thought that the fact that he dealt with Mr. Harry Isaacs instead of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs made all the difference. We cannot agree with him. The transaction appears to us to have been gravely improper, because a Minister of the Crown made an advantageous purchase of shares upon advice and information not then fully available to the public given to him by the Managing Director of a company which was in course of obtaining from the Government a contract of the greatest importance; and we do not think that the intervention of a person in

the closest confidence of both of them makes any difference to its impropriety. While we do not think that the Attorney-General in fact allowed or intended to allow the discharge of his public duty to be affected by his purchase of American Marconi shares, we are of opinion that by accepting and acting upon the advice and information of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs he did place himself, however unwittingly, in a position in which his private financial interest or sense of obligation might easily have been in conflict with his public duty.

The acceptance by a public servant of a favour of any kind from a Government contractor involves so grave and obvious a danger of corruption that if the Attorney-General's action is to be condoned by Parliament we feel that a wide door will be open to corruption in future.

32. The same reasoning applies to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of Elibank. It is quite true they were not brought into personal contact with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. But the Attorney-General was quite clear that he told them substantially what Mr. Godfrey Isaacs had told him and from whom he had obtained his information. They must be taken therefore to have acted on the same advice and information as moved the Attorney-General, and if his action was gravely improper, as we think it was, it was certainly no less improper on the part of the Finance Minister and the Chief Party Manager.

The possibility of future corruption in the case of such important Ministers is more serious even than in the case of the Attorney-General. As regards the last-disclosed transactions of the Master of Elibank, it is not certain to what extent he acted upon the advice and information of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. But it is at least possible that he did so, and to that extent the transactions appear to us open to the same criticism as applies to the other transactions of Ministers.

It is true that the transactions turned out badly, but that was obviously not foreseen when they were entered into. It is also true that the Master of Elibank intended to benefit his party and not himself. But that, in our view, makes the transactions the more dangerous. Experience shows that to allow Government contractors to make contributions, however indirect, to Ministerial party funds leads to a very insidious form of corruption.

33. It was very much pressed upon us that the Ministerial transactions in American Marconi shares were unobjectionable because the American Company had derived and could derive no benefit from the contract between the English Company and the Government. The American Company, it was said, had nothing whatever to do with the English Company, was not interested in its profits, and was not in any way concerned with the undertakings of the English Company. Even if this were true, it would not in the least affect the considerations we have just set forth. The impropriety of which Ministers, in our opinion, were primarily guilty, was that of making an advantageous purchase of shares upon information received from a Government contractor, and that impropriety would remain the same whatever the character of the shares purchased.

34. But quite apart from this the contention, in our opinion, is not in itself a sound one. The American Company was founded by the English Company, which, until April 1912, held the majority of its shares and nominated three of its directors. The acquisition of the assets of the United Wireless Company by the American Company, the arrangement with the cable companies, and the subsequent financial expansion of the American Company were all initiated and in the main carried through on behalf of the American Company by the English Company, whose prestige and financial position were essential to the success of all these operations. Moreover, the patents belonging to the American Company were the same as those of the English Company.

Anything which increased the reputation of the system covered by the English patents must have reacted favourably upon the reputation of the same system under the American patents, and conversely anything occurring here, such as the failure of the Government contract, which was adverse to the value of the system in this country, must have had a prejudicial effect on the value of the system in the United States. We were told by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs that practically every important business throughout the world for which he had been in negotiation for the last two years was standing over in consequence of the inquiry into the British Government contract. It is true he later said that this did not apply to America, but it is difficult

to believe that even in America a definite failure of the British Government contract would not have adversely affected the fortunes of the Marconi system there.

We have already pointed out the great indirect advantages conferred by the contract upon the whole Marconi system, and we think that to the American Company would accrue a full share of these advantages, and, indeed, that it was largely on the strength of these advantages that the new capital for the American Company was raised. As regards actual operation it seems to us that, at any rate as far as any long-distance communication is concerned, the Marconi system is in effect a single system.

35. For these reasons we are of opinion that the conclusion of the Government contract was a matter of importance to the American Company, and in particular that the value of its shares would or might have been affected by the value of that contract. It was, therefore, in our judgment very undesirable for Ministers of the Crown to take shares in the American Company while the fate of the Government contract with the English Company was still in suspense, even if they had bought the shares in the open market without any advice or information from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs.

36. A good deal of discussion took place before us as to whether the transactions of Ministers were in the nature of an investment or a speculation. Without attempting any definition of what exactly constitutes speculation, we think it clear that there was a speculative element in the whole of the transactions, since some of the shares were bought in order to be sold again at a profit for the purpose of "lessening the price" of the remainder.

We are also of opinion that the sale by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of shares on April 20, which had not yet been delivered to him, the allocation of 1000 of the shares bought on May 22 to meet this sale, the borrowing of money at a high rate of interest from his broker to pay for the balance of the shares then bought, and the fact that no payment has ever been made to the Attorney-General for the shares sold by him to his two colleagues make it absurd to describe the transactions of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Murray as in the main investments.

In this connection it must not be forgotten that the transactions were in shares which had become the subject of a scandalous Stock Exchange gamble, and that Mr. Lloyd George's broker advised him immediately he heard of it that it was not a desirable investment for the reasons already stated.

37. We made such efforts as we could to satisfy ourselves that no other public official was in any way connected with Marconi or other wireless finance. But we were much hampered in this Inquiry by a decision of the majority of the Committee which precluded us from making any real investigation into the transactions in these shares by Messrs. Heybourn and Croft, who were by far the largest dealers in them. All we therefore can say is that we are satisfied that none of those public officials who appeared before us had any connection with Marconi or other wireless finance except Mr. Taylor, whose transactions have already been published. This observation applies equally to the Members of Parliament who gave evidence before us.

38. Ministers urged very strongly before us that we were bound to enquire into the truth or falsehood of the charges made against them in the Press, particularly in the *Outlook* and the *National Review*. These charges were not very definite, but we think that in substance they included allegations that Ministers had been widely accused of being* influenced in their conduct of the negotiations with the Marconi Company by the fact that they were interested in its shares, and had utilised information coming to them from official sources for the purpose of investment or speculation in the Marconi Companies.

We believe the charges thus stated to be without foundation. No evidence was brought before us in support of them, and they were denied by the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Postmaster-General, and the First Lord of the Admiralty. With respect to the last two Ministers it is right to say that any rumours connecting them with any transactions in the shares of any Marconi Company here or abroad we believe to be baseless.

Other charges were made by the *Eye Witness* and later the *New Witness*, and some other less important papers. We have

* According to the *Times*, the words "accused of being" were accidentally omitted from the official text as published.

no reason for thinking that these charges were true, but owi to the fact that the Editor of the *New Witness* is being prosecut by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs for criminal libel, we did not think it rig to insist on his giving evidence before us. We desire to pla on record that we reprobate very strongly the recklessness wi which many of these charges were made. At the same time is right to add that, in view of the very definite and persiste rumours connecting Ministers with Marconi shares which pı vailed in the City for some considerable time before any referenc to them were made public, the statements in the Press cann all be set down as due to mere malicious invention.

39. The Attorney-General asked our assistance to trace the rumours, and we did our best to do so. But we found gre difficulties. Even the date on which the rumours became pr valent is doubtful. Some witnesses told us that they had exist as early as January or February. Others did not hear of the till May or June. On the whole, we are of opinion that tl rumours did not come into existence, to any considerable exte at any rate, until after the dealings of the Attorney-General aı the Chancellor of the Exchequer in American Marconi share and we believe that a distorted account of those transactio really set the rumours going.

Mr. Godfrey Isaacs gave evidence suggesting that the rumou were the invention of the adherents of the Poulsen system aı *that they were set about with the view of discrediting the Marco.* system, and with this charge he connected, more or less directl two Members of Parliament—Mr. Norton Griffiths and Maj Archer-Shee. Later on he told us that he did not intend to mal any charge against either of those gentlemen, but those wh heard him give evidence on the first day could have had no doul that some insinuation of the kind was intended against then We accordingly enquired closely into the matter and were satisfie that there was no truth whatever in the suggestion.

Neither Mr. Norton Griffiths nor Major Archer-Shee had an pecuniary interest in the Poulsen system and neither they nc any of those connected with the Poulsen system appear to u to have had anything to do with organising or spreading th rumours, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Godfrey Isaacs shoul have given currency to any such suggestion.

40. The rumours themselves continued to prevail in some form or another right through the year 1912 and the beginning of the present year, and we are unable to say that they have ceased at the present time. For this persistence we think Ministerial reticence must bear the chief blame. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General as early as July in last year appear to have told some of their colleagues, including the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General, that they had had dealings in American Marconi shares. In spite of this fact the Postmaster-General thought it right to make determined efforts to get the contract ratified before the adjournment of Parliament in August of that year without any disclosure of the transactions of his colleagues. He even carried his attempt so far as to suggest to Major Archer-Shee late in the evening of August 6 that he would press for the ratification the next day, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's undertaking, given earlier on August 6, that the ratification should not be pressed until October.

41. On October 11 the whole question of the contract and of the rumours was discussed in the House of Commons on the Postmaster-General's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the circumstances connected with the negotiation and completion of the contract and to report on the desirability of the contract. In the course of the discussion Mr. Samuel, Sir R. Isaacs, and Mr. Lloyd George, while withholding all reference to what had actually taken place with regard to the dealings in American shares, made declarations or interjections which, even if on a careful scrutiny they can be seen to refer only to the specific charge of having bought British Marconi shares, were calculated to convey an impression, and did in fact generally convey the impression, that none of them had ever had any interest, direct or indirect, in Marconi shares of any kind.

It is impossible to admit the plea that any mention of the actual dealings in American shares would have been irrelevant because Ministers were only concerned in denying the specific charges brought against them. No specific charge of any kind had in fact been formulated in the House of Commons. But there was a general uneasiness as to the possibility of anything in the conduct of Ministers being accountable for the existence

of rumours. That uneasiness demanded an immediate, full, and straightforward statement. In evading such a statement, Ministers failed to treat the House of Commons with the frankness or the respect to which it is entitled.

42. When the Committee was appointed it provisionally arranged its procedure in such a fashion as to allow of all criticisms of the contract and all possible charges against Ministers to be definitely formulated before asking Ministers to reply. This procedure would obviously not have been adopted if the Committee had been in possession of the facts, and we regret that Ministers committed another grave error of judgment in not communicating the facts to the Chairman at once and asking to be called to give evidence without delay, particularly as Lord Murray was to leave England early in January of this year, which he in fact did.

A mere intimation of readiness to be called, which the Attorney-General did make, was not sufficient; and a communication to two members of the Committee, treated by them as confidential, merely emphasised the failure to make a full disclosure to the Committee as a whole.

43. It further appears that even the Prime Minister was not told the full facts until January of this year. On March 19, 1913, came the action for libel against the *Matin*, one of the main objects of which was, we were told, to enable Ministers to explain exactly how matters stood. Even then, however, a very incomplete account of what had occurred was given. Nothing was said of the later transactions by Mr. Lloyd George in purchasing 3000 shares on May 22 or of his sale of the 1000 shares on April 20.

We were told that this was due to the advice of counsel. But phrases were used by the Attorney-General in giving evidence at that trial which certainly appeared to suggest that the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was precisely similar to his own. Moreover, the Attorney-General did not in that case say from whom he bought the shares or what he gave for them. Even when he came to give evidence before us he unfortunately used language on the first day of his evidence which appeared to indicate that it was left to him to sell Mr. Lloyd George's shares as well as his own and that he was really doing the whole

transaction, and it was only at the end of the second day that he casually dropped out that Mr. Lloyd George had sold 1000 shares in his own name, and it was not until the next day that he told us of the second purchase by Mr. Lloyd George on May 22.

The transactions of Lord Murray on behalf of the Liberal Party funds do not appear to have been disclosed to any of his own colleagues, not even to his successor in the position of Chief Party Whip. Indeed, he intended apparently to conceal them altogether from the Committee. With that object he did not hand over to his successor the certificates of the shares he had bought with the money belonging to the Party, meaning to keep them until the Marconi business had been "cleaned up." But for the accident that the broker through whom these transactions were conducted defaulted, neither the Committee nor the public would have ever heard anything about them.

44. We feel that this apparent shrinking from a full disclosure of the whole of the transactions by Ministers in American Marconi shares is largely responsible for an uneasy impression that perhaps even now the whole truth is not known, and this impression has been strengthened by the acceptance on the part of Ministers of an arrangement proposed to them by the majority of the Committee by which only the Chairman and an expert were allowed to see the pass books which Ministers had originally tendered for the inspection of the Committee, and by the very regrettable failure of Lord Murray to present himself for examination as a witness before the Committee, in spite of more than one invitation to do so.

45. We therefore beg to report that we have come to the following conclusions:

(1) So far as we have been able to ascertain, no Minister, official, or member of Parliament had been influenced in the discharge of his public duties by reason of any interest he may have had in any of the Marconi or other undertakings connected with wireless telegraphy, or has utilised information coming to him from official sources for the purpose of investment or speculation in any such undertaking.

(2) We are of opinion that the Attorney-General acted with grave impropriety in making an advantageous purchase of

shares in the Marconi Company of America upon advice and information not then fully available to the public given to him by the Managing Director of the English Marconi Company, which was in course of obtaining from the Government a contract of very great importance—a contract which even when concluded with the Government had to be ratified by the House of Commons. By doing so he placed himself, however unwittingly, in a position in which his private interest, or sense of obligation, might easily have been in conflict with his public duty.

(3) We think that the Chancellor and the then Chief Ministerial Whip, in taking over a portion of the Attorney-General's shares on the same advice and information, are open to the same censure; and we hold this to be also true of the purchase of shares for the Liberal Party funds by the Chief Whip, so far as such purchase was due to the same advice and information.

(4) We find that the purchase of shares by Ministers on April 17 was made at a time when the shares could not have been bought in the ordinary course on the Stock Exchange and at a price lower than that at which an ord nary member of the public could have then bought them. The Attorney-General obtained these advantages because he took the shares from Mr. Harry Isaacs, who had to his knowledge taken them on even more advantageous terms from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. We think these circumstances increase the impropriety of the transaction.

(5) We are of opinion that the Marconi Company of America was materially interested, although indirectly, in the conclusion of the agreement between the English Marconi Company and the British Government, and it was therefore in any case, apart from any question of purchase on special information, or on special terms, highly inadvisable for Ministers to take shares in the American Marconi Company while the agreement was still pending.

(6) We hold that the transactions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were in the main in the nature of speculation rather than investment, and that this applies in a less degree to the transactions of the Attorney-General.

(7) We think that the circular distributed by the Marconi Company on March 7, 1912, gave a misleading account of the tender which had been accepted by the Government, in omitting one of its most important terms, and we regret that the Postmaster-General did not take adequate steps to correct this omission.

(8) We think that the action of the Postmaster-General in trying to obtain the ratification of the agreement by the House of Commons without enquiry, after he knew of the share transactions of the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was regrettable.

(9) We find that the rumours current in the City of London as to the connection between Ministers and Marconi shares, however recklessly and inaccurately expressed, arose chiefly from distorted accounts of Ministerial dealings in the shares of the American Company, and that they were not the mere invention of journalists.

We find no justification for the suggestion that any member of Parliament or any persons connected with the Poulsen system were responsible for the origination or dissemination of the rumours.

(10) We are of opinion that the persistence of rumours and suspicions has been largely due to the reticence of Ministers, particularly in the debate in October 1912. We regard that reticence as a grave error of judgment and as wanting in frankness and in respect for the House of Commons.

(11) Except as above stated there is no ground for thinking that any Minister or official (apart from Mr. Taylor, whose case has already been dealt with) or member of Parliament who appeared before us had any financial dealing direct or indirect in any Marconi or other undertaking connected with wireless telegraphy.

V. AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

As the reader will have gathered elsewhere in this number, the majority of the so-called "Select Committee," popularly termed the "Whitewashers," have denounced the publication of "unfounded charges against the honour and integrity of public men . . . of a particularly vile character," and have placed the *National Review* on the Index Falconieres-Boothiensis. The House of Commons has followed suit by passing a resolution acquitting Ministers "of acting otherwise than in good faith,* and reprobates the charges of corruption brought against Ministers which have been proved wholly false." Parliament has wisely abstained from specifying either the charges or the chargers, and in his moving tribute to the services rendered to Unclean Government by the Hush-up press, and diatribe against those who are fighting the good fight for Clean Government, Mr. Asquith likewise avoided giving particulars. However, fools rush in where angels fear to tread. Mr. Lloyd George was sufficiently obliging to bring the *National Review* into the picture as belonging to some purely imaginary "confederacy" bent on blackening the fair fame of the great and good man still at the Exchequer. Mr. Lloyd George is little else than a factory of falsehood, and one more or less does not matter.

The reader need not take alarm, as we have no intention of boring him by an elaborate justification of the campaign of the *National Review* against the threatened introduction of Panama Government into this country, because it needs no justification. The facts as established on oath speak for themselves. But in order to demonstrate the amazing restraint with which we have pursued this topic, it may be worth while to reconstitute some paragraphs of "Episodes of the Month" as they might have been written in May 1912, in the light of present knowledge concerning the incredible events of the preceding month, after which we will leave the issue as between the *National Review* and the Select Committee and the House of Commons to the judgment of our readers.

* A parliamentary glossary is needed defining "bad faith" for the benefit of the man in the street.

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 351. MAY 1912

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

(AS THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN)

A Titanic Catastrophe

ALTHOUGH writing under the shadow of the appalling catastrophe to the Titanic, we make no excuse for giving precedence to the great moral disaster which has befallen the Asquith Cabinet, the effects of which are likely to be felt throughout the present generation. The Premier is so busy in plundering churches and dismembering kingdoms as a condition of his "toe the line" existence, that he is unable to exercise that supervision over colleagues which Mr. Gladstone laid down as among the primary duties of the Prime Minister. There has grown up under his very eyes, without his being aware of it, one of the most portentous scandals in British Parliamentary government. The facts are so stupefying that we may economise our epithets. It will be generally agreed that low as the *moral* of the country has sunk during the present régime, no Government in any civilised country could survive these disclosures for a day, and even should Mr. Asquith's devotion to office lead him to try and carry on after dismissing the chief culprits, things could only go from bad to worse with a Party which claims to have all the talents and most of the virtues. Indeed it is incredible that he should succeed in persuading his more serious colleagues to co-operate in any such forlorn hope. They will be able to see things as they are, and will recognise that the only atonement that can be made to the country is the immediate retirement of the entire

Cabinet, which on the principle of Cabinet solidarity, is collectively responsible for the offences of its members. Odious as has been the Asquith régime from every point of view, and urgent as is the need for its downfall, we are sincerely sorry in the interests of the country that it should end in this squalid ignominy, though we may console ourselves on the ground that had such transactions been successfully hushed up, things would have gone from bad to worse and British government would rapidly sink to the level prevailing in the more corrupt communities of South America.

Marconi Agreement

Now for the facts which concern a somewhat obscure topic, of which the general public is at present in the dark, for the simple reason that Mr. Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster-General, has obstinately refused to give any information to the House of Commons. This reticence is in itself mysterious. We doubt whether one in a hundred of our readers has even heard of the Marconi Agreement—however familiar may be the name of the brilliant Marconi—arranged between the Post Office and the Marconi Company so long ago as March 7, for the establishment of an Imperial Wireless chain. But the City has long been agog on the subject as there has been an amazing boom in "Marconis" during the negotiations between the Company and the Government. The Post Office could surely have stopped any gamble in the shares of a Company with which it was conducting confidential negotiations by threatening to break them off—Mr. Lloyd George's vaunted Patents Act makes the British Government master of the situation—or by publicly announcing that in any event before being presented to Parliament for ratification, the contract would be submitted to an independent Committee. We cannot penetrate Mr. Samuel's motives, but he is obviously responsible for the disaster which has overtaken the Government, as his lack of candour in Parliament has given the speculators their opportunity—not that we are entitled to suggest that he has taken any part in the speculation. As indicating the lengths to which the policy of silence has been carried, it may be noted that when he was asked in the middle of March (by Major Archer Shee) "When the House will have an opportunity of discussing

the recent Agreement with the Marconi Company," Mr. Samuel replied, "As soon as the formal contract has been signed it will be laid on the Table of the House in accordance with the usual practice; but I cannot at present say how soon this will be."

One-sided Publication

MEANWHILE the other party to the contract, the Marconi Company, were able (without let or hindrance from the Post Office), so long ago as March 7 to issue a circular to its shareholders, announcing their triumph and setting forth the terms of the Agreement about which all information is denied to Parliament. What does this mean? Before the appearance of this circular there was, as we have said, a Marconi boom, obviously through leakage somewhere, but since its appearance, which can in no sense be regarded as an "announcement" or "publication" to the British taxpayer, there has been another tremendous boom in Marconi shares which actually rose £5 between March 17 and April 17, various subsidiary companies of the contracting Company sharing in the harvest over which immense sums of money have been made by those "in the know" at the expense of outsiders. There can be no shadow of doubt as to the financial value of this preliminary Agreement to the Company, but judging by the facts set forth in the circular which declares that "The Company shall receive 10 per cent. of the gross receipts of all the long distance stations so erected for the term of the Agreement, which is 28 years from the date of the opening to service of the first three stations," the Postmaster-General has made a deplorable bargain, which, doubtless, accounts for his reluctance to lay facts before Parliament which are being indecently exploited in the City. Possibly he would excuse himself on the ground that elaborate negotiations are necessary before the completion of the contract in which various Government Departments are concerned, conspicuously the Treasury, but as we shall see that only emphasises the plight of some of his colleagues. Not to overburden these pages with superfluous details we need only say that the successful negotiations —*i.e.* successful from the Company's point of view—have been exclusively conducted, not by Mr. Marconi, the well-known Chairman of the Company to which he gives his name, but by the General Manager, a certain Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the brother of a very distin-

guished and important member of his Majesty's Government, Sir Rufus Isaacs the Attorney-General. This is in any case lamentable, because it presumably deprives the Government of the advice and assistance of the principal Law Officer of the Crown—to whom we taxpayers pay an enormous salary—on a contract which necessarily bristles with legal difficulties, and if the arrangement is as favourable to the Company as its shareholders have been led to believe, a view which is confirmed by the secretiveness of the Post Office, the public will naturally be hypercritical.

Ministerial Gamblers

MINISTERS cannot complain if it is inferred that the relationship of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the plenipotentiary of the Marconi Company, has been a useful asset to the Company however ignorant the Attorney-General may have been of the negotiations. For one thing, as we have said, it robs us of the protection of the Attorney-General, which is in itself an immense advantage to the Company. Unfortunately the matter does not rest there. According to our information, which we take full responsibility for publishing, Sir Rufus Isaacs, doubtless, through fraternal affection, has during the past month become financially interested to the tune of £20,000 in one of the Marconi Companies in which not only Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the Master of Elibank, the Chief Government Whip, are likewise financially interested. To make matters much worse, the entire Liberal Party has become compromised through the astounding action of their chief Whip, who, not content with taking a share of Sir Rufus Isaacs's holding on his private account, has actually bought 2500 American Marconis—a highly speculative stock—as trustee of the Liberal Party funds, which, considering the demand for the shares, must have been pledged to the extent of nearly £50,000, unless the Master of Elibank was specially favoured over other applicants. We can see the sceptical smile provoked by such assertions. The reader will either imagine that we have allowed our partisanship to run away with us in making these absurd and scandalous imputations upon distinguished members of the Government, or that we have taken leave of our senses and should be confined in the nearest lunatic asylum.

We are, however, simply telling the truth, and we take full responsibility for assertions which can be immediately tested by questions in the House of Commons or in the Law Courts. We do not anticipate either of these courses, because directly the facts reach the Prime Minister, his colleagues will admit their truth, and their places will immediately become vacant whatever may happen to the rest of the Government.

To be precise. This deplorable transaction came about as follows. The moment the enterprising Mr. Godfrey Isaacs had captured the British Post Office, he took the first steamer to New York, accompanied by Mr. Marconi and a *posse comitatus* of solicitors, jobbers, &c., attached to the Marconi Company, for the purpose of reorganising Marconi business in the United States, where a derelict United Wireless Company had hampered a not very successful Marconi Company —in which the parent Company held a preponderance of shares. After a short, sharp, but decisive struggle, in which we cannot help thinking that Mr. Godfrey Isaacs's operations may have been promoted by the extraordinarily injudicious telegram which Sir Rufus Isaacs sent to the Marconi Banquet in New York (March 16)*—Mr. Godfrey Isaacs succeeded in buying up the assets of the United Wireless Company for the English Marconi Company and reselling them at a large profit to the American Marconi Company. Meanwhile, as the Americans were believed to be "fed up" with wireless finance, it was decided to float a reorganised American Marconi Company in London, where people were Marconi-mad at the moment and would readily absorb any shares bearing the magic label. The intimacy between these two Marconi Companies—English and American—may be gathered *inter alia* from the fact that the

The Lunch

* This telegram was thus published in the *New York Times*, which gave the Banquet in question:

London, *Sunday, March* 17.

Please congratulate Marconi and my brother (Godfrey Isaacs, General Manager of the Marconi Company) on the successful development of a marvellous enterprise. I wish them all success in New York, and hope that by the time they come back the coal strike will be finished.

(*Signed*) RUFUS ISAACS

(*Attorney-General of Great Britain*.

English Marconi Company held a majority of shares in the old Company which involved a very large holding in the new Company —both Mr. Marconi and Mr. Isaacs were on the boards of both— and moreover the parent guaranteed the issue of the whole 1,400,000 new five-dollar shares, say £1,400,000. Of this number Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the Managing Director, made himself responsible for 500,000, of which he had already disposed of 400,000 before he left New York. We have reason to believe that he returned to London on April 8, and almost his first action, if we are correctly informed, was to invite his two brothers (Mr. Harry Isaacs and Sir Rufus Isaacs) to lunch on April 9, though we have been unable to ascertain the rendezvous.

The Fall

MR. GODFREY ISAACS, according to our informant, was full of his American scheme, which he depicted in glowing colours to his sympathetic audience, offering his brothers as much as they liked of the 100,000 new American Marconis at par, say £1$\frac{1}{16}$. In order to appreciate this extraordinary episode the reader must bear in mind that Mr. Godfrey Isaacs was the Managing Director of *the* Marconi Company engaged in completing an immense contract with the British Government in which he would personally conduct the negotiations, as he had those resulting in the Agreement of March 7 which the Post Office is understood to regard as neither "a contract" nor even an "Agreement." The Attorney-General realised the impossibility and impropriety of his entertaining his brother's attractive financial proposal, and he went away leaving the brethren to discuss it. The other brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, with whom we have no concern save in so far as he is related to the Attorney-General, and upon whom no imputation lies, as he has no connection with the Government or any fiduciary capacity, took no less than 56,000 of his brother Godfrey's American Marconis at par. Sir Rufus Isaacs, as our readers are probably aware from newspaper accounts of their movements, is an intimate friend of Mr. Lloyd George and the Master of Elibank, and he may at this time, or he may not, have discussed with them the subject of American Marconis. On April 14 came the tragedy of the *Titanic*, and all the world was talking wireless. We are informed that Sir Rufus Isaacs met Mr. Harry Isaacs

on April 17, which was two days before "American Marconis" were to be introduced to the London market, and ultimately consented to buy 10,000 shares at what the brothers then regarded as the "market price," namely £2, though there was no "market" except for insiders or specially knowing ones. The reader will be struck by the generosity of Sir Rufus Isaacs in paying so large a sum as nearly £10,000 to one brother for his refusal to accept the other brother's offer of a few days before, though admittedly insiders had been putting up the price in the interval, as the *Titanic* disaster pointed to another sensational "Marconi boom." That same day, so we are informed by those upon whom we rely for this amazing story, Sir Rufus Isaacs offered 1000 of his 10,000 American Marconis to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and another 1000 to the Chief Whip of the Party, at the same price, namely £2, but he considerately told them that they need not trouble about paying for them. His colleagues accepted the offer knowing the original source of these shares, *i.e.* the Managing Director of the Marconi Company, with which their Government was completing a contract interesting many Departments, including the Treasury, and requiring Parliamentary ratification.

"Tip"

DOUBTLESS our "investors" persuaded themselves that the American Company had no interest in this contract, but it would be difficult to maintain such a proposition seeing that the British boom had been so largely built up on the Imperial wireless negotiations, while the American boom had been largely built up on the British boom, and the mere fact that Mr. Marconi and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs were members of both Boards should have made them suspicious of their own belief in the independence of these Companies. They saw nothing improper in accepting a valuable "tip" in every sense of the word, totally oblivious of the sinister aspect of such a transaction. If there were three Ministers who ought to keep clear of all Marconi speculations pending the contract, they were the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chief Whip, who would be responsible for steering through Parliament an Agreement against which murmurs were already arising. Anyhow the indisputable fact remains, that on April 17, *i.e.*

only a few days ago, they bought between them 10,000 American Marconis at £2, a price not available to the writer or the reader, who, if sending an order to their brokers on April 17 to buy 10,000 American Marconis, would have been unable to secure any until two days later, April 19, when they would have had to pay £3 5s. per £1 share. Moreover, so great was the rush for shares that only 15 per cent. of ordinary applications were allotted. The reader can roughly estimate the benefit secured by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his friends. Unlike the general public they got the shares they wanted at a preferential price which enabled them to make quick and large profits, which might have amounted to £20,000 in two days, because at one moment American Marconis touched £4 on this fateful April 19. Ministers were fully alive to the value of their "good thing." Directly the market opened and the outside public for the first time learnt what Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. already knew, Ministerial operations began, 3570 of their 10,000 shares being sold at an average price of £3 6s. 6d., 357 shares being credited by the Attorney-General to Mr. Lloyd George's account and 357 to that of the Master of Elibank—a peculiarly profitable transaction as it represented what may fairly be described as an "unearned increment" of several hundred pounds a day to the arch enemy of "unearned increment." The following day, April 20, Mr. Lloyd George went off, so to speak, "on his own" (and the Master of Elibank's) selling another 1000 shares at $3\frac{5}{32}$—on the advice of a prudent broker, so it is rumoured in the city, who regarded American Marconis as an undesirable investment. We leave our readers to do their own arithmetic. They will have no difficulty in calculating the net result of these transactions taken without any risk. Those were happy days in Downing Street, even if they be numbered.

Whitewash?

What further Marconi speculations our gamblers may contemplate we cannot guess any more than we are aware of other speculations which other Ministers may conceivably have indulged in in other Marconi Companies, as after what has happened the public will be entitled to believe that anything is possible to members of the Asquith Government. As we said at the beginning, we should economise

our epithets as the facts speak eloquently for themselves and we are quite content to leave the scandal to the judgment of the country. We hope that parliamentary government has not yet sunk sufficiently low to enable the Prime Minister to whitewash his colleagues. There is no need to treat the question from a party point of view as no party could afford to sanction such proceedings; but party spirit has been carried to such appalling lengths under the Irish lash that everything is possible. Should the Radicals decide that Mr. Lloyd George is too valuable an asset to be thrown overboard, however burdened with Marconi shares, we need not worry, as in that case the Government would commit political suicide, which is perhaps the simplest way out of the *impasse.* That men must be judged not by their motives but by their acts is made clear by a valuable clause in the Indian Penal Code, though we leave lawyers to decide whether it bears analogy to the present case. Section 165 runs as follows:

Whoever, being a public servant, accepts or obtains or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, for himself or for any other person, any valuable thing, without consideration, or for a consideration which he knows to be inadequate, from any person whom he knows to have been, or to be, or to be likely to be concerned in any proceeding or business transaction, or about to be transacted by such public servant, or having any connection with the official functions of himself or of any public servant to whom he is subordinate, or from any person whom he knows to be interested in or related to the person so concerned, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Party Funds

THERE is yet another still more startling fact. Not only have Ministers hopelessly compromised themselves by Marconi speculations if only because apart from Departmental business, at any moment the Marconi question might become a Cabinet question and private interests find themselves in conflict with public duties, but the Party as a whole is equally compromised. We have just ascertained through an accident that the funds of the Radical Party have been "invested" in a Marconi Company. As already stated, thanks to Sir Rufus Isaacs and the good offices of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs (though it is alleged that the latter is not aware of the big fish in his net) the Master of Elibank acquired on April 17, 1000 American Marconis at £2 apiece on his private account. As Chief Whip he exercises unfettered control over

the Party funds and he became so enamoured of American Marconis that, unbeknown to his intimate friends, Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George, on the following day, April 18, he bought 2500 shares for the "Party" for which he paid 3¼, the recognised "coming out" price—at a total cost of over £8000. We are not commenting upon his conduct as a trustee because we are not yet aware of all the facts. We are solely concerned with the public aspects of this transaction. Ordinary applicants for American Marconis on April 18 only received, as we have said, 15 per cent. of their demand. Therefore if the Master of Elibank was treated as an ordinary applicant, he must, in order to secure 2500 shares, have applied for at least 15,000 and have been prepared to pledge approximately £50,000 of the "Party funds" to a Marconi Company "associated" with the parent Company, in contractual relations with the Government. Or alternatively, as Chief Whip, whose good offices might be useful, he may have been treated as a privileged being—not in price this time, but as regards allotment—and accorded all the shares he wanted, namely 2500. The public will be interested to have the answer to these and many other questions which require thrashing out. Optimists have always sought to console us by asserting that political corruption was confined to Protectionist countries, and that we were immune from any risk of unclean government thanks to Free Imports. What do they say to-day? Are not such transactions as we have disclosed the preliminaries of "Panama" Government?

All this and a good deal more might have been written a year ago in the "National Review" without any risk of contradiction. As it is I am positively ashamed of the moderation and innocence with which the Marconi question has been discussed.

L. J. MAXSE.

A SPORTSMAN'S VISIT TO BULGARIA

It was a typical October afternoon some four years ago as the Orient Express drew up in Sofia station and deposited its few passengers on the platform. They emerged with every sign of pleasure after two days of stuffy confinement, and one, at least, had no regrets on bidding good-bye to the acquaintances made on the journey. Sofia lies in a plain seventeen hundred feet high between the Balkans and the Rhodope. The town is well known to travellers and is almost entirely modern, with electric trams, light, and all the other appurtenances of Western civilisation, which mingle oddly with the creaking buffalo carts and the sheep-skin coats of the peasants in the streets. Little remains of the old wooden one-story shanties of which the town consisted thirty years ago.

The population of about one hundred thousand still shows the mixed characteristics common to towns in the Levant. There were said to be thirty thousand Macedonians, employed mainly in the building and allied trades, whose quickness and versatility were a source of more envy than admiration to their slower-witted compatriots. The Israelites and Armenians were numerous in the retail trade, having replaced the Greeks, who were all hunted out of the country at the time when Greek and Bulgarian bands were at each other's throats in Macedonia. The Jews, by the way, are called Spaniards by courtesy—at any rate they call themselves so—owing to the fact that they still speak the language of Castile over most of the East—almost as unexpected and strange a survival as the use of the Maria Theresa dollar by the modern Abyssinians. The gypsies formed an important element of the population. Men and women wear trousers and are curiously dirty in their appearance. They talk their own tongue amongst themselves, but have given up their nomadic habits

and live now in fixed abodes, strange modern dwellings made often of little else but old packing-cases and kerosene tins. They are regarded by the rest somewhat as outcasts, and earn a livelihood as porters and hucksters and odd-job men generally. These are the men described by some of the more exuberant of the war-correspondents as "Turks," whose inferiority to their Christian neighbours was quickly discerned as symptomatic of the trend of the campaign.

Finally, there were the Bulgarians, whose fame has since spread the world over. They take but little part in the trade of the town and have none of the suppleness necessary in commerce. Indeed, it was said that no transaction in the market was possible between two Bulgarian peasants without the intervention of a gypsy, who ran between the two, arguing, whittling down the price of the seller and raising the offer of the purchaser, till, at last, with the stroking caress universal in the East, he would bring the recalcitrant men of business together and all three would adjourn for refreshment. The Bulgarian is truly a son of the soil, wedded to the uncomplaining earth, whose very qualities he seems to have drawn into his being. Unequalled obstinacy and tenacity of purpose, combined with the most practical point of view, promise great things for his race. Frugal and taciturn, he has none of the thoughtless cheeriness of the Roumanian, the expansiveness of the Serb, or the dreamy, unpractical idealism of the Russian. He resembles rather the Lowland Scot and carries his many admirable qualities beneath an exterior which it is not every one's good fortune to penetrate.

Autumn is the finest season in most parts of the world, and nowhere more so than on the high Bulgarian plain, where the clear, cool air and radiant sun give full value to the distant mountains. The purchase of a gun-licence puts all the shooting of the country at the disposal of the sportsman, provided he keeps outside enclosures, which are few. In old days, before the spread of cheap firearms and before there was any regular market for game in the towns, very good shooting could be had round Sofia; but this was no longer so when we arrived, and the sportsman must now expect a long tramp rather than a heavy bag and must not be surprised, when at last he reaches a favourite bit of ground, to find that it has just been scoured by a rival party

from Sofia, or visited that morning by a couple of village shooters. These are incidents which must be borne with what equanimity they can find by those accustomed to the carefully preserved fields of England.

The Sofia plain seems to lie in the direct route of the great autumn and spring migrations of birds from Russia and Central Europe to the shores of Africa. The various kinds of hawks were extraordinarily numerous, and red-footed falcons streamed in flocks to their roosting-places in the evenings. Hobbies, kestrels, both lesser and greater, merlins, peregrines, and other kinds difficult to identify, were always in sight, and it was hard to see where the food for such a host was to be found. There were, it is true, great numbers of a kind of vole, and small birds, especially larks, were very abundant. But the kestrels and red-footed falcons seemed to pay little heed to them and may have found some insect food which we did not see. The hawks were about the plain for some weeks, but only a few of the resident species were to be seen by the end of October.

Enquiries as to shooting soon put us in touch with an old Hungarian cab-driver, who had personally conducted Western sportsmen to the best spots in the neighbourhood for many years. His German, which was the only language we had in common, was a constant source of amusement to us, and he referred to various distinguished officials of former days in terms which would have astonished them not a little. There was one mysterious and semi-heroic individual whose identity completely baffled us for a considerable time. He was always referred to as "Der Olliot," and the fabulous nature of his bags and the infinitesimal number of cartridges with which he had obtained his results never failed to fill us with respectful envy; especially my companion, who was a first-rate game-shot and had won the Grand Prix at Monte Carlo not long before. After much discussion we came to the conclusion that this personage must be his Majesty's present representative at Athens, who had for some years resided at Sofia.

We made a good many excursions in the next few days. Borosch, the coachman, was the possessor of a shabby old victoria and a pair of skinny horses which were a good deal bigger than the usual native nags and, if hardly over-fed, were at any rate

well cared for. With this equipage we negotiated roads which would soon have settled the fate of a heavy English carriage and pair of fat horses. For the roads were typical Slav roads, axle-deep in mud after rain, and full of cavernous pits and ruts in dry weather. Has any one satisfactorily explained the workings of the natural law which condemns the Slav races to dwell in the midst of a sea of mud? Here the peasants walked about the villages on short stilts in wet weather.

Cultivation and drainage are slowly but surely curtailing the vast marshes which once stretched across the plain, and they are now reduced to isolated patches varying in size from good large stretches, which take all the afternoon to walk over, to small bits which could be finished in half an hour. The large stretches were the most distant and required a whole day to do them justice. When we had no time to visit these we would start off after an early lunch and drive from patch to patch along tracks and over fields which were then bare of crops. When we came to a good stretch of turf Borosch would whip up his horses and, standing on the box, urge them on with strange cries. They responded with unexpected gallantry, would even try to kick over the traces, and the swaying of the carriage over the soft turf, the rush of the keen air, and the shouts of our Jehu produced an effect of exhilaration beyond anything to be experienced at a day's covert-shooting at home. Borosch was, in fact, a bold and skilful driver, even when we lunched out and after he had emptied the bottle of red Bulgarian wine which was his favourite beverage. White wine he would not touch and knew the quality of the supply of every inn for miles round. There was one he would never pass; "Such a good wine it were a sin to leave," he always said.

The marshy ground was the only resort of game in the neighbourhood of Sofia after the maize had been cut at the end of August. The maize never attracted me. It only contained quails and a few hares; and the prodigious heat during the quail season and the lack of variety in the shot itself combine with the smallness of the quarry to make the sport of quail-shooting in these regions a doubtful pleasure. Even in Egypt in the winter it cannot be compared to any other form of shooting which provides at all the same number of shots.

In the marshes the variety was considerable, if the actual

numbers bagged were small. Our autumn bag included common snipe, jack snipe, double snipe, dotterel, green plovers, ruffs, mallard, teal, and garganey. Of these far the most numerous were the common snipe, but the bags were very small; the best afternoon to my own gun was only eighteen head, and often we tramped for several hours for eight or ten head. But the bags were perhaps the least part of the enjoyment, for the marshes were full of birds impossible of approach. Geese would rise from a distant pool, and great flocks of plover and waders sweep past out of shot; the garganey were in great numbers at times, and shovellers, widgeon, and other fowl constantly on the move. Once a small flock of great bustard flew quite close past us in the carriage, but we never saw them again. The double snipe is a heavy bird on the wing compared to his common cousin and is easily known by his light-coloured rump. He utters a low, grating cry when he rises and does not seem to be more solitary than the full snipe. He is, I think, superior to all his relatives on the table, and Borosch considered him the only quarry really worthy of pursuit. "Duppler" he called them, but included in the term all waders bigger than the common snipe, which he called "simpler." Jack snipe were the object of pitying contempt and named "miserabler."

The villagers, as has been said, haunt the marshes and account largely for the smallness of the bags. It is not every villager who shoots. Usually, in fact, there is only one sportsman in the village, just as there is one innkeeper and one wag. He is a professional, and it says much for the orderliness of the population that I never heard of trouble between a visitor and one of these men whose livelihood depended upon their bag. It always surprised us that these professionals found it worth their while to shoot snipe, and presumably they picked their shots very carefully. Their chief object was ducks, and they would make artificial pools in the plain by damming up a drain and sit up all night close by in a little hut dug in the ground and covered with turf. Some had decoy ducks in the pool, but whether they were tethered in lines, as is done in France in order to avoid their being shot in the dark, I cannot say.

As is well known, the eagle, though not regarded by Englishmen as a desirable addition to the bag, is considered by Conti-

nental sportsmen as a great prize. Round Sofia eagles were fairly common—golden eagles they seemed to be—and Borosch explained at great length the first day we went out that we were on no account to fire on one. It appears that in Bulgaria the bird is a sure protection against hail, and one of Borosch's patrons had years before got into serious trouble with some villagers for shooting an eagle. One cannot help wondering whether this connection of the eagle with hail is not a very old superstition. The "Bird of Jove," which flitted uneasily across our school-days, never suggested to me hail or anything else half so concrete; but Jove was the god of thunder, which usually accompanies hail, and it may be that the belief of the villagers of the Sofia plain was held by the ancients more than two thousand years ago. In any case the modern Bulgarians do not rely exclusively on the protection of the bird; they fire rockets at the clouds to burst them when a hailstorm threatens. Perhaps this, too, is the manifestation of a superstition of a more scientific order.

As December approached sport in the plain became more and more precarious, and we determined to try a trip in the Rhodope, the range of mountains which divided Bulgaria from Turkey to the south. Chamois, bears, wolves, and roe were reported at first to be numerous, but they all diminished in the most disappointing fashion before closer enquiry. Finally we decided to fix on chamois, partly because they undoubtedly existed and partly because their pursuit would take us above the forest zone and into a country well worth visiting even if we returned empty-handed. Every species of game in Bulgaria has its own particular close-time, and that for chamois was extended to the whole year except December in the hope of saving the race from extinction. December had been left free because few people care to go on to the high ground so late. We thought the arrangement an excellent one, and were a little disappointed when we arrived near our ground to be told by every one that we ought to have come in July, as that was far the best month for chamois-shooting. General astonishment was expressed at our being influenced in our choice by the accident of the close season.

We left Sofia by train in thick, raw weather; the mountains were completely hidden by the mist, and in vain we tried to believe it was clearing. At the wayside station, on the main

line to Constantinople, where we got out, a couple of carriages were waiting to take us to a large village near the foot of the mountains. Here we had a wait of several hours while the pack ponies, which were supposed to be waiting, were got ready.

During this interval we seemed to make the acquaintance of everybody in the place. All the local hunters were in waiting, fine active men with rifles slung over their backs and the thick felt clothes and raw-hide shoes which are now so familiar to all readers of the illustrated papers. These same shoes make, by the way, excellent brogues for wading in chalk streams; they are much lighter than ordinary brogues, but are quite useless in Northern rivers, as they slip on wet rock.

We saw at once that it was hopeless to fight against fate and abandoned the idea of a quiet and businesslike excursion with one, or at most two men. When we finally moved off at about one o'clock we were accompanied by some dozen volunteers who had expressed their desire and determination to join our party. I felt really sorry for the village schoolmaster, an excellent fellow, who had joined us at lunch, at being left behind, complaining loudly that his official duties gave him no time for enjoyment.

Our party soon left the flat and engaged in the spurs of the mountains, thickly covered with hazel, low beech, and oak. As we climbed, the slush was left behind and the paths became deep in snow. The men seemed confident of clear weather above, but it was difficult to believe it possible in the thick mist below. Yet after a couple of hours it became visibly brighter, and as we reached the spruce and left the deciduous trees behind, the sun broke through the clouds and turned the dull woods to a glittering glory.

Few occurrences in Nature are more wonderful than the flight of the mist before the sun. One has waited perhaps hours in the murky light without hope of change, and suddenly, in a moment, the hidden scene is spread before you in all its splendour. So it was now, and from the path, which skirted a ridge, we looked upon a solid pall of dazzling cloud through which the Balkans far to the north shouldered their way into the sun.

It was dark by the time we reached our destination, a hut over five thousand feet up, just where the spruce gave way to the *Pinus montana*, the "latchen" so well known to hunters

in Tyrol and Styria as almost impenetrable. The snow was here more than two feet deep, and the mountain-stream in front of the hut frozen almost solid. We were pretty tired and glad to get into the heat of the iron stove which our followers soon had almost red-hot with blazing wood.

After an excellent meal we retired to our half of the hut. The others, whose numbers had been further swelled by the arrival of a friendly gendarme, passed a perfectly happy night all in one small room, and talking as such men do all the world over.

Next morning, to our relief, some of our friends stayed at home, and we started off with quite a reasonable following up the valley. The snow was deep and the going extraordinarily heavy amongst the dwarf pines, which were inextricably laced together about breast-high. The men said the chamois were most likely to be amongst these, and I did my best to spy the ground thoroughly; but I have never seen a background so difficult as that formed by a mixture of dazzling snow, dark pines, and grey rock. It was no surprise to me, therefore, when, before I had seen anything, one of the hunters picked up a chamois about five hundred yards off with his naked eye. The beast had picked us up, too, and moved up the valley ahead of us.

We saw nothing more till we reached the limit of the mountain pines and began to climb the side of the glen to get a clear view. We were near the top and pretty blown when I suddenly saw a chamois galloping down from the open hill above us back to the wood; he looked like a black woolly ball in the snow. We rushed forward to cut him off and were literally sobbing when he crossed barely a hundred yards above us. I was a little ahead of my companion and took the first shot, then followed three others between us, and he disappeared.

I could have cried with mortification. I had never had a shot at a chamois before and hardly really expected a shot at all when we started; he was, moreover, a good buck and in the finest winter coat; his much coveted "bart" stood up along his back like the hair of a great rough dog about to engage in a fight. Where the shots went I have no idea, and the worst of it was that he stood for my second shot. The men shook their heads and we tramped on to the top.

From the ridge there was nothing to be seen but the sea of cloud below, the distant Balkans, and the long array of glittering

peaks which marked the Turkish frontier. Our hunters declared that the best thing was for them to drive the dwarf pines down to us. We went down the top of the ridge and stood at the edge of the spruce wood. My boots were not proof against the snow, and never, even hind-shooting in Scotland, have I suffered such agonies of cold in the feet as during that long wait. When the men finally came up I took off my boots, wrung out the stockings, and rubbed some sort of feeling into my feet.

There is no doubt that ordinary shooting-boots are quite useless in snow. The only thing to wear are boots big enough to take a pair of thick woollen socks over the ordinary stockings and still feel loose. With such boots and putties to keep the snow out of the top of them, one can defy any amount of snow in comfort, but anything like a fitting boot with one pair of stockings is torture. It may be wondered how the men fared in their raw-hide shoes. They suffered a good deal, but, as they were walking all the time and it was not cold enough for frost-bite, they were comfortable compared with ourselves; but their foot-gear was thoroughly unsuitable and they got soaked and slipped about a great deal.

We had a return drive of the top of the spruce wood and a chamois crossed the bottom of the glen below me. He was over three hundred yards off, but I had one shot at him without effect; he was no doubt the same as we had shot at before. While we were waiting for this drive a number of nutcrackers flitted about the woods in the valley. Their flight resembles that of a jay, and their cries are of the same type, though less harsh. They are remarkably tame birds; they hop about the spruces with the brisk, alert movements of the thrush tribe, and are altogether interesting and entertaining fellows.

The next day we saw no sign of chamois, and the men decided to hunt the woods for roe. They loosed their dogs, a kind of black-and-tan hound with a deep, bell-like note. This type of hound is very widespread and probably an ancient race. It is found in Turkey under the name of "ˌkopoy," and a hound very similar is used in Norway for hare-hunting. I hear, too, that the hounds hunting the deer in the Ribblesdale district of Yorkshire are of the same type, and that this pack are descended from hounds which are found in county Kerry and which, like most things in the West of Ireland, are supposed to owe their origin

to the Spanish Armada. Tradition does not relate whence the Dons drew them from, but it may be that they got them from the Moor, who, in their turn, had brought them from further East.

A roe passed close to my companion, but it had shed its horns, and as no Austrian sportsman will shoot a roe in that condition it was allowed to go free. This gave rise to a terrible scene when our fellow-hunters arrived and realised what had happened. They shouted, gesticulated, and one of them threw his cap on the ground with fury. With difficulty they were pacified, and it was explained that, in our country, it was an unpardonable crime to shoot a hornless deer—something like stealing a friend's cow or poisoning his best sheep-dog. Grumbling they resumed the chase and fortunately killed a roe themselves, so that we returned a united party to the hut at dark. The whole animal disappeared at the evening meal, and very good it was.

Next morning we took again to the woods and followed a real bear's track for a considerable distance. It was some days old, and after struggling for hours with the dwarf pines we had to give up the hunt. After lunch we packed the ponies and returned to Sofia that night, plunging once more into the thick fog, which had never left the plain.

When spring comes round the ducks and waders return once more to the marshes on their way north. They begin to arrive in March and are nearly all gone by the middle of April. The double snipe seemed most numerous during the first week of April, just after the arrival of the storks, which Borosch regarded only in the light of useful heralds of the approach of the "duppler." But spring is not the time for gunning, even when the birds are unpaired and far from their breeding haunts. By April the marshes were gay with marigolds and the brilliant green of the young grass. The water tortoises had emerged from their winter quarters, and the quaky ground seemed almost to quiver with the croaking of the frogs. Peewits swooped round the head of an intruder just as they do on the Hampshire downs. They bred in great numbers in the marshes, were, in fact, entirely a marsh bird in the breeding season. They placed their nests always on the top of a tussock standing well above the surface of the bog, which made it an easy task to find them.

In looking for eggs one day I saw a jack snipe crouching in the coarse grass not two feet from a small water tortoise. His bright eyes were fixed on me, but he never moved while I stooped slowly down and grasped him firmly in my hand. He was quite unhurt, and after admiring the beautiful markings on his back I opened my hand and he flitted off with the aimless, inconsequent flight of his kind. The tortoise required less precaution to secure and I bundled him into my bag to give to some children in the town. Three yards further on I took three peewit's eggs; a novel and varied yield for a few square yards of bog.

Before concluding, I must mention an extraordinary migration of birds which took place in the town of Sofia on September 3. There was a heavy thunderstorm about midnight, and soon after I was awakened by an astonishing clamour. The air resounded to the harsh cries of birds, whose forms could be seen flitting darkly about the streets and perching in the acacia-trees which lined the roads. Below the window on the pavement, in the full glare of a street lamp, a great bird lay flapping and darting his bill at a cat which prowled round him. He was a purple heron, and finally got on his legs and flew off into the night. The noise continued for about an hour and gradually died away.

Next morning a quail flew off when I went on to the balcony outside my bedroom, and in the town numbers of purple herons were to be seen, dead and alive, in the hands of the peasants and gypsies. I also saw one buff-backed egret, and heard the following day that great bags of quail had been secured by local sportsmen all round the town. Snipe, too, were unusually plentiful for some days after.

The migration consisted evidently of a huge, mixed host of birds which the storm had driven down from the upper strata of the air and which had, probably, then been attracted by the lights of the town. It goes to confirm, what has indeed become clear from the lighthouse reports, that favourable conditions induce birds of many kinds to leave their homes simultaneously, and it well illustrates the dangers to which migrants are exposed in their wanderings. Had the storm occurred when the birds were over the sea, countless numbers must have perished.

MERGA.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *June* 10, 1913.

THE Pacifists, the Carnegists, the well-meaning but deluded persons who believe that the one and only duty of a diplomat is to go up and down the land spilling out at banquets and Sunday-school picnics meaningless platitudes about good relations, the extremists who have made a fetish of peace and to whom the thought of a battleship or a gun is a thing obscene, all these and sundry other eminently praiseworthy but absurdly unpractical people have within the last few days received a rude jolt and been forced to reform their ideas. But the rudest shock of all has come to those persons, Americans as well as Englishmen, officials and private individuals, who for the last few years have been telling us with all the emphasis that is ever the sign of ignorance or self-delusion that the Americans and the English love one another as blood brothers, and never again will they quarrel or even allow their affection to cool; and to Mr. A. or Mr. B., or Mr. X. or Mr. Y., as the case may be, is to be given all the credit for having brought about this heavenly state of affairs.

Opposition raised by the Senate to the ratification of the renewal for a further period of five years of the misnamed arbitration treaty with Great Britain (which is not and never was a means to provide for arbitration, but is simply an agreement to agree, *perhaps*, to arbitration under certain circumstances) has led to the awakening. The opposition of certain senators to the renewal of the treaty has shown the fool's paradise in which some persons have permitted themselves to get lost in recent years. There has come a very frank explanation of the value Americans attach to good relations with Great Britain. Those relations are deemed valuable so long as they can be turned to the profit of

the United States. To this no sensible person ought to object, as nations are as selfish as individuals, and personal considerations are the governing motive of most men. Still, it may save disappointment in the future if the facts are understood.

The Root-Bryce treaty is such a colourless compact that it ought to be antagonised by no one. Hailed at the time of its negotiation as cementing the relations between the two countries, and since then frequently referred to as proof that no question could arise that would not be easily and amicably disposed of, the text of the treaty is so little known, even to its admirers and supporters, and has been so distorted by its opponents, that it is worth while to quote in full the only articles that provide the machinery for arbitration :

Article I. Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two Contracting Parties and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at the Hague by the Convention of July 29, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, and the honour of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third Parties.

Article II. In each individual case the High Contracting Parties, before appealing to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall conclude a special Agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the Arbitrators, and the periods to be fixed for the formation of the Arbitral Tribunal and the several stages of the procedure. It is understood that such special Agreements on the part of the United States will be made by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; His Majesty's Government reserving the right before concluding a special agreement in any matter affecting the interests of a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire to obtain the concurrence therein of the Government of that Dominion.

Such Agreements shall be binding only when confirmed by the two Governments by an Exchange of Notes.

It will be seen that differences which may arise, provided they do not affect vital interests, independence, national honour, or the interests, of third parties "shall" be referred to the Hague for adjudication. The use of the word "shall" would imply that this course is mandatory upon the signatories, but that mandate is nullified by the provisions of the second article. Before a question can be submitted to the Hague a "special agreement," that is a treaty, must first be concluded by the President and receive the "advice and consent" of the Senate; that is, this special treaty must be ratified by the Senate as every other treaty

must before it becomes effective. There is no compulsion upon the part of the Senate to ratify a special treaty of arbitration; there is no way by which the President can compel the Senate to ratify. The Senate may or may not ratify as it sees fit; as the consciences of individual senators dictate; as every senator considers would be for the best interests of his country. In a word, Article I is meaningless and has absolutely no value when read by the light of Article II, and it seems curious that sensible men should have wasted their time in drafting Article II. At the time when this treaty was negotiated I pointed out that practically it was worth nothing, and we were no further advanced on the road toward arbitration than we were before the treaty was brought into existence. Without the treaty it was always possible for the United States and Great Britain to refer a dispute to arbitration in case the Senate agreed to the treaty of reference which the President and the British Government had negotiated, and the Root-Bryce treaty neither facilitated nor impeded that precedure. If the Senate was favourable to arbitration, arbitration would follow, if the Senate opposed arbitration, arbitration could not be had.

I was told that my criticisms—although in fairness they should not be called criticisms but rather a statement of facts—ignored the "moral value" of the treaty, as the United States having pledged itself to arbitration could not in honour refuse to consent to arbitration should a proposal be made by Great Britain, and the "moral value" was a factor so important that it could not be lightly regarded. To this my answer was that the treaty had no "moral value," as it was a moral obligation only on those senators who had agreed to its ratification and not on those who had opposed it, or on future senators. The "moral value" of the treaty was negligible: the most that could be said for it was that it was an expression of benevolent intention and of friendship, which was gratifying to every person, Englishman as well as American, who believed that the interests of civilisation were best served by cordial and intimate relations between the two nations, but to exaggerate the importance of the treaty might, in the end, do more harm than good. Furthermore, at that time I knew that many senators did not oppose the treaty because they recognised it was not binding in the ordinary use of that term as relating to treaty stipulations when both sides are pledged to observe them in

spirit and letter. Senators who are opposed on principle to arbitration—and there are such senators because of the conviction that the United States in a dispute with a European power can never receive justice at the hands of a mixed tribunal—and Senators who for personal or political reasons are opposed to any treaty of arbitration with Great Britain, were cynically indifferent to the treaty because it did not in the slightest diminish their power. When any concrete proposal for arbitration was presented they could vote against it if they thought proper. It was obvious to every one, except the illusionists, that no question of a trivial nature arising between the United States and Great Britain need be submitted to arbitration, but if the question was of such importance that Great Britain requested arbitration and the Senate refused it the relations between the two countries would not be improved.

Doubt expressed as to the value, moral or otherwise, of the treaty is now seen to be justified. In express terms the treaty provides that a difference relating to the interpretation of a treaty that cannot be settled by diplomacy "shall" be referred to The Hague, but because a difference has arisen between Great Britain and the United States respecting the meaning of a treaty is the reason, publicly assigned, that certain senators oppose the renewal of the arbitration treaty. That is to say, they were willing to assent to the treaty when it seemed unlikely that it would be invoked; now that a case arises to which the treaty is applicable they denounce the treaty as injurious to national interests. One is almost tempted harshly to characterise this action, but I content myself with repeating what a prominent Republican senator said to me the other day in discussing the action of the Senate. "I wonder," he said, "why any nation should think it worth while to make a treaty with us, as our idea is to observe a treaty so long as it suits our convenience and to break it when it becomes inconvenient."

The opposition to the treaty is the not unfamiliar story of international relations being used as a football in domestic politics, of personal ambitions to be gratified, of great questions treated in a narrow and partisan spirit. It shows how many curious cross-currents have to be reckoned with by European diplomats in considering what may be termed the psychology of the foreign policy of the United States; remembering, however, that the

United States has no real foreign policy and, in the larger European sense, no Foreign Minister. Its foreign policy is the impulse or the politics of the moment; its Foreign Minister, nominally the Secretary of State, may initiate but cannot conclude; he may propose but has no power to dispose. The foreign relations of the United States are in the hands of the President and the Secretary of State, but subject not only to the control of Congress and the veto of the Senate but, what is even more mischievous, as is seen at the present time, to the interference of that body. The Senate or individual senators may take it upon themselves to try their hands at diplomacy or to direct the foreign policy of the United States, and in that case there is confusion. But there is no way to stop them. The Senate can act independently of or in defiance of the President.

Four groups are opposing the ratification of the British treaty, and while their interests are not identical they are closely affiliated and have made common cause. In the first group are the senators who advocate the use of the Panama Canal by American coastwise vessels without the payment of tolls. Whether they should be passed through the canal toll free or pay the same tolls charged British and all other foreign vessels depends upon the interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and is clearly one of those questions contemplated by the Root-Bryce Treaty to be adjudicated by arbitration when ordinary diplomacy fails. If there is no treaty of arbitration, certain senators argue, there can be no insistence upon arbitration as a right on the part of Great Britain, therefore if the treaty is not renewed Great Britain is blocked. The toll-free senators come from the Pacific Coast and the Middle West, whose States believe the opening of the Panama Canal will greatly increase their prosperity, and if no tolls have to be paid freights will be lower. In the second group are senators who for personal or political reasons are opposed to England or anything English, and who antagonise the treaty on general principles. Some of them are also members of the first group. The third group is made up of senators who are violently anti-Japanese, more particularly those from the Pacific Coast. The Japanese arbitration treaty, practically identical with the British, is shortly to expire, and the anti-Japanese senators fear that if the British treaty is renewed then that with Japan must also be extended or Japan will be affronted, and they further

fear that under the terms of the treaty Japan may claim the right to submit to arbitration the California anti-alien land law and other questions alleged to be in violation of the Japanese commercial treaty. If the United States renounces the principle of arbitration by refusing to ratify the British treaty, the Japanese treaty will necessarily also be brought to an end, and Japan will have nothing on which to base the demand for arbitration. Many of the senators of the first group are also in the third, so they have a double reason for opposing the treaties. The fourth group is much smaller than the others and is composed of senators who hitherto have been favourable to arbitration, but who are not arbitration advocates run mad or look with eyes enraptured on the day when the battleship is to be turned into a floating "department store," which is the naïve suggestion of a new member of Congress from Arkansas, who believes the Navy ought to be used to promote American trade and spread the glad tidings to the seven seas by enabling American merchants to display their wares and exploit cures for torpid liver and arrested brains. These senators say that arbitration has been carried to such ridiculous lengths that it is being used as an argument against making proper provision for maintaining an efficient Navy; and while they have been sincere and consistent advocates of arbitration they believe that if the treaties were abrogated the country would realise the danger of relying on pious resolutions rather than trusting to guns, which would restore the equilibrium.

Mr. Root, as Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Administration, concluded twenty-four of these arbitration treaties, all of them for a term of five years and identical except for minor changes. The first treaty to be renewed was that with France, and the Senate agreed to it without debate or a single dissenting vote. It was assumed that all the other treaties would, as a matter of course, be extended, and the British treaty, which expired on the fourth of this month and had been renewed at the suggestion of the American Government, was sent to the Senate and taken up for consideration in executive session on the fifth. Treaties, it may be explained, are considered in executive or secret session, and when the Senate goes into executive session the galleries are cleared, all the doors leading to the Senate are

locked, and no one is permitted in the Senate chamber except senators and the executive clerk, and the senators take an oath not to divulge the proceedings. Officially, therefore, the public knows nothing of what happens in executive session except such announcement as the Senate may authorise, which is usually confined to the bare statement of the action taken, although occasionally the vote by which a treaty is ratified or rejected is made public; but there is no publication of speeches or arguments, as speeches are not officially reported as they are when the Senate sits in public session, but the newspapers always contain full reports of an executive session whenever the business transacted is of sufficient public importance to justify its publication. A treaty, it may be added, must receive the votes of two-thirds of the Senate while legislation requires only a majority vote, so that to defeat a Bill forty-nine votes are necessary (the present membership of the Senate is ninety-six), while thirty-three Senators can prevent the ratification of a treaty.

Three treaties were reported to the Senate for consideration on the same day—the British, Spanish and Italian. A prominent Republican senator who had a great deal to do with the inception of this scheme of general arbitration treaties and whose term will expire next year, sought through another Republican senator the support of Democratic senators for the ratification of the treaties, the frank admission being made that if the treaties were ratified it would strengthen the senator with the religious and moral element in his state who hitherto had not been over disposed to regard him with favour. The Democratic senator to whom this proposition was made said with equal frankness this was politics, and while he had no personal objection to Senator X. and, in fact, if a Republican must be elected he would rather have X. than any other man, he hoped to see X. succeeded by a Democrat, and he would do nothing to help X. or the Republicans. However, he was willing to make a deal, and if the Republicans consented to modify the treaty so as to exclude from arbitration the Panama Canal tolls he would advise his Democratic friends to vote for the treaties. The Republicans, however, would not accept the offer, as they believed the opposition was negligible, and the worst the Democratics could do would be to cause a temporary delay.

It was merely chance that the Spanish and Italian treaties were reported before the British, and in the order in which they

were reported they were taken up for consideration. The Spanish and Italian treaties were ratified without debate or dissent, but when the British treaty was taken up opposition immediately developed. Mr. Chamberlain, of Oregon, who earlier in the session had introduced a resolution to abrogate both the Clayton-Bulwer and Hay-Pauncefote treaties, led the attack against ratification on the ground that the treaty would give Great Britain the right to demand the arbitration of the Canal tolls, which would be to submit to the decision of an international tribunal a matter of purely domestic concern. In some of its processes the American mind is too complicated for the European to fathom, and a great many Americans, of whom Senator Chamberlain is typically representative, have been able to convince themselves that a question arising out of a treaty is a matter "purely domestic" and subject only to domestic decision instead of being international and properly to be adjudicated by an international tribunal. Mr. Chamberlain was supported by Mr. O'Gorman, who has led the opposition against repealing the discriminatory section of the Panama Canal Act giving American vessels the right of transit through the Canal free of tolls or consenting to arbitrate the interpretation to be placed upon the Hay-Pauncefote treaty; Senator Lewis, of Illinois, the Democratic whip, a lawyer of marked ability and an extremely resourceful politician, and others. They urged Senator Bacon, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, to withdraw the treaty so that time might be given for consideration as to its amendment, but this Senator Bacon refused to do, and the opposition then made it known that they were prepared to prevent the ratification of the treaty.

The strength and determination of the opposition amazed the supporters of the treaty, who still believed at the conclusion of the session that they could force a vote the next day, as they felt sure they commanded the necessary two-thirds. But the next day when the Senate again went into executive session it was seen that the opposition had no intention of permitting the treaty to be brought to a vote, and under the rules of the Senate a vote can only be taken by unanimous consent, as, similar to the House of Lords, there is no closure, and so long as a senator desires to speak he can claim the floor, and there are always senators ready to relieve him when he is tired. The Chamberlain-

O'Gorman-Lewis group had shrewdly enlisted the support of the Pacific Coast senators by pointing out to them the danger that might follow ratification, as if the British treaty were ratified the ratification of the Japanese treaty would follow as a matter of course, and the easiest way to defeat the Japanese treaty was to prevent the ratification of the British, when the Japanese treaty would also fail. Nothing more than that was needed to range the Pacific Coast senators solidly against the treaties. In a mistaken idea to save the face of Great Britain Mr. Bacon moved that the ratification of the Italian and Spanish treaties be rescinded, as he thought if the British treaty was not ratified England would feel the humiliation less if all the treaties were dropped. The opposition, willing to oblige Mr. Bacon and nothing loath to end the whole farce of arbitration, made no objection to Mr. Bacon's motion, so that with the exception of the French none of the treaties has been renewed up to the present time.

Mr. Wilson is very much annoyed at the action of the Senate, for he is not only in favour of the renewal of the existing treaties, but he has given his approval to Secretary Bryan's larger scheme of arbitration; and it would be ridiculous to ask the Powers to make new treaties when the Senate refuses to consent to arbitrating a question that is expressly provided for in the treaty. The President is bringing pressure to bear upon some of the objecting senators, but it is not possible at this time to say whether his efforts will be successful. The attempt to prevent the ratification of the treaty shows there is little hope of the repeal of the tolls clause of the Panama Act or that the Senate will consent to submitting that question to the decision of an arbitral tribunal.

Even some of the staunch Democratic and low tariff newspapers are beginning to express the opinion that the passage of the tariff Bill will not bring about that reduction in the cost of living that it was predicted it would do before election, and are cautioning their readers not to expect too much. The chief gain from tariff revision, the St. Louis *Republic*, an ardent tariff reform paper, says, will "be moral rather than economic," which will scarcely satisfy thousands of persons who voted for Mr. Wilson not on moral but economic grounds and were led to believe that his election would increase their purchasing power. The fear that the new tariff may have disastrous economic effects is unsettling

business, and there is a demand for speedy action by the Senate, but that body is proceeding leisurely, and if the Republicans adhere to their announced intention of contesting every schedule it will be late in the summer before the Bill becomes law. Owing to the uncertainty existing, the high price money commands in every great financial centre, the difficulty the railways are meeting in raising new capital, the dread of trust prosecutions, recent court decisions affecting the railways and industrial corporations, and the demands of labour for increased wages business men take a somewhat despondent view of the future and predict business will be dull from now until the end of the year. There is some encouragement in the crop reports, which promise a record yield if cereals harvest as well as present indications promise; but the grain movement will put a strain upon the resources of bankers and increase the money stringency. Bankers are curtailing loans and restricting credits; and some observers believe that money is being hoarded and that a good many millions in coin and notes have been withdrawn from the banks and are now locked up in safety deposit vaults. Many signs presage a financial storm, but men whose opinions are worth having say that while they have no fear of a panic they look forward to a general curtailment of operations, the effect of which will be seen in decreased consumption and a smaller demand for labour.

In calling the attention of the country to the maintenance of a lobby in Washington to influence senators in framing the schedules of the new tariff Bill, President Wilson has rendered valuable public service. It has always been believed in Washington that members of Congress have been subjected to the importunities of lobbyists when a tariff Bill was under consideration, although it has not been easy to establish the fact. In former times it is no doubt true that money was used, of recent years it is doubtful if bribery has been resorted to, but other means as effective have been employed. Political and other pressure has been put upon members to force them to vote as powerful interests demanded. President Wilson having charged that a lobby was at work, the Senate felt it was necessary to order an investigation, and although there have been no sensational developments thus far it has been established that the sugar growers have spent a good deal of money in their attempts to convince the Senate that free sugar would ruin the American

sugar-grower. The growers claim this is legitimate, that everything they have done has been open and above board, and they are entitled to use their money to make the public realise the folly of destroying a great American industry. One of the results of the investigation has been to show that some senators have a direct personal and pecuniary interest in maintaining high duties, and many of the newspapers say it is as improper for a senator to vote on a rate in which he is pecuniarily interested as it would be for a judge to try a case involving his own fortune. "If every senator," says the New York *World*, "who by reason of his private business affairs is in honour estopped from voting upon this issue in any of its phases were decently to withdraw from the scene, as judges do in like circumstances, a true tariff reform measure would pass the Senate by a big majority and quickly."

Senators are not likely to accept the suggestion, but more and more the public is coming to demand a higher standard of its public men and to insist that they avoid even the suspicion of using their official position for personal ends. The example set by President Wilson is having its influence. His fine sense of honour and the respect he has for his great office will not permit him to make the Presidency an auction block. Patronage is not being sold for votes, and places are not the reward for political services. Steadfastly resisting pressure, the President secured the passage of the Tariff Bill by the House in the form he considered desirable, and he is now with equal firmness resisting appeals of Democratic senators to modify the Bill. So far Mr. Wilson has shown he is master of the situation, and his control is so dominant that it has attracted the attention of the country. It is something new for a President to take an active part in the making of a Tariff Bill, to be consulted as each stage is reached, to determine what shall or shall not be done. Other Presidents have waited to express their disapproval until after the Bill passed, but then it was too late. Mr. Cleveland tried to have the Tariff Bill of 1894 amended when it was still in the Senate, and found it was impossible to do anything at that stage; Mr. Taft made the same tactical mistake. Mr. Wilson had evidently profited by the lesson. He is the Democratic Party. If the new tariff is a success Mr. Wilson's future is assured, and his Party is triumphant; if the Bill is a failure Mr. Wilson goes to defeat, and with him will be buried in the ruins the Democratic Party.

A. MAURICE LOW.

RAILWAY RATES

THE news that the railway companies propose to increase their rates for the carriage of goods on July 1 did not come as a surprise to those who follow events in the railway world. But when the new scale of charges was published a number of chambers of commerce and traders' associations expressed their resentment and disapproval. The increased rates apply to the carriage of all kinds of merchandise traffic (other than coal and coke) by merchandise train, and also to the carriage of perishable and other merchandise traffic by passenger train. Since some at least of the increased charges will probably fall on the consumer, the subject is of general interest. It is, moreover, a subject which is likely to produce many letters to the newspapers from persons who have little knowledge of the matter. It may, therefore, be desirable to state in the fewest possible words and in simple language why the question has arisen, how the charging powers of the railway companies are regulated and to what extent Parliament has authorised them to increase their rates.

The charges which might be made for the carriage of merchandise on railways were formerly, as every one knows, contained in the special Acts under which the railways were constructed. The charging powers of a big company might be scattered through several hundred sections in possibly a hundred Acts. Under the provisions of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, every railway company had to submit to the Board of Trade a revised classification of merchandise traffic and a revised schedule of maximum rates and charges applicable thereto. Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Sir Courtenay Boyle were appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the schedules and to hear the objections of traders. After a long enquiry, in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, they made a report advising the adoption of a standard

classification and schedule. In the Sessions of 1891 and 1892 the Board of Trade embodied the revised classifications and schedules in Provisional Orders and they were confirmed by Acts of Parliament. These are the Railway Rates and Charges Orders Confirmation Acts, 1891 and 1892. Thirty-five of these Acts relating to various companies came into force on January 1, 1893.

This brings us to the beginning of legislation dealing with the increase of railway rates. On January 1, 1893, out of the millions of goods rates in the existing rate-books, a large proportion became illegal because they were above the new authorised maxima. The railway companies had to enter new rates between each pair of stations. They found themselves in a difficulty. Time was short and they were guilty of an error of judgment. The existing rates were, partly, "Class rates," that is to say the rates quoted for each of the eight classes of merchandise, and partly, "Exceptional rates" that is to say, special low rates, below the class rates, quoted at the request of particular traders for large quantities of a particular article between two particular stations. Partly to recoup themselves, and partly because it was the simplest thing to do, the railway companies raised the class rates to the maximum recently authorised by Parliament and cancelled the exceptional rates. A great outcry arose among traders which was not silenced on hearing that the new increased rates were only temporary and that new exceptional rates would be quoted in due course. In May 1893 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, with Mr. Shaw Lefevre as Chairman, was appointed to enquire and report how the dispute could be settled. The railway companies had virtually admitted that they were in the wrong in raising their rates to the maximum on January 1, for they assured the Committee that, as soon as their rates were finally fixed, they would refund any overcharges. The Committee appear to have considered that matters ought not to be left as they were and that security should be provided against unreasonable increases of rates although the increased rates might be within the maximum authorised by the Provisional Order Confirmation Acts, 1891 and 1892.

Such was the problem with which Parliament had to deal, and on August 25, the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1894,

received the Royal assent. It will be seen that legislation was needed to deal with rates which, although within the statutory maximum, were objectionable because they had been raised above the amount at which they stood at the end of 1892. The Act provides that where a railway company have since December 31, 1892, increased, or hereafter increase, any rate or charge the trader may complain to the Railway and Canal Commissioners that the rate or charge is unreasonable. It then lies on the railway company to prove that the increase of the rate is reasonable. It is not, of course, enough to show that the increased rate is still within the maximum authorised by Parliament. This Act introduced, for the first time into our law of railway rates, the principle, which has proved of the utmost importance, that a rate below the maximum fixed by Parliament might yet be illegal.

A number of cases have come before the Railway Commissioners between 1895 and 1913 in some of which the railway companies have successfully justified increases of rates. In a few cases they have failed to do so. The Act was retrospective and was intended to deal with the peculiar circumstances described above. In spite of numerous decided cases there is still doubt as to how reasonableness is to be determined. There is also great difficulty in applying to the complicated facts of railway working, such principles as have been laid down. Increase in working expenses, increase in cost of labour, obedience to the order of the Court in desisting from giving an undue preference to a particular trader, the raising again of rates lowered when trade was bad, have been held, under certain circumstances, to justify an increase of rate. It would seem clear that the Act was not intended to apply, and does not apply, to passenger fares. Moreover to make a charge for something which up to a certain time was performed gratuitously is not to "increase a charge," for there was no charge before to be increased. The Act of 1894 has undoubtedly deterred railway companies from raising their charges in many cases. It has also deterred them from lowering charges knowing that they might have to justify any future increases.

We come now to 1913 and the new scale of charges which are to come into operation on July 1. The effect of the new scale

is regarded as an all round increase of 4 per cent., or an average of 9½d. in the £. Whether so large an increase can be justified remains to be seen: but that some increase ought to be allowed to the railway companies there can be no doubt. Every one remembers how the railway strike was ended in August 1911 by the intervention of the Government. Nor are the public, the trading community and the industrial world likely to forget the sense of relief which followed the settlement. The account has been awaiting payment for nearly two years. It was understood or arranged that the railway companies should have Parliamentary authority to recover from the public, in the shape of increased charges, the addition made to their expenses by increased wages, reduction of hours, and improved conditions of railway service. There seems to be a widespread belief that the maximum charging powers of the railway are being raised. This is due to a complete misunderstanding of the Act. The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1913, does nothing of the sort. No changes in the maximum rates are made by the new Act. The actual rates which are being charged by railway companies are in the vast majority of cases far below the authorised maxima. There is a wide margin between the two. That margin is to be used to enable the companies to repay themselves for the concessions made when the strike was settled. An ordinary trading company could have done this without the sanction of Parliament. Even a railway company could have done so, though their maximum charges are fixed by legislation, were it not for the Act of 1894. The new Act amends the Act of 1894 with respect to increases of rates or charges made for the purpose of meeting a rise in the cost of working a railway due to improved labour conditions. Put into the fewest words the new Act provides that increased expenditure due to the cost of improved labour conditions is to be treated as a valid justification of increased rates. The tribunal who are to decide the matter are again the Railway Commissioners. The railway company must prove to the Commissioners' satisfaction, first, that there has been a rise in the cost of working the railway resulting from improvements made since August 19, 1911, in the conditions of employment of their labour or clerical staff; secondly, that the whole of the particular increase of charge complained of is made for the purpose of meeting

the rise in the cost of working; thirdly, that the increase is not greater than is reasonably required; fourthly, that the increase allocated to the particular traffic is not unreasonable. Traders can hardly contend that their interests are not safeguarded by such detailed conditions. If all these matters are proved by the railway company, the Commissioners are to treat the increase of rate or charge as justified. They may, however, add to their order a provision that after a fixed period the matter may be re-opened. The Act does not apply to Ireland.

As long as railway companies remain trading corporations whose object is to pay dividends to shareholders, it is idle to suppose that their industry can flourish under conditions which provide for fixed charges to their customers and rapidly increasing working expenses. It remains to be seen whether the income which they hope to derive from the new increased scale of goods rates will improve the ordinary stocks as investments. If the demands for improvement in railway labour conditions were just, the public, who are the customers of the railway companies, must pay. The days of ruinous competition between railway companies are now long past. Rates are no longer fixed by competition and railway companies no longer try to undersell one another. All the companies of Great Britain are now acting in unison in respect of the present increases. That is one of the remarkable features of the situation.

On the whole, the raised scale of rates proposed by the railway companies has produced far less outcry in manufacturing centres than was to be expected. Traders, of course, do not want to pay more for the carriage of goods than they have been in the habit of doing. It is very rare to find even a rich man who likes paying more for anything. It is often urged that railway rates are too high already, but this is hardly borne out by a critical study of the profits made by the companies. The suggestion that the new scale of rates will have the effect of increasing the price of food seems improbable. No doubt in some few trades where the margin of profit is small and the extra cost cannot be passed on to the consumer, the trader may feel the increase to be an intolerable burden. To the consumer, which means the general public, the increase can hardly be perceptible. The *Railway Gazette* has published some figures

to show how the price of certain articles of daily use will b affected under the new scale. The flour rate from Hull to th Midlands is 10s. per ton. There are sixteen sacks of flour to th ton. Four per cent. on 10s. would mean about one penny on th selling price of a hundred quartern loaves. The rate for boots fror Northampton to London is 25s. per ton. But as the lega maximum is 25s. 7d. the rate cannot be increased beyond tha amount. It is said there are about 800 pairs of boots to a tor so that one penny would cover the additional cost of carryin 114 pairs. Soap from Manchester to London will cost 11d. per to more. This works out at one penny for 200 lbs. Salt from Cheshir to London will cost 5d. per ton more or one penny for 440 lbs These figures seem to show that, however keenly the new scal may be resented at first, the ultimate result can hardly be serious

The real complaint of those who have taken the trouble t formulate their complaints seems to be, first, that in certain case the average 4 per cent. increase works out at a good deal more Take the case of "Smalls" which means small parcels no exceeding 3 cwt. conveyed by goods train. On a consignmen of 1 cwt. at 30s. per ton the increase will be about 8 per cent.

A second complaint of the traders is that the increases ar higher than necessary and that they will bring in more than i needed to make good the additional expenditure on wages. It i quite impossible at present to gauge what the increased rates wil bring in. The merchandise receipts of the London and Nortl Western Railway Company in 1912 were £5,697,000. A increase of 4 per cent. would bring in £227,000. The increase i the Company's wages bill in 1912 over 1911 was £290,000. O the other hand the merchandise receipts of the Great Wester Railway Company in 1912, were £4,443,000. An increase o 4 per cent. would bring in £177,000. But in this case the increase i the wages bill of the Company in 1912 over 1911 was only £137,000 There is a third and less important criticism on the action of th railway companies. It is said that they might have reimburse themselves by greater economies, by still further cutting dow wasteful competition, by reducing facilities and by other smal savings. But this would probably have proved more unpopula than raising their rates and, after all the recent economies, i might not have proved effective.

On the whole, there seems no clear reason for alleging that the railway companies are asking anything obviously excessive in the 4 per cent. increase. In many cases by bargaining for "exceptional rates" traders will compel the companies to accept an even smaller advance. It should never be forgotten that a railway company wants the traffic and is unlikely, intentionally, to impose a higher charge than the traffic can bear. It is no doubt a misfortune (perhaps inevitable) that the charging powers of railway companies should be so complicated that only a few experts can understand how a rate is made up and whether it is legal. Traders often wrongly think that they are being overcharged. Goods managers are sometimes unwilling to afford them much information or assistance. But there are no doubt a number of illegal rates and charges which are being exacted. Under the Act of 1913 traders are not deprived of any statutory protection against extortion which they previously enjoyed. The companies cannot exceed the maximum rates authorised in 1891 and 1892. Some may think that the time has come for a Select Committee of both Houses to enquire into the whole question of railway charges. The increases which are sanctioned by the Act of this year will probably be brought before the Board of Trade and the Railway Commissioners. If they are held to be unreasonable they will be disallowed. The onus by law is on the railway companies to justify their action. The increased rates are the price that must now be paid for ending the great railway strike in 1911.

HAROLD RUSSELL.

THE CANADIAN SENATE AND THE NAVAL BILL

THE impossible has happened. The decorous, well-behaved Senate of Canada has destroyed the Naval Bill. A group of eighty-seven elderly gentlemen, the most vigorous of whom can just nicely get into his motor without aid from the chauffeur, have smashed their walking-sticks through the windows of the constitution. They deny that there is any "emergency." They deny that the Empire is in danger. They refuse to plunge into the vortex of European militarism and they propose that the money of Canada shall continue to be spent on such vast Imperial projects as the Newmarket Canal and the Experimental Milk Stations of Algoma District. After which the Senate, like a Canadian coon, has retired up its tree, snarling. For the hunter below the problem now is whether to shoot it and stuff it for its skin, or to find some means of stuffing it without shooting it; the disappointing thing being that it was supposed to have been stuffed already.

The upshot of this is that the "emergency vote" of thirty-five millon dollars will not be voted. The Canadian "Dreadnoughts," already familiar figures in the British illustrated press, will remain mere ghosts of the imagination. They have passed into the class of Mrs. Harris. There are no such ships.

The situation, at first sight, is very dispiriting. It appears, quite wrongly, as if the advance of Imperial Unity had received a serious check.

On our side of the water the patriotic Canadian hangs his head to blush. He recalls with shame the plaudits of the British Press six months ago. He remembers Canada enthusiastically depicted as a Viking's daughter, a sea-lion, as a sea-horse, as a

sea-anything. Now it turns out that the Dominion is not a sea-lion, but a mud-turtle and has crawled back on to its back. The sea-lion has a cub that can't swim. The Viking's daughter is seasick. It appears that she came from Alberta and had never been off the ranch in her life. The trident of Britannia is exchanged for the pitch-fork of the Albertan agriculturist.

On the other side of the ocean three thousand miles from the parliament house at Ottawa, the man in the street, for all his perennial patience, must feel for us something very like contempt. Our apparent twistings and turnings, to one who is unfortunately unable to read in detail the speeches of Mr. William Pugsley and to study the life and achievements of Sir George Ross and who tries vainly to use the word Canada in a collective sense, seem to place us in the same class with the concert of the European Powers.

Last August found us busy consulting with the British Admiralty. Let them name their wishes and the things should be done. What would they like? Should it be a neat little fleet of cruisers? Or what would they say to half a dozen destroyers all nicely painted and marked "Canada" and with a chain and snap-hook on each one to tie it up to a wharf? Would they care for a nice box of assorted Canadian sailors, the kind that take on and off the ship? "Dreadnoughts"? Why certainly, and should we call it the "largest that science can build and money can buy"? And let us say three of them so that there may be no mistake as to which are ours and which come from the Malay States.

So in November our delegates were back again and we had saved the Empire and the Canadian Associated Press reported that a dull pallor had overcast the features of the German Emperor.

Midwinter found us busy in our Parliament, sitting up all night on our benches, still saving the Empire, with hot water bottles at our feet and pneumatic cushions at our back. The gun-room of one of our new men-of-war was nothing to it for hardship. Then came the extreme agony of the parliamentary closure, announced as the last awful act demanded by Imperial interests and once again the Empire was saved. Then quite unexpectedly the British observer heard of the existence of

the Canadian Senate and learned that the emergency vote would not be voted at all; so that the final result of the whole affair, consultations and delegations, obstructions and closures and all the rest of it appears as nothing, a big, circular, round nothing.

All of these things, however, are but the impression on the surface. If we look below it we shall see that the broad current of the Imperial movement is not arrested in its flow. Indeed the irresistible logic of unity as against autonomous dislocation was never better illustrated than in the present juncture. Even the Canadian Senate, throwing with senile cunning the loaded dice of a party majority, may prove the harbinger of worthier things. Let us look back a little.

In Canada, it must be remembered, the whole problem of naval defence and Imperial organisation comes as a relatively new thing. British visitors are apt to judge Canada from gubernatorial circles at Ottawa and the consecrated plutocracy of Montreal and the large cities. Among the merchant princes who fill the foreground of Canadian scenery the Empire has been for many years past very much *à la mode*. Imperialism seemed to be vaguely synonymous with tariff protection against the manufactures of the United States, with the flotation of loans in the London market and the distribution of birthday honours from the hands of a grateful sovereign. These were things of a notorious righteousness. The delighted visitor who had expected log cabins and snowshoes found himself among Botticelli pictures and directoire dresses and a strained and anxious atmosphere of Imperial discussion.

But in quieter and lowlier circles, let us say among the farmsteads of Western Ontario, the lumber shanties of the Georgian Bay or the barber shops of Toronto, the "Empire" meant at best a brand of cigar, a hotel, or a new form of celluloid collar. Among the great mass of the people of Canada nobody thought about the Imperial problem because nobody knew that there was any. Certain great underlying instincts there were, it is true: race memories, unconscious but not forgotten, ready to be called to the surface again. But these things were typified, let us say, only by an ancient musket that hung here and there over a stone fire-place; by a family legend that recalled the long trail of the

loyalist through unbroken woods and silver lakes, carrying a flag into the wilderness; or by the memories of the immigrant who could still hear in fancy as he raised his head a moment from his labour in the golden harvest, the long thunder of the sea upon the broken shores of Britain. Here are things that, when you can conjure them up before the lighted eyes of the Canadian people, will show you that the passion of the unforgotten islands is burning still in the blood.

But into the "politics" of the country (God save the mark for politics should seem to speak of a "citizen") these things did not enter. Political interest had come to centre round the personal sinfulness of Grit and Tory candidates. Local issues of the meanest order obscured the larger sky. "Politics," subsiding from the stimulating upheaval of the confederation era, was degenerating into a trade. A "politician" was regarded with the same shuddering envy as a man in the middle ages who had sold his soul to the devil.

Now the distinguishing mark of the present era is that all this shows signs of passing away. The distinguishing sin of the Canadian Senate is that it doesn't realise it.

There is neither necessity nor opportunity in the present article to discuss the changes whereby the Empire and Imperial problems are becoming, indeed have already become, things of real meaning and vital interest in Canada. The broad outline of development, at least on its spectacular side, is familiar to all. The colonial conferences began as pageants and developed into parliaments, in the original sense. The war in South Africa, whether right or wrong, had at any rate far-reaching effects. The great turmoils in Asia—the seafights of the Japanese and the upheaval of revolting China—threw into a high light the fact that Canada, whether colonial or independent, was one of the pacific nations with fighting, perhaps predatory neighbours to reckon with. Still more the eager rivalry for supremacy on the North Sea reacted year by year upon the real feelings of the Canadian people. By this is meant not the German struggle in its potential form, the death-grip of a great war, but in its actual form as it has been these ten years, the grievous burden of a vast armament contrasting with the empty shoulders of the colonial subject and borne without complaint. This

spectacle has occasioned, even in the humblest and least articulate places in Canada, some very decent thinking.

It was this condition which brought about the passage of the Canadian Naval Service Act of 1910. I do not mean that it was the sole result. Not even the most ardent Canadian would hold that the convulsions of Asia and Europe resulted only or chiefly in the "Laurier Bill." That would indeed be a case of *paturiunt montes*. But the Laurier Naval Policy came as one of the consequences of the "world politics" of the opening century.

The phrase Laurier Naval Policy is a contradiction in terms. It sounds as if one spoke of Cobden's Protective Tariff or Bright's Universal Conscription. For there is no doubt that the whole Imperial movement of the last decade has run counter to the natural temper of the leader of Canadian Liberalism. Had he had the fortune to live in England in the Free Trade era he might have flourished as a man of consistent principle, have been one of the most oratorical exponents of that rapacious creed of every-man-for-himself and the devil-take-the-hindmost which masqueraded under the name of industrial liberty; might have looked forward along with Cobden to the time, when Free Trade would annihilate war; and might have worn a frock-coat and handled a trowel at the opening of the Crystal Palace with the best of them. As it is, it has been his lot to lead the Canadian Liberal Party in the days of its greatest power when it retained of Liberalism nothing but the name; for since Alexander Mackenzie was carried to his rest the Liberal Party of Canada has no more connection with Liberalism than it has with Shintoism or Christian Science. It became the fate of its leader to be the head of a Protectionist Government wearing a Cobden medal; and by the final irony of circumstance to lend his name to the first attempt by any Canadian Government to undertake the defence of Canada by sea.

The Laurier Bill had its faults. The proposal to organise a Canadian fleet under Canadian control sinned against the first principles of Imperial strategy. On its technical side it had all the shortcomings of inefficiency and extravagance. In its larger aspect, it made towards the separation, not the union, of the Empire. But it at least had the great merit of affording

a beginning. The Conservative Party of Canada should not forget that the official creed of the Macdonalds and the Tuppers of twenty-five years ago was that Canada did enough for the Empire in building its railroads and opening up the West.

The Laurier Bill, too, had its good sides. It was a protest against a mere policy of contributions, or tribute, a vicarious form of national courage that stood condemned as far back as the days of Alfred the Great. It proposed to build Canadian ships and to enlist Canadian men, the only form of defence that ultimately and finally is worth having. If defence is merely to be bought from Great Britain at so much per annum, we might presently find that the Germans would cut the price. But the Laurier Policy proposed to build its ships and enlist its men not as a measure of Imperial Defence, but for the creation, conscious or not, of an independent Canada. That is, in plain words, the vital point of the present situation. The assertions of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons after the Alaskan difficulty that Canada ought henceforth to make its own treaties; his explicit statement at the Conference in London in 1911, that Canada might or might not take part in a British war—if these things are not the foreshadowing of a future separation, how better could it be foreshadowed?

The pity of it was that after the enunciation of the Liberal Naval Policy, the whole issue has gone hopelessly "into politics." The independent judgment of the people, still only half-formed and looking for light, was submerged under the factional strife of the moment. The professional politicians, like boys conducting a game of base-ball, "picked up sides" and went at it. They formed their opinions first and then studied up the subject like the speakers in a debating club. Most of them were patriotic enough to hope sincerely that they were right.

As a result, the Naval question has been fought out as a political game. The Liberals in office and with a solid majority in both Houses passed the Act of 1910 creating a Canadian Navy. It had hardly become operative—as yet only two inferior ships were staggering round in Canadian waters—when the reciprocity election of 1911 swept the Liberals from office in an avalanche of disaster. So complete was the downfall that half a dozen Cabinet Ministers, some of the most influential in the Party, were

British readers will here pardon the recital of a few facts which may, without insult to themselves or the Canadian Senate, be assumed to be not generally, or clearly, known.

The framework of the Canadian Senate was constructed by the Fathers of Confederation in the Quebec Conference of 1864, and built into the British North America Act of 1867, with but little alteration. The makers of the Senate were animated by two ideas, both negative. They were determined that it should not resemble the legislative council of the Old Province of Canada (1841-1867) of which it was the successor. They were also resolved that it should not duplicate the Senate of the United States, a strictly federal body with equal representation of the States and strongly reflecting the illogical and catastrophic doctrine of State Sovereignty. At the same time it was felt that an upper chamber of some sort must exist. A legislature of one house then, perhaps even more than now, was viewed as indecently democratic. So the Senate, since it was to reproduce neither the Legislative Council nor the Senate of the United States, was built upon a plan which ultimately gave it the vices of both and the virtues of neither. Its members are all appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council, that is to say by the ministry of the day. They are paid two thousand five hundred dollars per Session and nothing except treason and bankruptcy, two things of which no Canadian Senator is guilty, can cause them to lose their seats. A certain number are appointed from each province of which they must, in a technical sense at least, be residents. In Quebec owing to the division of Nationalities the Senators are appointed as residents of districts. At present the distribution of members stands thus: Ontario 24, Quebec 24, Nova Scotia 10, New Brunswick 10, Prince Edward Island 4, Manitoba 4, Saskatchewan 4, Alberta 4, British Columbia 3, making in all 87 members.

In theory, therefore, the Canadian Senate is supposed to be a body of mature men (no one can enter it under the age of thirty) holding office by a tenure that makes them independent of the popular passion of the moment and so appointed as to represent the strong men of the country, the eminent, the wise, free from the fetters of Party politics and able from their elevated station to take a broad view of the field below.

If such an upper house existed there would be much to say in its favour. We have long since outlived the apotheosis of popular election. There are in every community many of the men best fitted to rule who could never get into a legislature by means of a popular vote; who have nothing of the facile tongue, the insinuating personality and the easy-going sinfulness which are among the qualities calculated to elect. There is no occasion after a hundred and fifty years of democracy to idealise its mechanism. Just as election in the ideal sense is admirable, so too is appointment, looked at in the same light, an admirable counterpart and complement of election. As they fall away from the ideal both of them are equally damnable: and where one fails for lack of the civic spirit that should make it what it ought to be, you cannot mend matters by substituting the other. Government depends in the long run on patriotism and public honesty. If these are lacking all forms of government are equally bad. A nation of thieves cannot protect property and a community of devils cannot encompass the kingdom of heaven by electing themselves archangels.

Now whatever be the virtues of an ideal system of appointment, the Canadian Senate is a mere parody of it. Its members are appointed by the ruling Party of the day from among its own active adherents. The seat and the salary of a Senator are regarded as the spoils of victory to be shared among the hungry wolves who haunt the doors of the Cabinet. There is no thought in Canada of a generous recognition of the merits of an opponent, no pretence of recognising the scholars, the scientists, the philanthropists or the benefactors of the nation: no one but the Party-heeler with his sealskin coat and ambiguous eye and the bundle of sinister influence that he carries in his pocket to trade as the price of his place. In forty years of appointments there has never been a break in this apostolic succession save only once when an appointment was made across the Party line. Even then the purpose in hand was no doubt similar to the regeneration of a sinner by total immersion.

The result has been that the Canadian Senate has been made up almost entirely of Party men grown old in political strife and eager to secure a seat in the legislature as a form of political pension. The average age (in 1912) of the Senators from Quebec

the British Parliament could destroy the whole Government of Canada in a day. The British North America Act is not only amendable, but has been amended four times in all (1871, 1875, 1886 and 1907). The beautiful simplicity of the plan is that by custom, the British Parliament acts without question when a request for amendment is sent up to it from the two houses of the Parliament at Ottawa. But if one house should send up an address asking that the other be amended out of existence, a new situation would arise. It is hardly likely that the British Parliament would consider that it must act on such a request without discussion. And discussion involves not only the question of the composition of the Canadian Senate but the question of its offences; and with that Colonial issues and British issues and Imperial issues become hopelessly entangled. The crying need for a single authoritative body somewhere in the Empire, authoritative not merely in point of law but by the mandate that it carries, was never better seen.

The action of the Canadian Senate is in reality the natural outcome of the vicious system that has made it what it is. It is the Nemesis of our own political sin. It is poetic justice visited on our evil-doing. Liberals and Conservatives combined, we made our Senate, not a superior council of the nation, but a refuge of place-hunting politicians and a reward of partisan adherence. This is the result.

STEPHEN LEACOCK.

GREATER BRITAIN

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

1

THE Liberal majority in the Senate rejected the Naval Aid Bill on May 30 after a discussion lasting four days which certainly reached a high level and was followed throughout by crowded galleries. The amendment moved by Sir George Ross and Mr. Bostock, the Opposition leaders, to the effect that "this House is not justified in granting assent to this Bill until it is submitted to the judgment of the country," was passed by fifty-two to twenty-seven on what was virtually a "straight" Party vote.

The second reading of the Bill had been moved by Mr. Lougheed the Government Leader in the Senate, in a vigorous and straightforward speech which began by reviewing the rapid growth during recent years of a feeling that Canada should substantially contribute to the stock of Imperial sea-power. In 1909 this feeling compelled the New Government to take action. At the time Mr. Borden declared his opinion that the Government proposals were utterly inadequate (the expenditure suggested was far short of the amount required to create a Fleet Unit), and said that if, and when, he came into office he would commit himself to an emergency contribution followed by a permanent policy of naval defence, which would be effective both for Canada and for the Empire. This declaration, which was, of course, fully accepted by the then Opposition, became a plank in the Conservative programme. During the General Election of 1911 the constituencies throughout the country were carefully informed of the Party's intentions, and it was absurd to say that their striking success at the polls did not involve the grant of a popular mandate to proceed at once with their Leader's naval policy—more especially as the

rapid increase of Germany's strength at sea was straining Great Britain's resources to the breaking-point. Senator Lougheed went on to criticise the assertions of those Liberal experts on naval matters who think in terms of creeks and sand-bars rather than in terms of oceans and continents:

> The protection of the coast cities of Canada as well as all our coastal interests are obligations peculiarly falling upon ourselves, and notwithstanding the most extended programme we might enter upon for coastal defence, this would not absolve us from the duty cast upon us of voluntarily and spontaneously responding to Imperial sentiment, not only offering, but insisting upon participation in Imperial naval defence. This is the essence of the Bill now before us. This is the question now to be considered—namely, whether Canada is to rise Imperially and to insist upon co-operating with the Empire in a time of great stress, or to simply fall back upon the paltry excuse of denying the situation, and charging ourselves with the paltry obligation of a coastal defence programme.

It was impracticable at present to arrange to build battleships in Canadian yards. To do so would necessitate enormous plants for the production of armour, guns, and special machinery, as well as for building men-of-war. These plants would have to be continuously employed, and the result would be the artificial creation of a public opinion favourable to war. Canada would "become a veritable war camp and be kept in a state of martial ferment from one year's end to another." It was illogical for those who talked of the doings of "armament trusts" in Europe to purpose the establishment of the actual thing in Canada. Again, the Bill was an emergency measure; nothing in it committed the Government to a policy of tribute as opposed to that of a Canadian Navy, such as was accepted by the Liberals:

> It must not necessarily be assumed that because the Government proposes an emergency contribution such as that provided for in the Bill, that this in any way indicates a permanent policy antagonistic to one essentially Canadian. In fact, such a contribution as is proposed to be made of three battleships, remaining the property of Canada, and subject to being recalled by Canada at any time, may be said to be peculiarly consistent with a Canadian policy. In what way could such a policy lend itself more to a Canadian view than this which we now propose?

Even the journals of the Liberal Party admit the force of Senator Lougheed's brief and vigorous utterance. The best of the speeches in reply was that of Sir George Ross, who moved the amendment which was eventually passed. I have always regarded Sir George Ross as a good Imperialist, and do not feel inclined to refuse him that title because Party loyalty has blinded him for the time

being to the underlying exigencies of the situation. The bad case of the Opposition compelled him to take refuge in rhetoric about giving away "empty shells" to the Empire. If the British taxpayer were asked, his reply would be that anything was better than nothing at all, and that he would prefer to arrange for the manning of the "empty shells" rather than leave a gap in the naval defence of the Empire. The plain, discomfortable truth is that Canadians do not at present see the necessity of personally taking part in the defence, by land or by sea, even of their own beloved native land. In a recent speech Mr. Borden emphasised this point, giving some remarkable facts in confirmation of his statement. "Eighty per cent. of the men serving in our permanent Militia were born in the British Isles." "The recruiting for those famous warships the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow* has been almost a complete failure." "In the North-West Mounted Police no more than 17 per cent. of the officers and men are native-born Canadians." In the circumstances the Liberal contention (which is never whispered in Quebec) that the three "Dreadnoughts" should be filled with Canadian sailors is seen to be merely a rhetorical device for the manufacturing of Party capital. The average Canadian, a practical-minded person, can see through this and other specious arguments which may be said to form the pneumonia blouse of Liberalism according to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Three courses are now open to the Government. In the first place, they could go to the country for the endorsement of their policy and with a scheme (which would have to be carefully thought out) for the ending or mending of the secondary Chamber which has so unwisely defied an Administration that has the full confidence of the electorate. The weakness of the Senate's position would have to be exposed; otherwise the majority of Liberal senators might cynically ignore the popular vote in favour of the Naval Aid Bill and reject it a second time. I am informed by those who know the temper of the people who are virtually a unit, for every well-considered project for practical Imperialism that the result of a General Election would be disastrous to the diminishing forces of do-nothing, say-anything Liberalism. Canada is tired of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's lip-service to the Empire; he and the other passive

CORRESPONDENCE

A PROTEST

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

June 3, 1913

SIR,—The paragraph which appeared in the first edition of the "Episodes of the Month" of the *National Review* (May), and which you withdrew in consideration of my inability to reply has just been brought to my notice.

I do not feel disposed and I cannot say that I see any necessity to endeavour to convince you of the political views that I hold, and as to the remainder of your insinuations they are so ridiculous, that they appear to me unworthy of any notice.

I will merely say in that connection that the words you quoted from the "public press" were taken from the local Radical newspaper, and bear only a faint resemblance to those which appeared in the letter which I wrote to the chairman of the Conservative and Unionist Association. The Editor seems to possess the same imaginative faculty which so conspicuously characterises your other references to myself.

You seem to be aware of the fact that I represent Maidstone at the present moment and perhaps you are also aware that I was fortunate enough to win the seat in 1906 from the Radical Party, and that I have been able to hold it at the two successive general elections. With this knowledge which I have no doubt you possess I should have thought that before attacking a member of the party to which you profess such enthusiastic loyalty, it would have been only fair to that member and certainly in the interests of party unity to have made a careful examination of his election addresses and also of his speeches.

This customary mode of procedure you appear to have completely ignored, with the result that you are guilty of having published statements all of which I shall content myself by characterising as grossly inaccurate.

Is it too much to hope that in future, should you again honour me with a paragraph in your "Episodes of the Month," that you will make at least some slight effort to accurately represent my views?

I beg to remain, yours faithfully,

CASTLEREAGH.

[We know nothing of "the local Radical newspaper." The comment which Lord Castlereagh resents was provoked by the following paragraph in the *Times* of April 19, 1913.

"Lord Castlereagh intimated about a month ago that he had decided not to stand again for Maidstone, as his private interests lie so much in the north that he feels he cannot serve the constituency as he would like to do. The Executive Committee of the South Kensington Conservative Association have now decided to recommend Lord Castlereagh to the association for adoption as prospective Unionist candidate upon the retirement of Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P."]

THE
NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 366. AUGUST 1913

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

All Astray

THE general public are to be warmly congratulated on that native good sense which has caused them to steadfastly refuse to take the faintest interest in "the Near Eastern Crisis," which has been a standing headline in whatever newspaper they turned to for nearly forty years. They have saved themselves an infinity of trouble and exasperation, and to-day they are in precisely the same position as those unhappy diplomats, journalists, statesmen, and other experts who have devoted no small part of their lives to studying the vicissitudes of an impossible question with a view to foreseeing and controlling the course of events. The net result is that nothing has been understood, foreseen or controlled. Plenty of people will doubtless come forward after it is all over, if it ever is over, prepared to prove that they knew from the outset exactly what would happen. It is a pity they kept their knowledge to themselves so long. Although omniscient by profession, we do not pretend to have had any inkling as to the upshot of the war which, greatly to the surprise of the "best informed" men in Europe, started last autumn, and if compelled to prophesy we should probably have misjudged the respective military capacity of the belligerents as completely as, say, the German General Staff. On two points only can we claim to have helped our readers. We have more than once protested against premature assumptions as to the dislocation of the balance of power in Europe, which did not take

sufficient account of the tremendous losses of Bulgaria in her wonderful campaign against Turkey. We have repeatedly called attention to the existence of Rumania, who for some mysterious reason has been habitually left out of the picture and "forgotten," not only by Bulgarians, but by Western wiseacres who were by way of knowing all about it. It was obvious that the longer the Balkan War lasted, the greater must become the rôle of the one nation who had sat on the fence watching her neighbours exhausting themselves. From the moment the second war between the crazy Allies broke out Rumania was destined to become master of the situation, unless she in her turn caught the prevailing megalomania and played into the hands of some great predatory Power on the prowl. We cannot join in the violent if vague apostrophes to Europe to stop this shambles, for the simple reason that England is part of Europe—though many Englishmen forget it—and we cannot ask other Powers to undertake responsibilities and risks in which we can have no serious share because in our superior wisdom we have deliberately elected to do without an Army in the accepted sense of the word. So long as British politicians confine themselves to speechifying they will do fairly well. They are tidy speakers, and however discredited in Home affairs, they present their case abroad in polished phraseology which cannot fail to impress other politicians of their kidney; but the less they talk of action the better. They have put themselves and their country out of court. Is it suggested that the Balkan Committee should occupy Constantinople? Does Viscount Haldane of Cloan contemplate leading the Territorial Force to Adrianople to turn out the Turks? All our gasbags are, so to speak, on the warpath, or rather, after their wont, they are exhorting other people to go on the warpath.

Political Megalomania

THE chain of events was fairly connected, though it scarcely helps impotence to solve the immediate problem, which, moreover, varies from week to week, and the situation may be transformed from what it is at the moment of writing to what it will be when these pages are read. We are warned by the hopeless efforts of intelligent weekly contemporaries to keep pace with the shifting kaleidoscope. The Great Powers, so-called, are evidently responsible for the present

chaos by destroying the arrangement among the members of the Balkan Federation for the distribution of the spoils of war in the event of their defeating Turkey. It is a grim fact that nations struggling for freedom from Turkish oppression should compromise their very existence as autonomous nations because Europe insisted on autonomy for Albania. This decision, which we are not in a position to criticise because it appeared to be fair, and we have no inside knowledge of the negotiations, and therefore cannot say whether we walked into an artfully baited trap, caused Servia to claim compensation for what she had lost in Albania from Bulgaria's appointed portion of the plunder. Greece, drunk with comparatively cheap military glory, went off her head. Bulgaria, who had done the lion's share of the fighting against Turkey, rashly stood upon the letter of the compact instead of trying to meet her Allies half-way, and struck in order to prevent the Servians and Greeks from joining forces. Madness reigned as well as governed in Sofia as elsewhere, but it is believed to have been political and not military madness. The Bulgarian Asquiths and Lloyd Georges, and not their Robertses and Kitcheners, are responsible for an outbreak of insanity for which their unfortunate country must pay dearly. The heart of the great Bulgarian Army was not in this second war, and such troops as fought are believed to have had the worst of it, though we are very ignorant as to recent events. Rumania, who had craftily bided her time, now mobilised and invaded Bulgaria, who, encompassed by foes, was not in a position to offer any resistance, and her numerous assailants—including Montenegro—announced their intention of dictating Bulgarian dismemberment in Sofia. Meanwhile the Turks, who had been forgotten by the Balkan lunatics, reappeared on the scene and, to the amazement of Europe, tore up the "Treaty of London" and recaptured Adrianople from the Bulgarians, who were constrained to give up this great prize without resistance. At the moment there is a pause, and everybody is summoning somebody else to do something. So far nobody has moved, though doubtless before long there will be some further development of which our readers will be in a better position to form a judgment than we are. We have no advice to offer Europe, though every one can see that there is a golden opportunity for real statesmanship were there any real statesmen.

Oil

EVERY action of the Asquith Government is naturally regarded with ever-increasing suspicion. The Marconi scandal is always with us. There is a Silver scandal of the first class, and before long we shall probably be engulfed in oil, after which suggestive questions will be asked concerning the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, which is alleged to have afforded astute persons "in the know" an opportunity to reap a harvest of "unearned increment," which would doubtless be covered by the new doctrine of the Ministerial Right to Speculate—the radical Habakkuk is *capable de tout*. The *Times*, which no one in all conscience could accuse of animosity towards the Coalition Cabinet, issued a friendly warning nearly three months ago so that it might not be alleged hereafter that Ministers were in the dark concerning oil rumours. The Political Notes of the *Times* of May 8 contained this suggestive paragraph:

> From the course of events in the early stages of the Marconi business it would seem that Ministers were unaware that rumours were in existence about them. The rumours appeared in publications which the Government considered obscure. It seems just as well, therefore, to announce here and now, in a newspaper which is known to be perused by members of Parliament, that very circumstantial, detailed rumours are being spread with regard to oil contracts for the Navy, and that allegations are being made of personal connections of Ministers and others with would-be contractors. Very prominent names are being busily circulated throughout the country—and, as before, the rumours began in the City. Those who have heard this gossip in political circles feel that the Government would be well advised, in the case of any pending oil contracts, to take the House of Commons fully into their confidence from the first, giving full particulars of the various interests concerned, in order that suspicion and exaggeration may be avoided from the outset.

The "oil atmosphere," as the *Westminster Gazette* would describe it, has developed in the interval, partly because oil magnates are believed to have succeeded in tightening their grip on the press. The boom in oil has become as ubiquitous as last year's Marconi boom. People are entitled to know to whom newspapers belong—who pull the strings and have ultimate control of any particular organ. An editor may be a mere cipher, or he may be a Delane. You never can tell. In perfect good faith he might publish a series of highly scientific articles written by competent experts setting forth the immeasurable inferiority of coal to oil as a motive power and advocating that the basis of British sea-power be shifted from coal to oil. His paper might gradually

drift into enthusiastic advocacy of oil, but however honourable and high-minded and straight in business its owners might be, once it were known to be controlled by oil magnates its propaganda would be properly discounted.

Oil Influence

LET us take a very simple illustration. The *National Review* has in season, and some people would say out of season, advocated increased expenditure upon armaments to meet the expanding armaments of hostile Powers. Such opinions can be honestly held, and are honestly held, by men whose fortunes depend on the maintenance and expansion of armaments. Nevertheless, if the proprietor of the *National Review* depended for his bread and butter, or even for the amenities of life, on the orders obtainable by some armament firm, our readers would naturally feel, however cogent might be our arguments in favour of a big Army and a big Fleet, that they would come better from somebody else. Similarly, if one depended for one's living on the amount of cocoa consumed by the public and consecrated the *National Review* to a crusade against every form of alcohol, we should be open to a similar observation, and vice versâ. If we were brewers and distillers who published perpetual articles emphasising the injury caused to the intellect by cocoa or the harm done to the nervous system by tea, we should not occupy a particularly persuasive position. That is what we would respectfully say to oil magnates who may chance to acquire control of newspapers. There is no difficulty in ascertaining the names of Editors who may count for much or little, but the public should be allowed to know the proprietary, and if oil controllers of newspapers are wise, though it is only natural that they should believe that there is nothing like leather, they would mitigate the persistence and insistence of their crusade against coal. Coal has obvious drawbacks. Oil may be immensely superior. But before considering the merits of the question, Englishmen cannot forget that this country has the coal and has not the oil, and with the tragic blunder of the "Dreadnought" policy before us, it is scarcely surprising if grave doubts are entertained as to the wisdom of a precipitate departure, which, so far as the country knows, has not been recommended by any authority inspiring

of the financial year 1911–12 "the Admiralty" reviewed existing naval types and decided to lay down a division of fast battleships, "and the battle-cruiser was put into temporary and perhaps permanent abeyance." Secondly, a very fast light cruiser was designed, eight being included in the programme for the year, while the regular destroyer programme was continued, the new vessels being of increased speed. None of these vessels, we are told, could have been satisfactorily constructed on a coal-burning basis, but we should like to have corroborative evidence. So the four new battleships, plus the gift of the Malaya, were "oil only" ships. Ditto the light-armoured cruisers. Mr. Churchill did not await parliamentary authority to inaugurate the oil revolution, and according to one of the principal and most obsequious supporters of the Coalition, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, he did not even consult the Cabinet. This "young man in a hurry" may be our undoing. He was content to announce the *fait accompli* to Parliament. "We were compelled to use oil-fuel over almost the whole field of the new construction programme of 1912–13." But was the problem ever properly considered and, if so, by whom? If politicians were ignored were sailors or scientists seriously consulted or was it another of those "courageous *strokes of the pen*" from which we have suffered in past years? Was the subject ever before the Defence Committee, not that that body's opinion is worth the paper it is written on? We are approaching the origin of the oil rumours about which the *Times* had been wisely solicitous.

Back to Coal

OBSERVE the amazing sequel. When we come to the year 1913–14, when one would naturally expect still further reliance to be placed on such immensely superior fuel as oil, we are coolly informed, "The five battleships of this year—however, are to be coal burners, using oil as an auxiliary only." Note Mr. Churchill's attempted answer to the obvious question in the mind of his hearers. Mr. Churchill explained that

oil is only required in big ships when an exceptional speed has to be reached with a vessel of exceptional quality. The ordinary speed can be effectively realised with coal as the main motive power. The Fast Division of battleships of the year 1912–13 consisted of vessels of exceptional speed, and therefore required oil. But the essence of a Fast Division

consists in the relation of its speed to that of the enemy's main fleet, and consequently to your own main fleet. Speed is only relative, and, if the general speed of the Line of Battle were raised until it was equal to that of the Fast Division, the Fast Division would, *ipso facto*, fall back into the ordinary category. In creating a Fast Division, we therefore had no intention of raising the ordinary average speed of the Fleet of the Line of Battle which remains at a maximum for individual ships of from 20 to 21 knots, and coal will continue to be the main basis of our sea power in the Line of Battle for the present, and this year we revert to building battleships of ordinary speed for the ordinary service of the Line.

We reproduce the text from the Official Report lest our readers should imagine we have dreamt it. It will be generally regarded as appalling, and even the Churchill Press can hardly conceal its anxiety. One year "the Admiralty" revolts from King Coal and adopts oil as manifestly superior. The next year they revert to coal, which *ex hypothesi* is out of date, and which Mr. Churchill has himself condemned in the opening part of his typoscript! What does it all mean? We trust our readers will form their own unbiased opinions regardless of the attitude of "Admiralty" organs which are invariably in the wrong.

Oil without Oil

We do not profess to understand this supremely important question, but we know something of politicians and "Admiralties," and we infer merely from reading this mockery of an explanation that "the Admiralty" subsequently realised that in prematurely embarking on an "all oil" Fleet they were making bricks without straw, for the simple reason that they could not obtain the oil. Mr. Churchill's effort to glose over the truth could impose on no one except a Member of Parliament: "It is therefore possible to use coal as their main motive power (*i.e.* of our latest battleships), and this, it must be admitted, is convenient *in view of the very high prices now ruling for oil*" [our italics]. The thoughtless virgins had forgotten to trim their lamps. As the speaker euphemistically observed, "I have now dealt with the general advantages of oil-fuel." No other assembly in the world would tolerate such cavalier treatment from the head of a great spending Department. After the "general advantages" of oil-fuel, Mr. Churchill next came to its supply, which was putting the cart before the horse, as before deciding to embark on a revolution in the basis of British sea-power, wisdom would

enjoin that the basis should be secured, and that before discarding coal we should acquire oil. However, that would require foresight, which is not a quality demanded of British politicians. Then came the oracular observation: "Our power to obtain additional supplies of oil-fuel in time of war, in excess of those which are being stored in this country, depends upon our preserving the command of the sea." This is obvious without being helpful. We all know that if we lost command of the sea oil would not be the only commodity excluded from these islands. "If we cannot get oil we cannot get corn, we cannot get cotton, and we cannot get a thousand-and-one commodities necessary for the preservation of the economic energies of Great Britain. If we are unable to bring in the comparatively small number of vessels which would be required to maintain a full supply of oil for our Fleet in time of war, we shall certainly be unable to conduct, as we hope to conduct, the whole vast oversea trade of this country, export as well as import, in spite of the utmost exertions of the enemy."

Humpty Dumpty

MR. CHURCHILL told the House of Commons that "Some very clever people have pointed out that oil is different from other classes of supply, because it will be in part the means by which the initial command of the sea is maintained." This does not strike us either as so "very clever" nor so idiotic as Mr. Churchill imagines. In his view "this argument is quite fallacious. It is not upon oil-burning ships that we depend, or are likely to depend, for many years to come, for the protection of our trade-routes. That protection is maintained by coal-burning cruisers, operating along the trade-routes, while the enemy's main Battle Fleet is being dealt with in the decisive theatre, wherever that may happen to be." So, at a pinch, our old friend coal "chips in again"—in fact it is the usual game of official see-saw. The friends and partisans of oil-fuel are placated by the construction of "oil only" ships without any provision for oil; those who are doubtful of the wisdom of abandoning coal, of which we are supposed to possess an enviable monopoly, are reminded that coal remains the foundation of our sea-power. For purposes of cleanliness, speed, and comfort we have an oil navy; for purposes of security,

as we have not got the oil, we rely on coal. You pay your money and you take your choice. We need not follow Mr. Churchill's elaborate disquisition upon oil, which, however ingenious, could not conceal the fatal failure of foresight when an oil fleet without oil was decided upon. It is all very well to be told

our stake in oil-burning ships is becoming so important that we must have the certainty of being able to buy a steady supply of oil at a steady price. Not to take proper steps in time would mean we should gradually but rapidly get into the position of being forced purchasers. We should be greatly overcharged. It does not mean we should not get oil. At a certain price it would pay nobody else but us to buy it. It does not mean we should not get the oil. Let that be dismissed from every one's mind. It would mean, however, that we should be made to pay an excessive price for it.

However, our omniscient "Admiralty" have a twofold policy, an ultimate policy, and an interim policy. We know those policies, which usually signify interim quibbling and ultimate disaster. It will indeed be a miracle should the Churchill régime end without some hideous catastrophe to British sea-power. There are actually lunatics in the Unionist Party and the Unionist Press who are intriguing in order to secure that the most poisonous member of the present Government shall remain at his present post, even in the event of our knocking out the Marconi Ministry. That has been the main object of the present boom, but Mr. Churchill has knocked himself out by his latest performance, and all the King's horses and all the King's men cannot put Humpty-Dumpty together again.

The Admiralty Refiners

THE "ultimate" policy which has several aspects is that the Admiralty should become the independent owner and producer of its own supplies of liquid fuel, first by building up an oil reserve in this country sufficient to make us safe in war and over-ride price fluctuation in peace; secondly, whatever this may mean, "by acquiring the power to deal in crude oils as they come cheaply into the market." It would all be highly entertaining if it were less tragic. The British Admiralty, which as we know flatly refuses, on the ground that it has not the staff to help in preventing to establish a Marconi monopoly of wireless telegraphy, is to become an oil refinery. One could not believe it unless one had it before one in print, but here are the *verba ipsissima*. "This second aspect

of our ultimate policy involves the Admiralty being able to retort, refine, top—top means driving lighter products off by evaporation—or distil crude oil of various kinds until it reaches the quality required for naval use. This again leads us into having to dispose of the surplus products—another great problem —but I do not myself see any reason why we should shrink, if necessary, from entering this field of State enterprise. . . . I see no reason, nor do my advisers, why we should shrink from making this further extension of the vast and various businesses of the Admiralty." The "ultimate" policy was to secure a position of independence "outside the oil market," while the "interim" policy "consists in making at once a series of forward contracts for about five years, with a certain power of renewal, to secure a regular and an adequate supply during this immediate future period at reasonable and steady prices." The subject was too confidential to be discussed in the House of Commons, whose whole duty was confined to opening its mouth and shutting eyes and swallowing whatever the "Admiralty," alias Mr. Churchill, said. The speaker condescended to make one revelation which was not unexpected. It appears that "the Admiralty consider it indispensable to the proper solution of the question of oil-supply to make a contract for a portion—a comparatively small portion, but still a substantial portion—of our oil-supply with the Mexican Eagle Company. That is the Company directed by Lord Cowdray, with which Lord Murray is connected. It is also the greatest British-controlled oil company in the world, and is one of the comparatively few great British oil companies in the world." Needless to say Mr. Churchill has been informed by his advisers that this particular contract "is one that is extremely advantageous for the public and for the Navy." When any public Department, for example, the Post Office, admits that it has made a bad bargain we shall attach importance to Departmental statements that something "extremely advantageous" has been done for the public.

Mexican Eagles

As Mr. Churchill is so anxious, unlike Mr. Samuel last year, to destroy a rumour at the outset, it would have been interesting if he had told the House of Commons whether the extraordinary value of this contract had been ascertained before or after Lord Murray entered Lord Cowdray's business and whether he arranged it, what near

relatives of Cabinet Ministers have been found billets in that business during the last five years, and whether there is any working agreement between this great British company and the Standard Oil Company of the United States. The First Lord of the Admiralty added: "Though no contract has yet been made with the Mexican Eagle Company, one is going to be made, unless the House in its wisdom, by withdrawing its confidence, changes altogether the composition of the present administration of the Admiralty." After this bluster he continued: "I cannot help it if it exposes the Government or the Liberal Party to some embarrassment, to the embarrassment of imputations or attacks; we must not fail in our duty to do the best we can for the Service for fear that we may subsequently become the objects of insult or insinuation." We are getting on. This hypersensitiveness on the part of callous cynics is something new. Mr. Churchill was good enough to add that he had been assured by the present Chief Whip, Mr. Illingworth, familiarly known as the "co-trustee," that "no funds of the Liberal Party have ever been invested in the shares of this Company, and I have been told on high authority that Lord Murray himself has bought no shares in it." Thus another rumour due to the Select Committee's fear of examining Fenner's books is allayed. Is it any merit in Lord Murray not to hold any shares in a company he is "connected" with? We should have thought not, but perhaps his qualification comes through other members of the family. It is all rather immaterial, because Mr. Churchill announced that, "even if there were twenty Lord Murrays and if every one of them had 20,000 shares and if all the funds of the Liberal Party, past, present and prospective, were exclusively invested in this Company, we cannot see in what way these facts would be relevant to the decision which the Admiralty have to take, or how they could be held to debar us from doing what is profitable to the public and necessary for the Navy."

Twenty Murrays

But surely if there were twenty Lord Murrays or, let us say, twenty Liberal Ministers who each had 20,000 shares in Mexican Eagles, and if all the funds of the Liberal Party, past present, and to come, were exclusively invested in that Company, it is not unreasonable to imagine that with such a Government in power as the present, or we may

add an infinitely better Government than Mr. Churchill and his colleagues, an amount of pressure would be brought to bear on "the Admiralty" in the interests of this particular Company which only a Sir Frederick Richards would be able to resist. The Marconi Company wouldn't be in it with Mexican Eagles. Mr. Churchill courts disaster by issuing such an idiotic challenge, just as the Admiralty Board court ignominy by allowing him on their behalf in Parliament to read the following statement: "We have not, and we have never had, any personal interest, direct or indirect, in the supply of oil-fuel to the Navy. We do not hold and we have never held during our tenure of office any oil shares of any sort. We occupy a position of complete disinterestedness and impartiality in regard to all oil enterprises, oil companies, oil magnates, and oil combinations." Who, we should like to know, has ever made the faintest reflection on the integrity of Prince Louis of Battenberg and the distinguished seamen of the Admiralty Board, and how did they ever come to be so unmindful of what is due to the great silent Navy of which they are the responsible directors, as to put their names to such a gratuitously despicable document or to allow it to be paraded for political purposes in Parliament by the passing charlatan of the hour? Mr. George Terrell, M.P., appropriately inquired, "Is that signed by the Government?" To this there was no answer, and one can only express amazement at the simplicity of sailors in allowing themselves to be used as the stalking-horse of mountebanks. The rumours to which the *Times* called attention, quoted on a preceding page, referred exclusively to politicians, and as the subject has been raised we trust that we shall have a clear and categorical declaration of disinterestedness on oath that none of his Majesty's Ministers have participated, are participating, or will participate in the oil boom so long as the question of oil-fuel remains unsettled, as it would appear to be by Mr. Churchill's deplorable account of the premature construction of oil ships without oil and of the subsequent relapse to coal because no provision had been made for oil which had meanwhile doubled in price. We are so accustomed nowadays to the political Heads of Departments making egregious exhibitions of themselves that no one pays any attention, but it is desirable to enter a most emphatic protest against an utterance which was answered in an

excellent speech by Mr. Lee, who, however, like nearly all our spokesmen in the House, was far too polite, exposing the shortcomings of the Government, and especially their failure which is writ large across Mr. Churchill's speech to fulfil their pledges as regards naval construction, or indeed to make any serious effort to gauge the relative slump in British sea-power since the Panama Party came into power. Even the most ecstatic members of the Churchill Press, who have had their leg continually pulled from the Admiralty, could not disguise their chagrin by their hero's refusal to take any serious action except "speeding up" a mere parliamentary phrase, to meet the hole in Imperial Sea Power caused by the Canadian Senate. Mr. Churchill's only return to his journalistic satellites was to jeer at the excessive number of "Dreadnoughts" they demanded. This is the man whom the Poo-bah Press would keep in perpetuity at the Admiralty. It can only be by an undeserved interposition of Providence that we can hope to get through the critical years ahead of us.

The Marconi Millstone

In spite of frantic efforts to divert public attention from the Marconi Mystery—which becomes less mysterious and more scandalous each succeeding month—it continues to hold the field and to overshadow domestic politics. It is the millstone round the neck of the present Ministry. The combined efforts of the Hush-up press of both Parties will be unable to save Panama Government, which will be dragged to its doom, slowly, surely, remorselessly. Verily Messrs. Asquith and Co. are between the Devil and the deep sea. The harassed head of the Government can obtain no respite from his nightmare. After he had cynically paid eloquent, if impudent, tribute during the debate on the Vote of Censure (June 18 and 19) to the noble conduct of his Marconi colleagues, Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George, whose "private and . . . public honour is at this moment absolutely unstained" and who retained "the complete confidence of their colleagues and of their political associates," while in passing the Prime Minister expressed unmeasured admiration for Lord Murray of Oilybank, the House of Commons characteristically proceeded to stultify itself by giving the implicated* Ministers a formal certificate of good character, in taking a valuable tip worth many thousand pounds

from a Government contractor and for their sacrifices in the cause of truth. The House of Commons specifically "acquits them of acting otherwise than in good faith"—a parliamentary gem, worthy of preservation—throughout the whole proceedings since the historic Isaacs' lunch of April 9, 1912. It is true that by the same motion, obligingly moved by Sir Ryland Adkins, a "tame" Radical, the House of Commons "accepts" the "expression of regret" which Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George were reputed to have tendered "that such purchases (*i.e.* American Marconis) were made and that they were not mentioned in the Debate of October 11." But you may search the speeches of the two illustrious "investors" in vain for any serious or sincere expression of regret except regret at having been found out—which in justice to them it must be admitted they took every precaution to avoid. At one stage of the Debate, thanks to the initiative of Mr. Balfour, optimists ingenuously imagined that the House of Commons might be allowed to record its own regret as the jejune declarations of Marconi Ministers had disappointed expectation. But it is alleged that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General threatened to resign if the House did anything of the kind, and "toe-the-line" Asquith capitulated as usual.

Sir E. Grey's Fiasco

THE Debate ended with a truly humiliating speech from Sir Edward Grey, who, though what is termed a Great Parliamentarian—whatever that may mean—made a dismal fiasco in trying to run with the hare and hold with the hounds. He could not conceal his contempt for his colleagues' performance, but he had not the pluck to dissociate himself from them. After all, the end justifies the means—the end being the retention of power by the Coalition cabal, of whom Sir Edward Grey is an important member and a Premier-elect. We trust that in future we may be spared wearisome because groundless rumours that Sir Edward Grey is at last going to assert himself and insist that the Augean Stables shall be cleansed. Mr. Bonar Law enraged the Party of all the Virtues some time ago by pointing out that of necessity revolutionary Governments were corrupt Governments. After the corruption of politics we shall see the corruption of the Judiciary, because it

is absolutely necessary for politicians to have friends on the Bench. Sir Edward Grey is, we may hope and believe, personally above temptation. He would not take a valuable tip from a Government contractor and then devote his talents to concealing the fact from the public, making speeches artfully combining *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi*, but he is so constituted as to be able to stomach anything in a colleague, and whenever there is some impossible conduct to be condoned Sir Edward Grey stands ready with his bucket of whitewash. Does he approve of the "investment" of the Party funds in Marconi shares by the Chief Whip of the Party, who would be primarily responsible for securing parliamentary ratification for the contract on which the Marconi boom was built up? Probably he would prefer that they should be invested elsewhere, and would be very much bored if any fuss were made about it. Would he mind if, after all that has happened, other colleagues were detected in other Marconi speculations either in the parent or daughter companies? He would presumably prefer an alternative investment, but he would undoubtedly expend himself in getting his colleagues out of any hole in which they might find themselves. This attitude is known among professional politicians as "party loyalty," though whether it promotes purity in public life is another matter.

Lord Chief Justice

We do not often find ourselves in agreement nowadays with Mr. Lloyd George or Sir Rufus Isaacs, but we cannot repress our gratitude to them for placing the only intelligible interpretation on the attitude of the Prime Minister and the House of Commons. Their spirited action is likewise a well-deserved rebuke to the mealy-mouthed mugwumps of the Unionist Party and the sycophants of the Hush-up press who persuaded themselves that the Marconi question would be buried by the Debate in the House of Commons and that the Marconi Ministers would agree to take a back seat until the squall had blown over. This was probably the expectation of Mr. Asquith and other "superior persons" in the Cabinet who imagined that they had temporarily solved the Lloyd George problem by a plentiful supply of whitewash, and that in return the grateful culprit would consent to be neither seen nor heard. Effacement is not, however, the forte of the Chancellor of the

Exchequer or the Attorney-General, who regard themselves as specially qualified for the rôle of injured innocents, and fortified by the eulogy of the head of the Government, the charity of the Opposition, and the certificate of good character from Parliament, proceeded to carry the war into the enemy's country. Sir Rufus Isaacs means to compel Mr. Asquith to make him Lord Chief Justice, and he not unnaturally argues, as one would argue in his place, that if he is fit to remain Attorney-General—a point on which we have made no pretence of concealing our opinion—he is fit to become Lord Chief Justice. Every Attorney-General is qualified to be a Lord Chief Justice, or even a Lord Chancellor. Many of us would be aghast at the appointment, because Sir Rufus Isaacs is obviously lacking in qualities essential on the Bench while his appointment would shock the public conscience; but then we hold that he should have retired from the Attorney-Generalship months ago, and that on his failure to do so any self-respecting Prime Minister would have insisted on his going.

"Jolly Good Fellows"

But self-respect is the quality most lacking in the present Government, which is consequently the least respected Government that has ever held office in this country. Mr. Asquith has declared that, in spite of his speech of October and his intrigue against the journalists with Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth, Sir Rufus Isaacs' public and private honour remain unaffected and that he retains the unabated regard of his colleagues. Lord Alverstone is to be hustled out of the Lord Chief Justiceship that the process of whitewashing may be completed. We shall protest to the last against an outrage which could not even be contemplated by the Government of any other civilised Power. But then neither in France nor in Germany nor the United States or elsewhere could a Marconi Ministry have survived recent revelations. With an Asquith at the head of affairs we must be surprised at nothing, and it is only natural that to the Radicals of Reading Sir Rufus Isaacs should appear in the guise of "a jolly good fellow." We need not epitomise his speech to his joyful constituents at the end of June. He once more resorted to the convenient device of framing his own indictment and expatiating on the "dastardly conduct"

of those who had created "a foul, poisonous atmosphere for the very purpose of infecting the surrounding air. I am not a man to complain of fair fighting. I have had my fair share of it through my life, and my friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had his full share. I am ready to take my stand, to bear my share in the fight, and if I am stricken to fall without wincing. What I am not prepared for is to be stabbed in the back." Such is the rhodomontade fobbed off on public meetings by Marconi orators, which will be heard with every variant according to the taste and fancy of the speaker. Sir Rufus Isaacs is responsible for the "atmosphere" of which he complains. It is due to the deplorable transactions of himself and his colleagues in April 1912, and to their subsequent efforts to "postpone" the truth. The "dastards" have done everything openly, and if there has been any stabbing in the back it was by Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George when they privately primed Messrs. Handel Booth and Falconer. So far as we know, not one of their sycophants, either in the press or in Parliament, has attempted to justify an action which can only have been prompted by the expectation that were the information skilfully used by their confidants, not only would the journalists be bluffed but the "majority" of the Committee might have informed Ministers that, as there was no foundation for the rumours their evidence was unnecessary, and we should never have heard of their American Marconi speculations. We believe this to be a fair inference, and it seems to us to be the only inference of an incident which not even Mr. Asquith has had the effrontery to defend.

The National Liberal Club

The next item in the Marconi programme was a magnificent banquet at the National Liberal Club (July 1) to celebrate the Ministerial Right to Speculate and to congratulate Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs on their triumphant achievements. All the "jolly good fellows" of the Party assembled in great force under the genial chairmanship of the Most Noble the Marquess of Lincolnshire—the modest designation under which our old friend Lord Carrington nowadays masquerades. The fun was fast and furious, for a gathering of the Cocoa Party and the flower of Liberal chivalry countenanced the proceedings. The

right hon. Sir John Brunner was unfortunately absent, but the firm was adequately represented by the right hon. Sir Alfred Moritz Mond, who has recently caught up his partner in the race for distinctions by entering the Privy Council already adorned by Sir Henry Dalziel of *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Intellect was present in the persons of Lord Haddo and Lord Lyveden. Religion was represented by Mr. Ellis J. Griffith, K.C., M.P.; finance by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs and Mr. Harry Isaacs; and Parliamentary decorum by Mr. Handel Booth. The occasion was in every respect worthy of the orators and the orators of the occasion. We have scant sympathy with exasperated Hush-ups, who anticipated that those they had helped to whitewash would take a back seat. On the contrary, the National Liberal Club is to be heartily congratulated on one of the most brilliant functions ever held within its hospitable walls, and one so entirely in accordance with the traditions of the Party of which this temple of luxury is the sumptuous home. Naturally Mr. Lloyd George let himself go in such company, and small blame to him. To borrow a popular Americanism, "What's the matter with Lloyd George? He's all right. Who's all right?—David Lloyd George." No stain darkens his spotless escutcheon, and he enjoys to a greater degree than ever before the confidence of his colleagues, while to the House of Commons he is the Mirror of Truth, though those of us who are not members of Parliament are not bound to believe a single word he says on any subject. He informed his audience that he had been overwhelmed with communications "from all quarters of the country, many from Conservatives (cheers)" protesting against the disgraceful treatment which he and his friends had received. "I have received letters from men who are outside Party and whose mission is above Party—men of a sensitive honour, straightforward men, who would be the first to resent any departure from the principles of strict integrity—all testifying their confidence, their regard, and their continued friendship."

Name

We should like to have the names of these "many Conservatives" who regard Mr. Lloyd George as the soul of honour, and likewise of those pure and immaculate beings who are altogether above Party and remain lost in admiration of the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer's conduct throughout the Marconi business. He was fulsome in his expressions of gratitude to "the leading, the more powerful, Conservative journals," which had "refused to lower their dignity by joining in this unctuous and fatuous man-hunt." He drew a moving picture of the Attorney-General and himself. "For months and months, through the dreary dark winter, we had to sit silent when calumny was being hurled from every quarter at our heads." What calumny and from what quarters? So far as we know—and we may claim to have followed the controversy carefully and conscientiously—the chief "calumny" was the suggestion that in all probability Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. had been unable to resist the temptation of speculating in Marconi shares during the negotiation of the contract between the British Government and the Marconi Company. In such a speculation it was obvious that Mr. Lloyd George would have inside knowledge which would give him an advantage over the general public, though the precise character of that knowledge and the extent of that advantage could only be surmised. It is now established on oath by Mr. Lloyd George himself that, thanks to an invaluable tip from the Managing Director of the Marconi Company in contractual relations with the British Government, and at the time arranging the completion of the contract, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was put in a position to make money at the rate of several hundred pounds a day. In his greed he grasped at further profits, and is stated to be out of pocket on the whole transaction, but that does not in the least affect the truth of the "calumny" of which he complains. As active "calumniators" it is perhaps not irrelevant to recall what was said of Mr. Lloyd George in these pages so long ago as last November in connection with his impudent attempt to silence Mr. Lansbury concerning rumours of Ministerial speculations. Our ludicrously inadequate suspicion was at one time regularly trotted out in the Radical press as evidence of malice. The reader must read it not in the light of the positive knowledge of to-day, but of the ignorance of last November, when Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. had expended themselves in hoodwinking the House of Commons.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the most foul-mouthed of all our demagogues, is, like other demagogues, extraordinarily sensitive. It was noted, however, that,

unlike his colleagues, the Attorney-General and the Postmaster-General, who specifically denied that they had art or part in the great Marconi gamble, Mr. Lloyd George was silent on this point, possibly because he was too excited. But if we are to attach importance to the disclaimers of the Attorney-General and the Postmaster-General, what interpretation is to be placed upon the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George? *That he is capable of gambling in Marconi shares we do not doubt for a moment, but that he actually gambled in them we have no right to say, for the simple reason that we do not know.* [my italics].*

Flap-Doodle

THAT there may be no particle of excuse for misunderstanding—and one has to be meticulously careful in dealing with the Artful Dodger of Carnarvon Boroughs—the same number of the *National Review* called particular attention to the American boom, thus affording Mr. Lloyd George a golden opportunity of telling the truth to the House of Commons concerning his "flutter" had he been so minded, and if his winter was "dark" and "dreary" while rumour was busy with his name it is not we but he who is responsible for this home-made misery and home-made humiliation. When he told the National Liberal Club banqueteers that "we, as members of the House of Commons, felt bound by its traditions not to answer. The tribunal we belong to was investigating the matter and we felt our hands tied," their hands were only tied because they wished them to be tied. There was no parliamentary tradition precluding Mr. Lloyd George from writing to the chairman of the Select Committee directly it was appointed asking to be allowed to come and explain that, contrary to the general interpretation put upon his interjections in the October Debate, he had "invested" in Marconi shares. But it is certainly contrary to parliamentary tradition—and no one has been found to defend it—that Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs should have made a private and partial communication behind the back of the chairman of the Committee, Sir Albert Spicer, to two members of the committee whom the investors deemed appropriate agents in what the world at large regards as a singularly dirty business. Mr. Lloyd George is exclusively responsible for anything he may have suffered, and, after all, his sufferings are scarcely calculated to excite pity. They were the pangs of a guilty conscience which could have been put an end to directly he summoned up sufficient courage to make a clean breast of what

* "Episodes of the Month," *National Review*, November 1912.

he hoped to conceal. The rest was flap-doodle—in fact, we shall get nothing but flap-doodle from Mr. Lloyd George on this question. "Things were insinuated into the public mind, germinating, taking root, and not a word could we answer. It is the shabbiest chapter in the history of any Party. Hitting a man when he is down; hitting a man when his hands are tied and he cannot hit back—that is the Tory notion of fair play. There is one martyrdom I have always felt was the least endurable of all, and that is where the victim had his hands tied and arrows were sped into his body from all quarters. He could neither protect himself from the arrows, tear them out, nor sling them back."

St. Sebastian of Limehouse

As an antidote to this tomfoolery we are able to present the reader with Mr. Amery's annihilating answer to the St. Sebastian of Limehouse, which, though delivered in the form of a speech, is published elsewhere as an article because it was rigorously boycotted by the Hush-up press of both Parties. What Mr. Lloyd George is really suffering from is that he has been let off much too cheaply. In no civilised country in the world except Great Britain could he have remained Minister of Finance. However, he continues to whine and snarl amidst the uproarious enthusiasm of the Cocoa Brigade, and the cartoonist of the *Westminster Gazette* has depicted him as a martyr. "Well, I can understand something of that martyrdom now—for months every dastardly and cowardly journalist in the Tory party shooting his poisoned dart into your body, knowing that your hands were tied behind your back by the principles of honourable loyalty to the House to which I belong." This is a deliberate and downright falsehood, and when Mr. Lloyd George adds, "My hands are free now; free to shield, free to smite," let him go into Court supported by Sir Edward Carson, Mr. F. E. Smith, &c. &c., and allow a Judge and jury to decide the issue between St. Sebastian of Limehouse and the *National Review*. He was very brave at the banquet "I should like to sling one javelin or two at my persecutors," after which, in the course of an attack upon some unnamed assailant, he gave an inimitable description of himself—"A hungry humbug steeped in smugness and self-righteousness." After a passing reference to an "unpleasant cross-Channel adven-

tion," which is not foreign to readers of Mr. George's fulminations, came a defence of politicians in general and himself in particular. It appears that politicians "are a much-maligned race," but if Mr. George is "much maligned" it is largely because he has devoted his public life to maligning other people. He is shocked at the suggestion that politicians "are moved by sordid pecuniary considerations" which emanate from persons who "know nothing either of politics or politicians. Those are not the things that move us. If anybody is going into politics and thinks he is going in to make money, let him take one bit of advice from me. In politics there is no cash, and if this campaign of calumny goes on there will be very little credit either." We should prefer to put it that unless our present politicians clear out public life will be deservedly discredited.

£50,000 a Year

MR. LLOYD GEORGE asserted: "There is no politician I know of who has attained a high position on either side without the advantage of rank and birth—a man who has got to a big position by capacity and strength of character—who would not in a business or profession make ten times as much as he is ever likely to make in politics." This is a *tall* order. During the last five years Mr. Lloyd George, who too frequently forgets his salary of £5000 a year, which places him among the plutocrats, has received no less than £25,000 as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Does he suggest that if he had remained in business he would have made £250,000 in the same period? Is there any business in the world, especially in the light of recent revelations, which could afford to pay Mr. Lloyd George £50,000 a year—*i.e.* "ten times" his salary? He added, "I had a profession which is commonly reputed to be a lucrative one. I had to neglect it. We had in those days no £400 a year even, and had it not been for the chivalry of my partners I should not have been able to do it." Judging from what we now know of Mr. George's business capacity, we should imagine that shrewdness combined with chivalry in encouraging him to transfer his deplorable energies to politics while they built up the business. Does he draw an income from this business, because *if so it should* be included in the schedule? The suggestion that Mr. Lloyd George and other colleagues have ruined

themselves by entering public life is, we feel sure, the usual exaggeration; in common parlance, many of his Majesty's Ministers lead a life of "swank" which would have been beyond their wildest dreams unless they had exchanged somewhat precarious professions for the lottery of politics in which they drew valuable prizes, and under the now accepted creed of the Ministerial Right to Speculate on priceless tips from Government contractors they can easily accumulate large fortunes without risking any money. They are in clover. One used to hear of men impoverished by politics. How many members of the present Cabinet could say as much? Mr. Asquith might have made more money by remaining at the Bar, and the same remark applies to Lord Haldane, who earned a very large income at the Chancery Bar before, unfortunately for the country, he became War Minister. However, Mr. Lloyd George persisted: "No, I know politicians well, and I know their motives, and I say the men who go into politics to make money are not politicians. In politics men go in, if you like, for fame; men may go in, if you like, for ambition; men may go in, and do go in, from a sense of duty. But cupidity, never. Not one that I know of has ever done so." Then came this inimitable *mot*: "There is more sincerity in politics than politicians themselves quite realise." After which we had an even greater effort. "There is a little land amongst the mountains of the west of this island. I would not barter one heart-beat of the devoted loyalty of those people to me, not for all the wealth that the City of London can command." There is but a single step between the gambler on the Stock Exchange and the uncrowned King of Wales, "the loyalty" of whose subjects has been sorely tried of late.

The Dunghill

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was not ashamed to proclaim his ambition, namely, "to lift the poor out of the mire, and the needy out of the dunghill. Do you think I would part with my share in that hope for the riches of the Empire? Riches are not the thing that appeal to politicians, and men who talk like that neither know politics nor politicians. I am glad to be standing here, and to say that not for myself but for the honour of British politics and

politicians to-day." Politicians will be duly grateful for this unsolicited testimonial. Having placed himself on a pedestal, St. Sebastian proceeded to let loose in familiar Limehouse style, turning his gutter-squirt on to Lord Lansdowne, who had had the effrontery to declare that there was a land question with which the Unionist Party proposed to deal. Having worked himself into an uncontrollable passion against any one daring to talk of Land without blackguarding the landlords, Mr. Lloyd George damned the whole policy of land purchase, which subsequently brought down upon him a scathing rebuke from Mr. William O'Brien. Resuming his familiar rôle of Marconi martyr, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thus apostrophised his hearers: "Don't you drop it. I am not *going* to drop it. I have nothing to fear. I have disclosed everything. They have examined everything. They have scrutinised everything. Why should I drop it now, when the only thing that remains is a principle which is full of hope and healing for the democracy?" We may say that in any case, without Mr. Lloyd George's appeal, we had no intention of dropping the Marconi question. We do not share his opinion that everything has been disclosed, though he may have been compelled to disclose all he knows, the process having been compared by one of his own admirers to the extraction of teeth. Why the Ministerial Right to Speculate is so full of "hope and healing for the democracy" we are at a loss to say. In his paroxysms, the speaker is probably unconscious of his words.

The Panama Peril

He suggestively continued: "The danger of a panic is always this. It concentrates upon a false peril and takes the mind away from a real one. The real peril, believe me, in politics is not that the individual politician of high rank will attempt to make a pocket for himself. That is not the peril. Read the history of England for fifty years; that peril is an imaginary one. The real peril is that powerful interests will dominate the legislature, dominate the executive, in order to carry through proposals which will prey upon the community. That is where tariffs and landlord endowment will come in," &c. &c. To our mind the immediate and pressing peril is the establishment of Panama Government in this country through the instrumentality of men of the low ideals of Mr. Lloyd George. Some peril doubtless lurks in

our fiscal system. A cocoa tariff was long maintained in the interests of the cocoa party, and Free Trade in other people's goods is jealously preserved and subsidised by politicians who enjoy one or other form of Protection for their own. In another outburst St. Sebastian declared: "No; the principles which they intended to use as a scourge for their foes we shall insist upon making the standard for their friends. These principles are full of hope for the people, and whatever we have suffered we shall not have suffered in vain if this principle is exalted for observance by all parties and all interests." Our readers may have some inkling of what this all means, as we confess to being completely in the dark. Over-zealous friends on the press are cruel in reporting such sorry stuff *verbatim et literatim*. But as the peroration has been published, it is worth preserving, all the more as the *Westminster Gazette* is reminded of John Bright by Mr. Lloyd George: "There is a great story in the greatest of books of a man who spent his life fighting the Philistines, and one day he was assailed by a wild beast, whom he slew. Returning to the scenes of the conflict in a few days, he found the carcass full of honey. My right hon. friend (presumably Sir Rufus Isaacs) and I have been assailed by a hideous monster that sought our lives. Not by our own right arm, but with the help of friends we have slaughtered it, and, unless I am mistaken, out of its prostrate form will come something that will sweeten the lives of millions who hitherto have tasted nothing but the bitterness and dust of the world."

The Only Atonement

As already pointed out, this performance of Mr. Lloyd George greatly exasperated the Hush-ups, who regarded it as a very poor return for the services they had rendered to Marconi Ministers. We, on the other hand, are grateful to the speaker even when we don't understand him, for adding to the gaiety of the nation. Sir Rufus Isaacs was dull by contrast with his friend the Clown at the Exchequer, though he also dwelt upon the "suffering" and "some sunshine." Both Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs have been treated with extraordinary moderation by their principal critics on the Marconi question. Their reputations cannot survive the episode because they are too selfish to make the only atonement open to them by placing their resignations

in the hands of the Prime Minister. We recognise that he is not in a position to enforce their retirement because he has been privy to their American Marconi exploit since August 1912, but they should have insisted on going, though if we looked at the matter from a purely Party point of view we can only rejoice that they remain on board a ship they will inevitably sink to the bottom of the sea. Some surprise was expressed by Mr. Winston Churchill's appearance at the National Liberal Club banquet. Curiosity was provoked as to what had happened between the date of his fulmination before the Select Committee against any one who had dared to connect his honoured name with Marconi speculations—*ex hypothesi* a virtuous and innocent act on Lloyd George and Isaacs theories—and his present appearance as a panegyrist of the punters. We can only guess at the cause of this striking *volte-face*. Mr. Churchill has always been terrified of Mr. Lloyd George, and doubtless Mr. Lloyd George gave him to understand that he would not submit to insolent backhanders from his colleague at the Admiralty. Be the reason what it may, Mr. Churchill came and did obeisance in a type-written allocution which left nothing to be desired, of which the refrain was, "Let us be very careful that we do not allow ourselves to be bullied by our political opponents"—a sentiment to be commended to Unionist editors and Members of Parliament. "If there had been the faintest touch of dishonour or breach of public duty in the conduct of my right hon. friends, no services, however great, no prospects of future service, however vital, however hopeful, would have enabled us to march with them. But when we know on the evidence, on the mature conclusion even of their most bitter opponents, that no stain of any kind rests upon their integrity or upon their character, what kind of curs should we be if we allowed them to be trampled down by a campaign of calumny and slander unequalled in recent annals."

"Stainless Honour"

WITH magnificent bathos the essayist added: "They have reckoned without the National Liberal Club; they have reckoned without our noble Chairman; and they have reckoned without the Prime Minister of this country. They have reckoned without that broad yet searching justice which great peoples, and this people above

all others, mete out to men who have served them well." Then followed a venomous diatribe against Lord Robert Cecil calculated to do him as much good as harm was done to Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith by Mr. Winston Churchill's patronage of them as the advocates of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. The net result is that the mountebanks continue to hang together lest they hang separately, and Mr. Churchill made reparation for his outburst before the Select Committee by publicly licking Mr. Lloyd George's boots at the National Liberal Club—unless he was laughing in his sleeve.

I know my right hon. friend's stainless honour. I admire his native genius. I have long been privileged to enjoy the quick intuitions, the sympathetic understanding of his nature. I am sure that he has things to do in this country which no other man can do. His great place in democratic politics, his great power of throwing new light on old situations, the penetrating eye which peers beneath the surface of political formula and reaches the root of the matter, his warm and continuing sympathy with the sufferings of the people and with the problems of the masses—all these are of service, have been of service, and in future will reap a richer harvest for the nation.

The typewriter ran on glibly, but our readers have probably had enough. This fustian can be reeled off by the yard. Mr. Churchill was evidently afraid to stay away from the National Liberal Club and dissociate himself from his Marconi colleagues, so he presented unlimited butter in a lordly dish: "Proud I am to come here to-day to stand by his side when you, his loyal friends, have come to tell him your sympathy with him in the ordeal through which he has successfully passed, and to express your indignation at those who have assailed him. I am proud to come here, and I feel certain that you know that in supporting him on this occasion you are not only advancing again into the front rank of British politics a great democratic statesman, but that you are striking a blow for the maintenance of decency and fair play in British public life."

The Facts

AN unsophisticated visitor from another planet present on this occasion would have inferred that Mr. Lloyd George had been unjustly accused of speculating in Marconi shares and had triumphantly refuted the calumny, instead of which, as all the world knows, despite his frantic efforts to suppress the truth, he was convicted on his own confession of doing the very thing he was accused of. He is British Chancellor of the

Exchequer and guardian of the national finances, for which he receives a princely salary of £5000 a year to keep him out of temptation. Nevertheless, in his anxiety to secure "unearned increment," he acted on a valuable tip from a Government contractor negotiating with the Government of which Mr. George is a member, whereby he was enabled to put a large sum of money in a very short time into his pocket without risking a farthing of his own. In his greed for additional "unearned increment" he bought further shares in *a* Marconi Company before the conclusion of the negotiations with *the* Marconi Company, and if he burnt his fingers over this particular transaction, it was not from virtue, as his friends pretend, but from crass stupidity. When he had a plain duty to tell the House of Commons the truth, not only did he fail to do so but he deliberately tried to put the public off the scent by getting up a scene with "my friend Lansbury." He abstained from making any communication to the Chairman of the Marconi Select Committee and allowed his parliamentary colleagues to go on sitting week after week and month after month in ignorance of a discreditable transaction, knowledge of which would have materially shortened their proceedings. Then when the situation became dangerous, he was a party to the invidious and odious communication to two members of the Committee behind the back of the Chairman and the other members, obviously in order that steps might be taken to protect his interests and to save him if possible from the necessity of ever appearing before the Committee. In this case, as in others, the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley, and through a curious chapter of accidents Mr. Lloyd George has been found out, and he is furious like every other Stiggins in a similar predicament. But that is the long and the short of the whole business, and if he had a particle of wisdom he would keep his mouth shut for the rest of the year.

Lying as a Gamble

HOWEVER, we rejoice that he is on the rampage. The more the Marconi scandal is probed the better for the country, because the worst for the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his colleagues. It is perhaps not altogether irrelevant to contrast Mr. Lloyd George in his latest mood as injured innocent with the "investor" of last spring whose mind was so absorbed, not on great schemes of popular

amelioration, as he would have us believe, but on his own Stock Exchange operations, that he could not keep them out of his public utterances. Whereas he posed before the Select Committee as a little child in Stock Exchange matters, he appeared before an audience on the North Parade at Aberystwyth on May 25, 1912, as an expert in speculation. Our information is taken from that invaluable publication *Our Flag*, "the official organ of the Conservative and Unionist Party," and we may be sure that the quotation has been carefully verified. The date of the speech is peculiarly interesting as it was delivered three days after Mr. Lloyd George had had his second flutter in Marconis, buying 3000 shares in the open market through his own broker on joint account of himself and the Chief Whip of the Party, the Master of Elibank. His homily at Aberystwyth was full of shrewd wisdom, negativing the assumption of infantile ignorance. "*In politics lying might be a good gamble, but it was a bad investment. On the Stock Exchange they had people who are called Bears, and their function was to run down a security to circulate falsehoods about it, and then try to break it on the market. Their only chance of making money was to sell out before they were found out*" (*Welsh Gazette*, May 30, 1912). As *Our Flag* aptly observes, "If any of Mr. Lloyd George's hearers at Aberystwyth chanced to wonder why their idol's thoughts were running on anything so debased and worldly as the Stock Exchange, and why his metaphors were drawn from the Market of Mammon—well, they know now." What intelligent anticipation of events before they occurred was displayed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the North Parade at Aberystwyth, but unfortunately he forgot his own unimpeachable injunctions. But we must not forget them, as they give us the true character of the man as opposed to the impostor of the National Liberal Club. Mr. Lloyd George has always found lying to be a good gamble, and his own friends used to boast that he was the first liar in Wales. Too late he realises that it is a bad investment. What shrewdness about Bears who had depreciated the property of the Bulls of whom Mr. Lloyd George was one! Unfortunately he forgot to sell out before he was found out. He may still hold Marconis in spite of the cryptic declaration of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons that Ministerial holders of American Marconis had taken steps to get rid of them.

A "Prisoner"

ALTHOUGH a large number of Liberals shared the disgust of the general public at the Marconi demonstrations at the National Liberal Club and elsewhere, very few of them have had the pluck to protest against the conduct of discredited Ministers, and those who do are promptly man-handled by the Coalition caucus. Liberals are consequently compelled to do their "grousing" in private. In public they are constrained to pretend that all is for the best under the best of all possible Chancellors of the Exchequer and Attorneys-General. They dare not openly murmur against the impending scandal of Sir Rufus Isaacs's appointment to the Lord Chief Justiceship, which is the next item on the Marconi programme, though it is being postponed until the Recess so as to prevent any parliamentary remonstrance. The present occupant of that exalted office, Lord Alverstone, is unfortunately ill, and is believed to be prepared to resign, but we cannot help hoping that the possibilities may be laid before him and that he may be persuaded to reconsider a fatal decision which would enable our unconscionable Premier to strike a heavy blow at the prestige of the Bench. All our institutions are tottering. The Bench alone remains intact, in spite of several years of Jacobin government, thanks in no small measure to Lord Loreburn, who, although a Radical stalwart, refused to ruin the judiciary to please his Party, and, on the whole, made good appointments. Other views are now likely to prevail. We may expect a series of shocks at the hands of Lord Haldane. One reason why the Marconi Party are particularly anxious for the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs is because they believe that it might be calculated to intimidate litigants sueing the Marconi Company in connection with the flotation of the American Marconi Company—a matter which, being *sub judice*, we are unable to comment upon. We should have thought that even Mr. Asquith would have hesitated to make such an appointment at such a moment did we not know him to be quite incapable of resisting any form of pressure for the simple reason that he is what the French call a "prisoner."

MINISTERIALISTS who fondly hoped that the Marconi mess might be finally interred as soon as Mr. Lloyd George had blown off steam at the National Liberal Club were destined to further disappointment. They had reckoned without their egregious Postmaster-General, Mr. Herbert Samuel, who suddenly reappeared on the scene to repeat his performance of last year and rush another Marconi Agreement through Parliament. People could scarcely believe the evidence of their senses when it was announced that in spite of all that had happened the Government remained Marconi mad, and were resolved *coute-que-coute* to force the British Empire on one pretext or another into the arms of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. The first step was to close down the Select Committee so as to stop any further revelations of Ministerial improprieties, and to prevent any judgment from being passed on the preposterous Marconi Agreement of last year, for which no one with a soul to call his own has had a word to say. We are apt to forget amid other excitements, as Mr. Amery points out in his admirable letter to the *Times* (July 23), that the main purpose for which the Committee was originally appointed as laid down in the reference was to investigate and report upon the circumstances connected with the negotiation and completion of the Marconi Agreement, and to express its opinion on that Agreement. As a member of that Committee Mr. Amery speaks with peculiar authority: "For three months the Committee devoted itself almost exclusively to enquiring into the merits of the Agreement, and it might have been supposed that, after disposing of the interlude of the Ministerial transactions, it would have embodied the result of its investigation in a report." But on July 2—which happens to be the day after the Marconi celebration at the National Liberal Club—the Postmaster-General appeared before the Committee and informed it that he had abandoned the former Agreement and was negotiating a new one, though he did not say that this "new" Agreement was a mere modification of the old Agreement, and some people think a worse one.

New Development

According to Mr. Amery "the Committee suddenly decided, by the usual Party majority, that no such report was required, on the plea apparently, that there was nothing left to report on." To conscientious students of the Marconi scandal there is nothing surprising either in the action of the Government or in the conduct of the Coalition majority in terminating labours which had unwittingly proved disastrous and mortifying to Ministers. Every day that the Committee continued to sit was fraught with the utmost peril to the Asquith Cabinet, as even "the majority" would have been unable to resist the demand that particular bankers and brokers' evidence should be given, while the thought of the Fenner books was terrifying. Moreover, as is pointed out elsewhere, it was all-important to trump up a colourable pretext for keeping Lord Murray at Bogota. It would be interesting to know what communications passed between the ex-Chief Whip and his former colleagues as to the evidence he could give in support of their story and as to the risk of further revelations in cross-examination concerning his trusteeship of the Party funds, which might conceivably implicate his co-trustee—Mr. Percy Illingworth—in gross ineptitude in that position. Lord Murray's reluctance to return transpired in his communications with the Select Committee, but it was understood that his objections had been overcome, and it was believed that the Committee would not adjourn without hearing him on transactions which affect the honour of the Government as well as his own honour. Assuming he had decided to return he has been unfairly treated by the Committee, which could have adjourned, even if it funked fulfilling its proper mandate of passing judgment on the Marconi Agreement, until some day in the autumn so as to give Lord Murray a chance of testifying on oath. If, *per contra*, the ex-Chief Whip is insuperably reluctant to tell his story the inference is irresistible that there is still something discreditable to conceal. And if rumour is to-day more active than ever Ministers have no one to thank but themselves.

Closing the Committee

To many of us it would appear that the House of Lords has a plain duty to perform which brooks no delay. If the House of Commons is the guardian of its own honour and the honour of its members—of which the lowest conceptions prevail among the controlling caucus—surely the House of Lords occupies a similar position towards the Peerage. Although of late years the Upper House has been recruited by some of the first bounders in the land, the overwhelming majority of its members are gentlemen and competent judges of the proprieties. One of their number, Lord Murray, who precipitately retired from the House of Commons last year at the cost of a seat to his party under circumstances provoking comment, and was forthwith pitched into the House of Lords, remains bogged at Bogota. Thanks to political partisans on the Marconi Select Committee he has been allowed, encouraged, and perhaps instructed to remain there at a time when his presence is urgently required in this country to clear up certain transactions affecting the public and private honour of public men in which both Houses are equally interested. We can quite understand that so long as a Select Committee of the House of Commons was supposed to have the matter in hand the House of Lords should have been reluctant to intervene, but now that that Committee has been closed by order of the Government *inter alia* for the purpose of preventing these dubious transactions from being explained, surely the House of Lords has *locus standi*. After all Lord Murray is a Peer who bolted to Bogota on January 1 of this year when rumours concerning Ministerial speculations in Marconi shares were about to be tested by the evidence of journalists who had already at that date been summoned to appear before the Committee. The Master of Elibank, as he then was, was made a peer last August, after he knew and the Prime Minister knew that knowledge of Ministerial Marconi speculations had leaked out, and he explained to Mr. Herbert Samuel that these well-founded rumours were responsible for the growing opposition to the Marconi contract, before last year's recess.

A Chance for the Peers

ALL these circumstances demand investigation, especially the conduct of the Prime Minister in making the retiring Chief Whip a Peer at such a moment. Then the mystery of the Party funds is too big a business to be treated as a purely domestic affair. Enough Liberal dirty linen has been washed in public to entitle us to know the whole truth concerning the finance of the Party of Progress. Lord Murray was, moreover, a party to the great deception practised upon the country last October when the public were led to believe that no Minister had speculated in any Marconi shares. Lord Murray made no effort to appear before the Select Committee subsequently appointed and tell the truth. On the contrary, he bolted abroad as the moment approached when there was a risk of his being summoned as a witness. He had not only gambled in Marconi shares on his private account in conjunction with Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George in two different transactions, but unknown to his colleagues (so it is said) he invested several thousand pounds of Party funds in *a* Marconi Company, while *the* Marconi Company was negotiating a contract with the Government which would in any event require parliamentary ratification which would depend upon the good offices of Lord Murray then Chief Whip. If funds are to be invested in companies associated with contracting companies and dominated by Government contractors on the strength of tips from the contractor, the Party system will degenerate into a mere bucket-shop. Comment has not unnaturally been provoked by the fact that in his private capacity the Master of Elibank bought American Marconis at £2 on April 17 while the poor old Party had to stump up £3 5s. for the same shares twenty-four hours later. The Master was "in the know," the Party out in the cold. Doubtless the differentiation of treatment could be satisfactorily explained if the sworn testimony of Lord Murray were available. There is this further ambiguity. The ordinary public only obtained about 15 per cent. of their applications for American Marconis. Did the Liberal Party apply for 15,000 shares (costing about £50,000) on April 18, 1912, to get the 2500 it obtained, or was it privileged as regards allotment if not as regards price? In other words, was the Master of Elibank given all he asked for because he was Chief Whip of the Party, and if so by whom? It makes us more curious than

Outstanding Questions

ever to know how the principal Marconi jobber, Mr. Heybourn, distributed the block of shares about which he refused to give information to the Committee, being, of course, upheld by the "majority" in his refusal.

Lord Murray must return

Now the point for the House of Lords is this. All the Commoners known to be involved in Marconi transactions have appeared and told their story to the Committee. The sole absentee is a member of the Upper House. Is this a credit to the Peerage? Surely the House of Lords will not adjourn without taking some action. It might usefully appoint a Select Committee to report on the new Marconi contract so suspiciously withdrawn from the Commons Committee, although it bears a remarkable resemblance to the old one, which that Committee was called into existence to report upon. There could be no more appropriate tribunal than a Select Committee of his Peers to consider the conduct of Lord Murray. Should he refuse to return a Commission might be sent to bring him home, as the House of Lords is believed to have unlimited jurisdiction over its members. The enquiry might usefully begin with the Fenner books about which the Coalition are so jumpy. Altogether a fertile field of investigation opens up before the House of Lords, which has an opportunity of defeating the policy of the Marconi Party, which, with the assistance of the Hush-up Press, hopes to hustle this iniquitous Agreement through Parliament to keep Lord Murray abroad until the clouds roll by, and to postpone the rest of their nefarious operations until the "Marconi atmosphere" has been dissipated and the country will be once more expected to take our demagogues at their own valuation instead of at the knockout-price at which they are at present rated. We have no illusions as to the influence of the "Do-nothings" in the House of Lords, but we trust their obstruction may be overcome by the young, energetic, and independent Peers who must surely be growing somewhat weary of the helpless position into which a great historic House has been allowed to drift by the Mugwumps and Mandarins who have mismanaged its affairs. Lord Murray must come home at once, and if he won't come of his own accord the House of Lords should send for him. How can the Upper

House expect to be of any use in resisting the political projects of the Government such as Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment and Gerrymandering if it stands by and allows the community to be ridden over rough-shod by the Marconi gang. The general public are in a chronic state of bewilderment at the supineness of the Upper House, whose existence is challenged by its enemies. There may be very good reasons for everything they do and leave undone in the eyes of parliamentary pundits. Their action and inaction are completely unintelligible to the man in the street. Universal astonishment is expressed that the Peers have played no part whatever in the Marconi controversy, and that astonishment will develop into disgust if they allow Panama Government to be established in this country without even making an articulate protest.

Consternation

CONSTERNATION is the only word to describe the feeling aroused by the Postmaster-General's announcement that in spite of all that has happened he persists in his wireless "partnership"—it is the Company's word—with the Marconi Company and declines even to consider any alternative policy, of which the most practical and sensible would be the formation of a Government Wireless Department to work such Patents as it requires at a price to be fixed by the Treasury in accordance with Mr. Lloyd George's Patents Act. Why should this vaunted measure become a dead letter in the interests of the Marconi Company? That this Government of Nationalisers should promote a world-wide monopoly of wireless telegraphy would surprise, if any action of theirs could surprise. Our Departments are prepared to undertake everything from the management of land to the refining of oil. But they won't touch wireless telegraphy with a barge pole. Admiralty and Post Office are equally coy. Why this invidious exception in favour of the Marconi Company? As the new contract is being fully discussed in the House of Commons, which is expected to ratify it by the usual Marconi majority, it would be wasting the reader's time to discuss it here. It has already been riddled with criticism, and so far as we know has no disinterested defender. But even if it were ten times better than it is, we should remain insuperably opposed for the reason given by Mr. Austen Chamberlain during

the Debate initiated by Mr. Walter Guinness on the refusal of the Postmaster-General to allow any other Company to tender for the erection of the Imperial Wireless Chian. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking with the authority of an ex-Postmaster-General, said:

I say frankly that I do not like the management of the Marconi Company. I do not like what I have heard of it. I do not like what I saw of it—it was a different management then at the time I was Postmaster-General, and, in saying that, I must add that I do not mean to reflect for one moment on Mr. Marconi himself. He behaved to me, when I was Postmaster-General, with perfect frankness, and gave me, I think with fulness, all the information which I asked from him. I was speaking for myself, and I say that I do not like the management of that Company. I do not think that it is a Company in whose hands we ought to place ourselves unreservedly.

After what is known and proved no British Government should have had any further dealings with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. As the *Morning Post* has pointed out, "When a contractor is discovered offering financial favours to Ministers, on representations which so good an authority as Sir Albert Spicer has shown not to be in accordance with the facts, then it is about time that that contractor should be visited with the displeasure of the Department chiefly concerned. But what is found? The contract is negotiated with the Managing Director of the Marconi Company, and the Company receives more favourable terms than in the original contract."

Dangerous Knowledge

Our point is, of course, that no terms offered by the Marconi Company should have been accepted by the British Government, and that the sinister association continues is only capable of one explanation. We do not imagine for a moment that the Coalition would go mad in order to gratify the diseased vanity of Mr. Herbert Samuel, whose *amour propre* demands the conclusion of any Marconi Contract "on strategic grounds." We incline to the view that the real reason, the only reason, for this deplorable transaction, is that certain individuals with large financial interests in Marconis are in a position to apply pressure to the Government through their knowledge or suspicion of incidents dangerous to the political existence of important Ministers. The Ministry of mental reservations presumably comprises undisclosed gamblers in one or other Marconi Company. The Select Committee was

indecently dissolved before it had made any pretence of fulfilling its mandate, and, as is pointed out elsewhere, without receiving any statement from the Prime Minister as to whether other Cabinet Ministers or Ministers outside the Cabinet had trod the slippery path marked out by the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Master of Oilybank. On a notorious occasion Mr. Lloyd George permitted himself to observe: "This is not business, but blackmail." We are not so extravagant in our language as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but we are disposed to the belief that the new Marconi Contract is largely inspired by terror of offending Marconi interests which hold the Government in the hollow of their hand. Dublin has been one of the principal centres of Marconi speculations. Great sums have been lost and won by Irish Nationalists according as the shares have boomed or slumped. It would not be surprising to learn that our "toe the line" Ministers in office but not in power have received orders from Molly Maguires to negotiate with the Marconi Company alone. At any rate, the public awaits some plausible explanation of this further plunge into the morass, and we hail with satisfaction the declaration of the Unionist Chief Whip, Lord Edmund Talbot, that the Marconi question is to be thoroughly ventilated throughout the constituencies. We trust that arrangements may be made betimes—though for the moment the governing consideration of worn-out politicians is to get a holiday from their repulsive parliamentary labours rendered doubly repulsive by the inauguration of Panama government—for an autumn campaign of education to teach the country the whole truth about a scandal of which experts calculate only ten per cent. has been divulged.

It is somewhat remarkable that so far no one has ventured to raise the problem of the duty of a Constitutional Sovereign in the absence of a Constitution, though it is becoming plain to the plain man that events are so shaping themselves as to cast as grave responsibility upon the King next year as has fallen to the lot of any of his Majesty's predecessors. Is anything gained by ignoring facts which stare us in the face? What is the present position and what is the outlook? A detested because detestable and despicable gang

revealed, have momentarily succeeded in capturing the government of the country, which they are transforming into a Single Chamber autocracy. In a constitutional sense Great Britain is a Costa Rica. Morally we are becoming a Panama. To a vast and ever increasing number of his Majesty's subjects the objects, the methods, the persons of these Tammany Hall politicians are all equally odious. But they happen to be in possession, and the people have no peaceable means of ejecting them. Every time a constituency is consulted it registers its hatred of the Coalition in no uncertain fashion, in spite of all the dirty tricks practised for the purpose of falsifying public opinion. At such a crisis the thoughts of serious people automatically turn towards the Throne as standing outside and above the strife of party and as being the one great Imperial factor in this part of the British Dominions. The position of a constitutional King would be difficult enough in all conscience, but what of a King whose Constitution has been violated and destroyed by the demagogues? The next item on their preposterous programme is a civil war in Ireland without a General Election in England. Those are the orders of the Molly Maguires, and "toe the line" Asquith has no option but to obey them. It is surely not asking too much of the Throne to throw on the people the responsibility of this civil war by granting a General Election before this impossible measure is placed on the Statute Book and the accursed dual system planted in the heart of the kingdom. King George and Queen Mary have recently had exceptional opportunities of realising the profound and abiding attachment of the British people towards the Monarchy. Politicians may be interested in discounting these impressive demonstrations, but the permanent interests of the nation and the Empire demand that they shall be interpreted in the proper quarter at their true value. They are eloquent signs of the times. Never can the Crown risk becoming the creature of the disorganised hypocrisy of detected frauds which bullies, humiliates and afflicts this unfortunate community.

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Home Rule

On July 15 Lord Crewe, the titular Leader of the House of Lords—one of the most painful speakers of the day—moved the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, which had passed the other House by the usual Marconi majority under the usual gag and guillotine. It was a

perfunctory performance feebly attempting to minimise the resistance of Ulster, which if bonâ fide—a necessary qualification nowadays to all Ministerial utterances—only goes to prove the speaker's colossal ignorance of Ireland. In the next breath he declared that Ulster was inspired by mere blind hatred of Rome. But blind hatred is more likely to provoke tumult than any other sentiment, as we see from what has happened in the Near East, not that we would for a moment compare our compatriots in Ulster with the barbarians of the Balkans. We are only taking Lord Crewe on his own ground. If such blind hatred exists on the one side it is probably reciprocated by the other, and the case for Home Rule collapses as it rests on the theory of the union of hearts. If Home Rule is to bring not peace but a sword it has lost its last pretension. Lord Lansdowne replied by moving, "That this House declines to proceed with the consideration of the Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country." His speech was both moderate and convincing, and he thus summarised Ulster's case: "The grievance of Ulster is not merely that you are abandoning her, not merely that you are depriving her of a part of her representation, but that you are going to place her in subjection to the disloyal majority, and that you are going to do that as part of a very thinly veiled parliamentary transaction. It is the price of the compact which saved your financial policy from defeat." The net result would be to put Ulster at the mercy of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who under the Insurance Act were receiving substantial subsidies from the British Government. Lord Lansdowne read an illuminating passage from the organ of the Ancient Order repudiating "any pledges the parliamentary party may give."

The Case for Election

Lord Lansdowne demanded that before the Bill became law automatically it should be referred to the electorate either by a General Election or a referendum, dilating on the great advantages to be gained by letting a Dissolution precede the passage of the Home Rule Bill. If Ministers won and were returned with an adequate majority they would have sacrificed absolutely nothing, and under the Parliament Act their Bill would automatically become law. "The Royal Assent will be given without the change of a day in the date." They would enjoy the priceless advantage

of knowing that they had not misread the mind of the country. "In the next place we (the Unionists) shall know that the country is not with us, and we shall govern ourselves accordingly. The noble marquess (Lord Crewe) suggests that Ulster will always remain irreconcilable. I have no doubt there are many people in Ulster whose deep detestation of Home Rule is undying. But you will not have in England or Ireland against you that great body of men who at this moment feel that they are being tricked and jockeyed under this Parliament Act." The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords added:

> So far as our position was affected it seems to me that the opposition of Ulster would be to some extent affected also. Supposing, again, you go to the country and lose. You will have been saved from the blunder, the most stupendous and colossal blunder that any Government has ever committed. The blunder which you will have committed is that in one way or another you coerce Ulster and then find out all the time that the feeling of the majority of this country is against you. Conceive the feeling that would arise in Ulster. Conceive your own position if, after blood had been shed and lives lost, you had made a mistake—not only an unpardonable but a futile mistake. I do entreat you to take these things into consideration.

Our only objection to these observations is the use of the word "entreat"—which we venture to say with all respect should not pass the lips of any Unionist in discussing the policy of a "tied" Government.

British Unionists

THE speaker disposed of the legend that if Home Rule were refused there would be a repetition of the Ulster difficulty in the south and west of Ireland, and ended by declaring on behalf of the Opposition: "But with regard to this Bill do not let it be supposed that our attitude is merely an attitude of obstruction. If the country wants this Bill we are ready to let them have it. We ask you to put the question to the test, and we are ready to abide by the decision." The debate was continued by an eloquent old-fashioned speech of a non-Marconi Radical, the ex-Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, who is a convinced Home Ruler on sentimental grounds, after which Lord Londonderry repeatedly challenged Lord Morley to say whether the British Army would be employed to coerce Ulster, a question which reduced the Government Front Bench to a state of pulp. For his own part Lord Londonderry was candid in declaring that Home Rule meant civil war in Ulster.

"Even after a General Election?" asked Lord Morley. To which Lord Londonderry replied, "In any circumstances." After a singularly feeble speech from Lord Morley, Lord Curzon wound up the debate in impressive fashion. Radicals professed to detect some difference between the attitude of the Opposition in the event of Home Rule carrying the day at a General Election as defined by Lord Lansdowne and by Lord Curzon. British Unionists generally feel that we have no right to sell the birth-right of Ulster to her enemies merely because our Marconi Ministry might flood the country with sufficient falsehoods and false promises to snatch a chance majority. At the same time we demand a *Dissolution*. Lord Lansdowne's amendment was carried by 302 to 64, *i.e.* a majority of about 5 to 1. This is for the second time of asking. Next year, if our Marconi Ministers are still in power, the Marconi majority in the House of Commons will return this preposterous measure to the House of Lords which would then be as impotent as the Putney Parliament even to delay disaster. The Bill would go over their heads for the Royal Assent, which, in their native disloyalty and contempt for the Crown, the Marconi Ministry assume, would be affixed as a matter of course, though the great mass of the people refuse to believe, that the British Monarchy has been reduced to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water to a gang of discredited gamblers. There is a latent though widespread belief, founded not on knowledge but on faith and loyalty, that in any event there will be an election before this crime is consummated. Meanwhile our single duty is to express whole-hearted confidence in the cause of Ulster, who will save herself by her exertions and England by her example. The House of Lords has very wisely postponed "the meanest Bill" to despoil the Welsh Church on the initiative of Lord Salisbury, while the Gerrymandering Bill to disfranchise without redistribution has shared the same fate.

Alfred Lyttelton

In every generation in every country some man stands out as the *beau ideal* of his fellow countrymen. Such a man was Alfred Lyttelton in our day. It would be impossible to exaggerate the concern caused by the news that he had been suddenly taken ill on June 30, or the relief felt by the announcement that he had rallied, and the hope

that his splendid physique and gallant spirit would pull him through. Then came the tragedy of his relapse and death—a tragedy to his countless friends in every walk of life, though it is no tragedy for any man to die in the prime of his life, the fulness of his powers, and in the utmost enjoyment of everything that makes existence attractive. Alfred Lyttelton was in his way a genius whose like we shall not look upon again, and all that is left is to treasure the memory of his pervading personality. Many who loved him—and to know him was to love him—have tried to give some expression to their feelings, and exceptionally gifted and sympathetic pens have attained a measure of success, but even the truest of tributes are dim and unsatisfying. It may be hoped that in time something worthy of the subject may be written. He had many gifts, each of which would have carried an ordinary man comfortably through life with success and distinction, but the greatest of his gifts which sprang from innate modesty was a wonderful appreciation of other people and an uncontrollable desire to do them a good turn. Unnumbered were the services which he rendered throughout a busy life to a multitude of people with no conceivable claim upon him. How many lame dogs did he not help over the stile at the critical moment of their careers. At the same time he was a shrewd judge of character, and whenever he suffered fools gladly he knew they were fools. His lifelong popularity and his amazing athletic prowess tended perhaps to make people underrate other qualities. Not only was Alfred Lyttelton essentially an intellectual man, but he was also a man of real practical ability, whose opinion was worth having on almost any question. He was probably more consulted on every kind of difficulty than any of his contemporaries. He owned to seeing too much of the merits of both sides to be a heart-whole politician, but it is a delusion to regard him as an amiable mugwump. He was a man of strong faith, and on any moral issue in which right and wrong seemed to be engaged he was a fine fighter, full of courage and resource, while he developed an incisiveness which frequently astonished his hearers, as was shown by the last and in some respects the best of his speeches in the House of Commons. The death of such a man would always have been a loss to the public life of any country. It is peculiarly serious at the present juncture.

SAINT SEBASTIAN OF LIMEHOUSE*

I HAVE to thank Major Archer-Shee for the opportunity of coming here and saying a few plain words on the sudden winding-up of the Marconi Committee and on Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the National Liberal Club. And I have to thank Major Archer-Shee in a double sense: for it was his persistent and disinterested endeavours to draw public attention to the defects of the Marconi contract which first led up to the appointment of the Committee of Enquiry, which—in spite of itself—has been instrumental in bringing to light the facts of the Ministerial participation in the great Marconi gamble.

Mr. Lloyd George said at the National Liberal Club the other day that his hands were now free—free to shield and free to smite. So are mine. There is no one whom I am concerned to shield; in that respect my position is, perhaps, unlike that of certain members of the Marconi Committee whose one object throughout appeared to me to have been to prevent facts coming to light which might prove disagreeable to Ministers and their friends and who, after they did come out, did their best to render those facts unrecognisable in a report which is truly monumental in its ingenious distortion of perspective and in its audacious suppression and perversion of the evidence. Well, you know that those gentlemen have now, in spite of the protest of the Unionist members, summarily shut down the proceedings of the Committee. They have decided to present no report on the negotiation and completion of the contract, although that was the task specifically assigned to them by Parliament. They no doubt realised that the incompetence shown by the Post Office in those negotiations could not be concealed by any report of

* Speech delivered by Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P., at a meeting in Finsbury Town Hall, on July 9, 1913.

theirs, however ingeniously they might have endeavoured to gloss it over. They knew, in fact, that the resources of the whitewash pail were exhausted, and that after the liberal helping given to Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs there would not be enough left to furbish up poor Mr. Samuel. They may also have feared that if the Committee had taken in hand the question of reporting on the contract, the Chairman, Sir A. Spicer, might once again have shown a degree of honesty and regard for the public interest which would have been highly inconvenient both to them and to the Postmaster-General.

But there is more than that. In closing down the enquiry they have refused to make any investigation into the further rumours with regard to Ministers' transactions to which the press has been drawing attention. Certain papers have made two quite definite statements. One is that a firm of stockbrokers, called Solomons, of Austin Friars, did carry on transactions in Marconi shares for certain Ministers which have not come before the Committee. The other is that the Manager of the National Provincial Bank in Victoria Street, Westminster, could also throw light on Ministers' dealings. I know nothing about these statements beyond what has appeared in the press. I have not the slightest reason for supposing that there is anything in them whatever—except possibly the fact that these same papers have proved right before. But if I were a friend of Ministers, surely the very first thing I would do would be to summon the persons mentioned, without a day's delay, and prove in cross-examination that these rumours were absolutely without a shadow of foundation. On the face of it there are only two possible explanations of what the Radical majority on the Committee have done in closuring the enquiry. One is that they do know something about transactions which have not yet been made public—just as two of them did know for months about the Ministers' speculations in American Marconis. The other is that they do not *know* anything; but that, after recent experiences, they have so poor an opinion of those who lead their Party that they dare not examine any further witnesses for fear some fresh scandal should be disclosed.

There is only one more point I should like to mention with regard to the Committee. For a long time past it has been freely

rumoured that one member of the Committee, Mr. Handel Booth, has himself been concerned in the Marconi gamble. Again I say I have no notion whether the rumour has any foundation in fact. All I can tell you is this. On the Committee the Unionist members and the two Irish members all signed a declaration that they had had no interest, direct or indirect, in any Marconi company. The Liberal members preferred not to sign. But in the House of Commons afterwards most of them have since stated that they never have had any such interest. Mr. Booth alone in the remarks he made in the House of Commons did not make it clear whether he had or had not at any time had a personal interest in the Marconi affair. I venture to suggest that it would be very much better in the public interest, as well as in his own, that Mr. Booth should make a definite, straightforward declaration as to whether he has now or has ever had any interest in any Marconi Company.

So much for the Committee. Now I want to deal with Mr. Lloyd George. A fortnight ago Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs stood up in the House of Commons and made a sort of apology. Up till that moment they had both asserted that what they had done was perfectly right and proper, and implied that there was no reason why any other Minister or public servant should not do the same. But there is a limit to what even the Radical Party will stand, at any rate in a single dose, and the Falconer Report, though it only carried out with truly spaniel-like fidelity the line the two Ministers had taken before the Committee, exceeded that limit. The Ministers were told that unless they expressed their regret the Government would be in a serious predicament. They did express their regret, and the Prime Minister said next day that a franker and more manly explanation had never been given. I entirely disagree. Those expressions of regret were not frank; they were inadequate, disingenuous and insincere. They were inadequate because neither Minister expressed the slightest recognition of the intrinsic impropriety of what he had done. All they professed *to regret* was that they had been *found out*, and that their harmless and innocent action had been cruelly and vilely misrepresented. They were disingenuous because, from first to last, the two Ministers refused to recognise that the rumours about which they complain so bitterly were the obvious consequence of

their own transactions, and that they could have put a stop to those rumours at any moment by coming forward and telling the truth instead of concealing it by sheer prevarication. And as to the insincerity of those expressions of regret, what better proof could any one ask for than the speech which Mr. Lloyd George made at the National Liberal Club the other day? There was no shade even of regret in that speech, which for brazen effrontery, unctuous self-exaltation, and impudent scurrility marks the high-water mark even to Mr. Lloyd George's own performances. We have had Limehouse before, but this was Limehouse in a new key—Limehouse with a whining snuffle of sanctimoniousness and with a snarl of impotent exasperation.

A great part of that speech was devoted to abusing the Unionist land policy. I will say nothing of that except that it came with characteristic indecency after Mr. Lloyd George's appeal for a non-party treatment of this question, and with characteristic indifference to the facts. The rest of the speech was given over to a description of himself as a martyr, as a Saint Sebastian pierced with the arrows of calumny while his hands were tied behind him by his respect for the traditions of the House of Commons. I admit that, compared with Mr. Lloyd George, I am only a new member of the House of Commons. But I have yet to learn that there is a tradition of the House of Commons which prevents a Minister from telling the truth, and the whole truth, to the House. I know of no tradition which compels a Minister to frame his speeches or his angry interjections in such a way that the House of Commons and the country should believe that he has had no dealings of any kind in any Marconi shares, while really a minute scrutiny of his words shows that he has been careful only to deny having had dealings in English Marconi shares. I know of no tradition of the House of Commons which prevents a Minister who has important information to give to a House of Commons Committee from going and telling the Chairman at once what that information is. I also know of no tradition which should enjoin it upon him to give that information secretly to two members of the Committee for their exclusive use in order that they might the better be able to keep witnesses off the track of the truth. No, if Mr. Lloyd George suffered for months and months through the "dreary dark winter of calumny," the

another Dr. Cook in his *igloo* at the North Pole, it was not the traditions of the House of Commons for whose sake he suffered.

But why should Mr. Lloyd George have been persecuted? He tells us that it is just because he has loved the meek and oppressed, because he has striven to lift the poor out of the mire and the needy out of the dunghill. Nonsense. When Mr. Lloyd George has gone to the dunghill it has not been to lift up the poor, but to fill his hands with muck to throw at those who fought for England or toiled for England in South Africa, or at any class of men against whom a campaign of hatred could be made a paying business. Then what is the real reason why Mr. Lloyd George has had to undergo what he calls persecution? Let me remind you of what he has been found doing. Mr. Lloyd George took part last year in a sensational and scandalous Stock Exchange gamble. Is that a fitting thing for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the man to whom the country and the City are to look for guidance in matters of finance? And is it seemly that a man who has made the speeches which Mr. Lloyd George has made against unearned increment should be discovered hungering after that unearned increment himself? Let me remind you of what Mr. Lloyd George said at Newcastle during his great Budget campaign:

> Who is responsible for the scheme of things whereby one man is engaged through life in grinding labour to win a bare and precarious subsistence for himself, and another man, who does not toil, receives every hour of the day, every hour of the night, while he slumbers, more than his poor neighbour receives in a whole year of toil? Where did this Table of the Law come from? Whose finger inscribed it? These are the questions that will be asked.

Last year Mr. Lloyd George having paid down nothing in cash for 1000 American Marconi shares, saw the value of these shares increased by nearly £1500 in thirty-six hours. That was £40 an hour, 15s. a minute—whether he was toiling at the business for which the country paid him £5000 a year, or whether he slept on his bed or played golf at Walton—15s. a minute! Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech, described the Tory Party as "hungry humbugs steeped in smugness and self-righteousness." Where, I ask you, does the cap fit best? And I want to tell you just one thing more about this speculation. It was part of a gamble in which a handful of clever and unscrupulous market operators

made fortunes, while thousands of simple-minded people lost their savings. In this deal Mr. Lloyd George was not one of the poor pigeons who were plucked: he was in the much pleasanter and more profitable partnership of the birds of prey. And if he did go and join the pigeons afterwards in his second speculation, and came out much less well-feathered than he went in, that only shows that his unaided business instinct is as defective as his sense of the dignity and repute of his high office.

But what were the shares in which Mr. Lloyd George gambled? Shares of the American Marconi Company. Now you all know that the contract which was being negotiated by the Government was not with the American Company, but with the parent British Company. But between those companies there was the most intimate connection. For practical working purposes their stations are calculated to form one system just as much as the two ends of a cable or a telephone form one system. The whole reconstruction of the American Company was worked by the parent company and depended upon its prestige and influence. Above all, the shares of all the Marconi Companies fluctuated in such close sympathy with each other that in a question of speculation—and this emphatically was a mere speculation—there was really no difference between speculating in one or in the other. If Ministers had no business, as they admit, to speculate in British Marconi shares, they had no business to speculate in American Marconi shares. But even that is not the most serious side of the business. Why did they go into this speculation at all? Was it because of something they read in the newspapers? Was it because of their study of past balance-sheets? Or their scientific knowledge of the prospects of wireless telegraphy? No, it was because they were given special advice and information, which the public could not get, from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, the man who was making the contract with the Government. And they got these shares, not, indeed, directly from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, but from Mr. Harry Isaacs who, to their knowledge, had got them from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, at a price of £2 at a time when you and I could not have got them for less than about £3. They derived, in fact, a substantial favour from a Government contractor while the contract was still going through. They took part in a transaction which the Indian Penal Code and our own Prevention of Corruption Act, treats as corruption.

What is their defence? That they did it all quite innocently, in the simplicity of their hearts, and that it never occurred to them that it wasn't just what everybody expected Ministers of the Crown to do every day on the way from their departments to the House of Commons. Really, are they not asking us to swallow a little too much? Can we forget that Sir Rufus Isaacs was once himself a stockbroker and that he made his name at the bar by the investigation of company affairs? Did he never realise what manner of speculation this American Marconi flotation was? Did he never imagine that there could be any connection between the two companies apart from a direct participation in dividends? And can we forget that there was a time when Mr. Lloyd George set himself up not only as a chastiser of unearned increment, but as a stern and inexorable judge of Ministerial conduct? Who was it that once, in support of a wholly baseless and malignant campaign against Mr. Chamberlain, so vehemently affirmed the rule that Ministers, like Cæsar's wife, should be not only virtuous, but above all possible suspicion? I fear Cæsar's wife is suffering from a sad collapse. Of course Ministers did not realise all that we realise to-day about this transaction. I readily admit that in that case they would not have touched it. But I say they must have known that they were sailing dangerously near the wind.

But even supposing that they really were as innocent and childlike as they make out. Is their innocence of motive or their ignorance a complete and sufficient excuse for their conduct? The rule of the public service on this question has always been perfectly clear. It is that public servants ought to know what is proper and right for them to do; that is what they are paid for. How would there be any guarantee for the purity of public life if every time a public servant accepted an improper favour or indulged in an improper speculation he claimed that his innocence of intention put him beyond criticism? What sufficient proof of dishonest intention are you ever likely to get? That is not the law as Ministers lay it down for others. Let me give you the case of Mr. Taylor, which you may have seen referred to in the papers. This Mr. Taylor was not a high Minister of State, but a very subordinate official in the Post Office. He bought Marconi shares, not by the thousand to be paid for when convenient, but

ust thirty shares, paid for in cash out of his little savings. He ought them without consulting any one, and at the market price. Ie had no special information from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs; no rother, either of his own or of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs to provide im with shares on favourable terms. When he bought he was nder the impression that the contract was not going through. Vhen he knew it was going through and that there was a likeliood of his being called in to advise on the specifications he sold. Vhen the case was afterwards brought before Mr. Samuel there vas no question as to Mr. Taylor's innocence of intention. But hat was no excuse in Mr. Samuel's eyes. He drily dismissed it y saying that but for that his offence would have been even more erious and his retention in the public service impossible. As it vas, in view of his innocence of motive and of his twenty-four ears' of honourable and very efficient service he was only reduced n rank and in salary. But why was he punished at all? Beause, as Mr. Samuel told him, with perfect justice though with ather superfluous unction in view of what he knew about his olleagues, "in his position he ought to have appreciated hat such investments were not permissible" and that "action uch as his is wholly contrary to the tradition and practice f the civil service, and could not fail, if it became usual, rofoundly to impair public confidence in its integrity." Yet what difference is there between the two transactions? Mr. Taylor bought English Marconi shares, it is true, while Ministers bought American Marconi shares. Personally, I don't think the difference between them on that score amounts to anything. But there is this very material distinction. Mr. Taylor did not receive a tip from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. What would have happened to him if he had? Is Mr. Samuel going to say that he would not have degraded him in that case as long as the shares bought on the contractor's tip were not English Marconi shares? Or will he suggest that, on the contrary, he would have given Mr. Taylor a lunch at the National Liberal Club?

The fact is that Ministers claim one law for themselves and lay down a very different law for their subordinates. And yet what did Mr. Lloyd George say in 1900?

Unless these rules are observed by and enforced against officers of State in high places you cannot possibly enforce them against subordinate officials. This is one

of the principal points I propose to make. When once these rules are broken by any person in high position it leads to the complete demoralisation of the whole civil service. It is setting a dangerous precedent.

Out of his own mouth he stands condemned.

And because we protest against this we are called hungry humbugs and malignant persecutors! And now to console him for our cruelty and for his sufferings, his friends hold a carouse in his honour at the National Liberal Club. What is it that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been feasted and toasted for? It can hardly be for what he has done—I suppose it must be because he has not been guilty of actual corruption. Has it come to this that Ministers are to be feasted and applauded because they have only given a "dangerous precedent," one calculated to lead to the "demoralisation of the civil service," and have managed to refrain from corruption itself? I know what their answer is, that the meeting was a protest against the foul campaign of calumny on the part of the Tory Press. May I remind you that the charge of actual corruption was never made in the Tory Press at all? It was made by Socialist and independent Radical journalists, and could have been instantly disproved in the Law Courts if Ministers had at that time cared to face the unpleasant necessity of disclosing the transactions in which they had participated. The only thing any Tory journals suggested was improper speculation in connection with the Marconi gamble. And that has been proved, not indeed in the precise form in which it was suggested, but in a form essentially just as improper, and just as dangerous as a precedent.

Besides who was responsible for the rumours but Ministers themselves? It has been said that the rumours existed before Ministers carried on their transactions. The Falconer Report has made great play with that point—made it the very pivot, in fact, of its fantastic version of the story. But there was no definite evidence for that except the single statement of Mr. Harry Isaacs, who said that *he had heard these rumours constantly for months* before. Do you really think it possible that any man could be so wicked as to press his own brother to buy Marconi shares, and so give colour and justification to malicious and most damaging rumours, of which he had till then been the innocent victim, and not say a word to him about those rumours? I say *it* is incredible. I do not believe rumours as to Ministerial gambling in Marconi shares existed before the Ministers *did* gamble in Marconi shares.

That the rumours should spread afterwards was almost inevitable. There were seven separate transactions involving a total of £45,000. There were telephone messages and telegrams passing through hundreds of hands. And all in connection with a sensational gamble in which thousands lost heavily. What on earth could Ministers expect? And if the rumours were embroidered with detail as they passed along, or even if they were simplified and the word " American " dropped by some " foul " or careless lip, what else is that but the natural course of rumours when they are not checked by a publication of the real facts which gave them birth? I say Ministers knew perfectly well what caused the rumours. They could have stopped them at any moment by telling the truth. They knew in August that the rumours were current, and yet they kept silence. They knew in October, and deliberately deceived the House of Commons by what I can only describe as gross prevarication. They used words which were literally true, but which suggested what was untrue, and which they must have known would suggest what was untrue. They dodged the House of Commons Committee as long as they could. And now that the truth—or at any rate a substantial portion of it—has come out, they are attempting to bluff the country into believing that while they have done nothing that is not wholly admirable and worthy of imitation, they have been the victims of a cruel campaign of slander invented by the sheer devilish malignity of their political opponents. Really that won't wash. The cruel campaign is largely a figment of their own imagination. No serious journal or responsible person has ever charged them, or charges them now, with corruption. If they are wise they had much better leave that aspect of the matter alone, and not attempt to draw either their own attention or that of the public away from what they actually did. After all, the fact remains that they did speculate improperly, and that they did for months mislead the House of Commons and the public. Most men, I think, in such circumstances would realise that they had made a serious mistake, and would keep quiet. Lord Murray wisely chose the seclusion of Bogotá. Mr. Lloyd George prefers to crow brazen defiance to the public conscience from his own dunghill at the National Liberal Club. We can afford to leave him there.

L. S. Amery.

"THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE RICH"

There is no greater mistake in politics, as in war—for politics after all are a sort of war—than to under-rate the enemy. The major catastrophes of history are attributable to this failing, and the cause of Clean Government in this country which is now at stake, must suffer irremediable disaster unless its advocates realise the size and strength of the forces ranged against them, whose formidable character should only nerve them to greater efforts. That Light will triumph over Darkness there can be no shadow of doubt in the mind of any one with any faith in the future, or with any lingering vestige of confidence in British character. Everything we stand for in the world depends on this fight. The victory of the Panama Party—of which the present Prime Minister is so worthy a chieftain—would involve not only "death, disaster, and damnation" to Liberalism—for whose good name Sir Edward Grey once professed keen solicitude—but it would mean that Great Britain had definitely and deliberately scaled down to the level of the unregenerate communities of Central America, where professional politicians do not profess any higher ideal than that of feathering their own nests. One difference between them and a certain type of British demagogue much in view just now, is that your Central American is not a hypocrite. He does not pretend to be in politics for his health; he is avowedly out for loot. He will make what he can, when he can, while he can, and then give way to some other "patriot" who will do the same. He does not whine when he is found out; he has had his innings and is content with the results coupled with the prospect of returning to his former profitable official haunts. There is always a certain attraction about the bold buccaneer. He may be crude, but our latter-day Stigginses, Chadbands, or Pecksniffs, who cultivate charity on a

little cocoa at the National Liberal Club, are infinitely more repulsive.

All decent folk are equally disgusted with the recent revelations concerning his Majesty's Ministers, and this disgust is altogether regardless of party. Indeed, it has given a striking fillip to the rising revolt against the whole party system, which is spreading through all classes of the community and is not unlikely to bear somewhat startling fruit in the near future. His Majesty's Opposition would do well to give heed to the development of public opinion on anti-parliamentary lines, for unless they have sufficient grit to rise to the height of their responsibilities —which are only second to those of the Government—and to seize one or other of the golden opportunities that present themselves, the curses loud and deep against the most infamous Coalition of appetites in British history will extend to the whole parliamentary regime. "A plague on all your parties," and "A plague on both your Houses" might easily become a popular war-cry.

But let not so-called "Labour" fondly imagine that it stands to gain through the loss of other parties, as no body of politicians have accumulated more discredit than the "tame cats" of the Coalition, who ostensibly follow the lofty and inspiring guidance of that single-minded man of the people, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, though most of them only ask to be allowed to do the needful required to keep Messrs. Asquith and Co. in office. Labour is the misuse of opportunities. It had a wonderful chance of showing its superiority to the party hacks who say ditto to Mr. Lloyd George and the other "little brothers of the rich," as present Ministers have been wittily christened. The Labour Party was represented on the Marconi Select Committee in the person of Mr. Parker, M.P. (member for Halifax), the Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party. When the various Reports came to be discussed, the Labour representative was potential master of the situation. He preferred to give up to Party what was meant for mankind, but the Party for which he made the sacrifice was not his own Party, Labour, but the Radical Party. What do Labour circles outside Parliament think of their Vice-Chairman's performance in associating himself with the unspeakable Report of Messrs. Falconer and Co., thus giving the countenance of Labour to what Labour

was supposed to regard as the worst form of capitalism, viz. gambling on the Stock Exchange?

Let there be no misunderstanding as to Labour's responsibility at this crisis. Even granting that it was too much to ask the Labour Party in Parliament—the bond slave of the Radical Plutocracy—to join forces with the Unionist members of the Committee in supporting Lord Robert Cecil's Draft Report (an admirable document only erring on the side of moderation, because giving Ministerial culprits the benefit of too many doubts), which was rejected by eight votes to six—the minority consisting of the Unionist members of the Committee, and the majority of the five Radical Party hacks, two Nationalists who would vote for the devil as long as he "toed the line," and Mr. Parker, representing Labour. Doubtless it would demand a man of unusual independence to vote with the wicked Tories in censuring "little brothers of the rich," in the person of Mr. Lloyd George. There remained, however, the Draft Report of Sir Albert Spicer, the Radical Chairman of the Committee, which, after the rejection of Lord Robert Cecil's Draft, was voted down by the same Coalition majority of eight to six, because it contained these exceedingly mild strictures on the Ministers who have brought all this discredit on the country:

> Nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances detailed in their Report, Sir Rufus Isaacs would, in the judgment of your Committee, have been well advised if when invited by Mr. Harry Isaacs to acquire those rights (in the American Company) he had adhered to the resolution formed by him when Mr. Godfrey Isaacs made a similar proposal, and had "nothing to do with it."
>
> Your Committee are further of opinion that, having regard to the relation then in fact subsisting between the two Companies and the contractual engagements of the English Company in respect of the purchase of the assets of the United Wireless Company and other matters, any acquisition by Sir Rufus Isaacs of rights in the proposed issue was liable to give rise to some such "misconception" as Sir Rufus Isaacs himself apprehended as a possible consequence of dealings direct with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs.
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> If, on the occasion of the debate in the House of Commons on October 11, 1912, it had occurred to the Ministers whose conduct had been impugned to make a statement of the facts as disclosed in the action against *Le Matin*, such a statement would, in the judgment of your Committee, and as subsequent events have proved, have tended to avert much misunderstanding and to lessen, in considerable measure, the labours of your Committee.

As already pointed out, the Chairman's Draft was rejected

by the same eight to six as rejected Lord Robert Cecil's Draft, and *mirabile dictu* among the eight was the representative of Labour, who subsequently attached his name to what is known as the "whitewashing Report" of the majority, containing this unconscionable verdict:

On the whole matters relating to the conduct of Ministers which have come before the Committee the Committee find that all the Ministers concerned have acted throughout in the sincere belief that there was nothing in their action which would in any way conflict with their duty as Ministers of the Crown.

It is notorious that the more intelligent Labour men are profoundly disgusted with the conduct of their representative on the Committee, as calculated to deal a heavy blow at the good name of Labour, demonstrating as it does that Labour politicians are animated by no higher ideals than inspire Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Rufus Isaacs and the Master of Elibank. The weight of the Labour Party in Parliament has been thrown in favour of the unlimited right of Ministers to speculate on "the tips" of Government contractors and to secure any unearned increment within their reach, though it is tacitly acknowledged to be a mistake on their part to be found out. How different would be the reputation of the Labour Party had Mr. Parker displayed the modicum of courage required to support the Chairman. In that case the numbers would have been for Sir Albert Spicer's Report, seven—against seven. The Chairman would naturally have given his casting vote in favour of his own Report, which would then have been presented to Parliament as "the Report" of the Marconi Select Committee, and we should have been spared an addition to the many ignominious episodes punctuating this deplorable affair. Special efforts should be made to educate Halifax and other constituencies represented by Labour, as well as all constituencies contested by Labour, as to the record of the Labour Party in Parliament on the Marconi scandal and the conduct of its Vice-Chairman in ranging himself with the Whitewashers of discredited Radical capitalists.

The attitude of Labour, while disastrous to Labour, only emphasises what has been already said as to the nature of the fight for the restoration of Clean Government in this country. The Panama Party are the men in possession, and though they excite universal disgust, their parliamentary position is strong so

long as it lasts, resting as it does on a solid basis of cash—£8 a week. That capital and determining fact is continually forgotten by innocent onlookers who, moved by some particularly flagrant outrage, pathetically exclaim: "Surely that is too much even for the Radicals.—They can't stomach the performances of Falconer and Handel Booth." On the contrary, they can stomach practically anything for £8 a week. But for payment of members we should probably have been spared Panama, at any rate in its grosser forms. We shall only destroy Panama when Members of Parliament cease to be paid, and the House of Commons regains some fraction of its former freedom.

To-day Parliament is in disrepute. No one thinks or speaks of it except with contempt.

Among other hostile factors is the great Trade Union of the law—if it be hostile. It would be idle to deny that the prestige of the "gentlemen of the long robe" has suffered severely in the eyes of laymen through the blunder of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith in taking those unfortunate briefs in the action which Mr. Herbert Samuel and Sir Rufus Isaacs felt themselves constrained to take against *Le Matin* amid circumstances still shrouded in mystery. No serious explanation has yet been vouchsafed to an astonished public of this amazing action. Sir Edward Carson has taken refuge in vague generalities describing his conduct as being in accordance with the "highest traditions of the Bar," though what those traditions may be it is impossible to ascertain, as the suggestion that every advocate is at the beck and call of the first comer—that he is, in fact, like a taxi-driver on the rank—may be in accordance with precept, but it is certainly not in accordance with practice, as the reader will readily discover by seeking the aid of a distinguished K.C. in a case involving antagonism to the Big Wigs of the Bar.

If Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith are justified in putting themselves out of action on the dominant political issue of the day to please a Government they avowedly abhor—if they are entitled to disfranchise their constituencies by abstaining from vital divisions, as they did the other day on the vote of censure—constituencies will not unnaturally wonder whether lawyers make the best candidates and the best members, while rank-and-filers will ask themselves whether lawyers are

ideal political leaders, seeing that the canons regulating their professional conduct are liable to paralyse their political action. Sir Edward Carson has enjoyed to an exceptional degree the ardent admiration of every Unionist worth his salt for many years. It has often been his lot to be a "live man" among political deadheads. How came he to walk into a palpable trap and to devote his unrivalled talents to saving Ministers bent on plunging his country into civil war, while tying his own tongue throughout the whole Marconi controversy. One cannot imagine any zealous Unionist touching any Ministerial business with a pair of tongs.

We are surely entitled to know whether Sir Edward Carson was the victim of a dirty trick such as one would expect almost any member of the Asquith Government to play on a political opponent. Proceedings were obviously taken against *Le Matin* in order that Ministers might break the disagreeable fact to the public that they had not told the whole truth about their Marconi speculations on that fateful Friday last October. Had they wished to go into Court simply to clear their characters of crude charges of corruption, they could have done so in August 1912 when, as we know from their sworn evidence before the Select Committee, Mr. Herbert Samuel wrote and informed Sir Rufus Isaacs that he was ready to sue the *Eye Witness*, and was even prepared to interrupt his holiday for that purpose. The Attorney-General thought the matter sufficiently serious to consult the Prime Minister, though most unfortunately his letter has been "mislaid"—a remissness generally deplored as it would illuminate yet another problem, namely, the frankness with which Sir Rufus Isaacs laid the facts before his chief. Mr. Asquith's reply to the lost letter was read to the Select Committee by Sir Rufus Isaacs. On the face of it it contained as bad advice as one eminent lawyer has ever given to another.

Writing on August 15, 1912, to "My dear Rufus," the Prime Minister adduced the following reason for ignoring this "scurrilous rubbish." "I suspect that the *Eye Witness* has a very meagre circulation. I notice only one page of advertisements, and that occupied entirely by Belloc's publishers. A prosecution might secure notoriety and might bring in subscribers." But in justice to Mr. Asquith it must be remembered that at that time Ministers,

no doubt, believed that they could successfully hush up their Marconi transactions.

The Prime Minister was already aware when he discouraged proceedings against the *Eye Witness* that his colleagues had had one American "flutter," and for aught we know to the contrary he may also have been aware of further Ministerial "flutters" in other Marconi Companies which still remain undisclosed, though we are not without hope that some of them may ultimately attain daylight. Mr. Asquith scented danger in any libel action against any newspaper in connection with Marconi matters, because his colleagues—the plaintiffs—ran the risk of being asked in cross-examination, such questions as the following: "So I may take it from you, Sir Rufus Isaacs, that you have never held any shares in any Marconi Company?" That would certainly have been the first question in the event of his proceeding against the *National Review*, which treated the Marconi Companies as all one, and called particular attention to the American Company before the debate and denials of last October. I can see no appreciable difference between speculating in the American Company and speculating in the British Company, as the fortunes of parent and offspring are so intimately bound up with one another. Then there was the valuable tip from a Government contractor which damns the transaction, whatever the speculation.

Ministerial speeches in October demonstrated the anxiety of Ministers to conceal their "investment." Both Mr. Samuel and Sir Rufus Isaacs made elaborate statements carefully framed to deceive the public—in which they were temporarily successful—while Mr. Lloyd George's onslaught on Mr. Lansbury need only be described as in every respect worthy of its author. They counted upon the aid of a carefully packed Committee to escape detection, and the odds were considerably in their favour.. Little wonder that in August they were not prepared to face the music. They could not foresee the chapter of accidents which ultimately compelled them to proceed against a paper—with probably a smaller English circulation than the *Eye Witness*, and without English advertisements to speak of—and to make confidences to *Le Matin* which had been withheld from the House of Commons and from the Chairman of the

Select Committee, though Messrs. Falconer and Booth—were agents of the Isaacses and the Georges—had been "tipped t wink" as a measure of precaution, so that they might be able keep journalists off dangerous ground, while with luck they mig even succeed in sparing Ministers the perilous ordeal of testifyi on oath. According to the accepted creed, it is an act of "go faith" to deceive Parliament and the public. Perjury remai a dangerous amusement. Hence the premature closure of t Marconi Committee.

When Sir Edward Carson received his brief for the plaint in the action against *Le Matin* did it contain any reference Sir Rufus Isaacs' American speculation? Sir Edward Carso friends stoutly maintain that this tit-bit was not in the original structions. *Ex hypothesi* he was "let in" by the Attorney-Gener who may, according to the "highest traditions of the Bar," ha had the call upon the services of the ex-Attorney-General the libel action. But the American transactions were entir foreign to the libel in *Le Matin* case. If they were set fo in the original brief, Sir Edward Carson would surely ha realised that he was being inveigled outside his duties as coun in order to relieve Ministers of the very painful duty of confess that they had deceived the public. To outsiders it is amaz that Sir Edward Carson should ever have been asked to underta this task, and stupefying that he should have consented to do

If the American transaction was set forth in the original bri Sir Edward Carson would surely have returned it, as he wou have "spotted" that he was being employed to get a Governm he abhors out of the worst mess they have yet been in. T "highest traditions of the Bar" can scarcely override every ot public duty. If, on the other hand, there was nothing about t American gamble in the original brief, and it was only spru upon him afterwards that he was to be the conduit pipe of t punters to the public, the Ulster leader should surely have flu back the case in the faces of those who insulted him by retain him. One insult provoked another in the shape of Mr. Wins Churchill's approval of Sir Edward Carson's conduct in champi ing the Marconi Ministers. The *Matin* mystery requires "cle ing up," to borrow the expressive phrase of Lord Murray Oilybank. We are told that the Government are indebt

awaiting the moment of Lord Alverstone's retirement from the Lord Chief Justiceship in order further to scandalise the community by appointing Sir Rufus Isaacs in his stead. We are therefore entitled to scrutinise the conduct of Sir Rufus Isaacs, apart from what we know already, *e.g.* his economy of truth last autumn and his subsequent intrigue with Messrs. Falconer and Booth, which hardly indicate him as a heaven-born Lord Chief Justice.

In fairness to the great Trade Union of the law, it must be acknowledged that although absurd articles may have appeared in one of the Trade Union journals, while Sir Edward Clarke has given his blessing to Sir Rufus Isaacs, and hungry Radical lawyers have licked his boots in the hope of securing coveted posts —there is little enthusiasm in the profession, so far as the public are aware, and though we hear of round robins on his behalf, such documents have not yet materialised. It may be devoutly hoped that the Bar will abstain from stultifying itself. The notion that his Majesty's judges will resign *en masse* unless Mr. Godfrey Isaacs's brother succeeds Lord Alverstone may be dismissed as a fairy tale. Unionist lawyers showed no backwardness during the recent Marconi debate, and did much to save their profession from the imputation that its standard of honour is lower than that of other people. Mr. George Cave took the initiative on behalf of Clean Government in an admirable speech, and there was no lack of earnestness or force in the utterances of other practising barristers, and apart from the unfortunate absence of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith, the Bar had no reason to regret the attitude of its representatives. Mr. Lloyd George's lickspittles were exclusively confined to their proper place—the Coalition Benches.

And what of the Press? Where stand newspapers at this parting of the ways? Speaking generally they have cut a pitiable figure, with conspicuous and honourable exceptions. Should Panama carry the day it would be largely due to the cowardly connivance of those "responsible" Unionist organs over which Cabinet Ministers wax so enthusiastic. To be praised by the demagogues of the National Liberal Club is about the limit. When the *National Review* is eulogised by such people in such places we shall put up the shutters.

It is necessary to say a word about so-called Unionist organs which apparently live with a twofold object, namely, to keep the Panama Party in power and to "queer the pitch" for the Opposition. People are saying hard things about the Press just now—it is scarcely surprising that the public should put the worst construction on inexplicable conduct. The Marconi question from the outset was essentially a subject on which the public required education if only because the facts were infinitely complicated. It arouses universal interest and touches vital interests. Why have our "responsibles" shirked a plain duty? It is surely not from any prejudice against sensationalism, because the Press becomes more American every day. Able editors positively revel in the sordid details of a Society will case or breach of promise, provided the damages are enormous, or a turf libel if the witnesses are sufficiently distinguished, while the interstices are filled up with every variety of lurid crime and appalling catastrophe. But that most fascinating of all puzzles, "The Great Marconi Mystery," has been tabooed from the outset. People are talking glibly of a "bought" Press. But the Press is too rich to be bought. It is largely in the hands of millionaires and multi-millionaires whom it would be impossible for any one to begin buying. *Amour propre* has doubtless had a good deal to do with its failure. The "responsibles" were wrong from the outset. The Marconi scandal was voted "a mare's nest"—beneath the notice of the Mandarins of the Fourth Estate. It was "lunacy" to imagine that astute lawyers like Sir Rufus Isaacs or sharp solicitors like Mr. Lloyd George could have been such fools as to gamble in Marconi shares, or alternatively had they gambled they had assuredly covered up their tracks and would never be exposed. It was poor "copy" and being committed to this view—when things began to happen, showing that our Fleet Street pundits had misjudged the punters—the editors were almost as angry as Ministers themselves at being found out, and took a leaf out of the Coalition book minimising the whole transaction. In whitewashing the "investors" they were excusing themselves.

But obviously this is not an exhaustive explanation of the criminal tenderness shown by professed Unionist papers towards the Government in general, and the punters in particular. The

Asquith Cabinet have, so to speak, very powerful friends at Court, who make it their business to prevent the publication of anything detrimental to particular Ministers. In the first place, it must be remembered, in order to unravel the enigma, that while the Radical press is exclusively in the hands of Radicals—whether proprietors, editors, writers or reporters—animated by the single idea of promoting the interests of their Party by fair means or foul (any working journalist who refuses to "toe the line" being sent about his business), Unionist organs are largely controlled by men without any political opinions whatsoever. Their Unionism is so half-hearted as to be negligible. They might, indeed, be more accurately described as demi-semi-Radicals, and they are careful to keep one foot in the Radical camp. They have been assiduously courted by Ministers, who enjoy nothing better than "pulling the leg" of an "Opposition" journal. Compromising friendships are formed of which the entire benefit accrues to politicians who go from bad to worse, secure in the knowledge that they are safe from attack at the hands of their "friends" over the way. The net result is that however outrageously members of the present Cabinet may behave—and they are likely to be known in history as "The Limit"—they can not only rely on the disciplined enthusiasm of Coalition organs, but they equally command the approval, or if the worst comes to the worst they can secure the silence, of several Unionist journals.

Thus we have a Churchill press, a Lloyd George press and an Isaacs press, on what we are pleased to call "our side." If Mr. Churchill suddenly announced that he had arranged to make a birthday present of the British Navy to the German Emperor, not only would he be lauded sky high by the Little Navyites on his own side, but quasi Unionist papers would go so far as they dared in applauding his "statesman-like stroke," and if that were made impossible by the protests of their readers they would boycott the episode. Mr. Lloyd George is no less fortunate; if to-morrow it transpired—we need scarcely say that we are taking a purely hypothetical case—that he had given false testimony before the Marconi Select Committee when he stated that his American Marconi shares cost £2 instead of £1, his simple-minded admirers on the Unionist press would instantly discover some

palpitating event at the other end of the world which would absorb all their space. Should Sir Rufus Isaacs become Lord Chief Justice, an appointment which it must be recognised would be in every way worthy of the present Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, he could count upon a cordial welcome from another organ of the Hush-up press; while even Mr. Godfrey Isaacs can command "a good press" at a pinch.

And yet, in spite of all this powerful backing, what a pitiable debacle it is! The Hush-ups have sustained bitter humiliation —almost as bitter as Ministers themselves, and they are in an equally bad temper. Recent events have revealed the gratifying fact that the British public do not take their opinions from hamstrung newspapers. "The greatest circulation in the world" is compatible with a minimum of political influence.

The plight of the Hush-ups would be pathetic if it were not so comic; and after all they deserve little sympathy, as their humiliation is home-made. It is probably too late for them to retrace their steps and reconsider their position, which will go from bad to worse, as they are in the same boat as Ministers, who are in a mortal funk because they never know as they go to bed at night what the morrow may bring forth. Every month sees them more deeply embedded in the Marconi morass. Every question asked in Parliament increases their discomfiture and discredit. Hush-up tactics have been a ghastly failure, and the longer they are persisted in the greater the danger, as the greater the shock caused by subsequent revelations. No serious student of the affair imagines for a moment that we are anywhere near the bottom of the well where truth resides. The only effect of the closing down of the Marconi Select Committee, in a vain attempt to suppress other transactions and the abject capitulation of the Cabinet to the Company, is to stimulate curiosity as to the gigantic skeletons overcrowding the Ministerial cupboard.

What a far cry to that happy distant Friday in October when the historic gamble in truth took place, and Ministers, choking with emotion and spurious indignation, convinced an artless Assembly that there could be no viler or more wicked suggestion than that any member of the Asquith Government had speculated in any Marconi share. Only a few days before

the Debate special attention had been called to the shameless American gamble in an article in the *National Review*, referred to in Ministerial speeches showing that it was in the Ministerial mind. The speakers were meticulously careful—save Mr. Lloyd George, who went his wonted mucker—in constructing their denials which were confined to "this" Company, though they were naturally interpreted by Parliament, the Press, and the public as covering the group of intimately associated Marconi Companies. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, has recently confessed that he knew at the time of these declarations of his colleagues' first Marconi speculation. Was he likewise aware that the Party funds had been "invested" by the Chief Whip and Patronage Secretary to the tune of nearly £10,000 in the same Marconi company? If ignorant of that particular gamble the Prime Minister was none the less a party to the great gamble in truth, because he acquiesced in speeches calculated as they were intended to deceive. For this reason he will remain for all time tarred with the Marconi brush, and efforts to distinguish between his guilt and that of his colleagues are futile. His responsibility is all the greater, because he holds the greater position, and is the chief custodian of the honour of the British Government for the time being, and of what used to be those lofty traditions of our public life which were supposed to mark us off from less fortunate communities, but which the Panama Party have buried for all time.

As memory is short it is worth recalling, in the light of our present knowledge and of the action of the House of Commons in acquitting the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of acting in anything but "good faith," the actual text of these immortal utterances which are regarded by the House of Commons, and still more by the National Liberal Club, as noble specimens of Parliamentary Candour and Democratic Sincerity. As the reader will observe, they have a pregnant bearing upon the present situation. Taken in conjunction with the eloquent silence in which Mr. Asquith now takes refuge, the field is open to unlimited speculation in every sense of that word.

Sir Rufus Isaacs was the first Minister to speak in the Debate. He was at some pains to refute something which had been said

about him in the October number of the *National Review* on another branch of the Marconi problem, studiously ignoring the description of the American Marconi gamble as "a South Sea Bubble mania on a small scale." To-day he and his champions have the effrontery to pretend that his attention had never been called by his "traducers" to American Marconis. Few people enjoy the luxury of framing their own indictments as was the case with the Attorney-General on this occasion, and he thus disposed of the "charge" made against him:

Let me go to the next charge, which is, I think, a worse charge. It is that some member of the Government not named, but hinted at—some member or members of the Cabinet—knowing that these negotiations were taking place, knowing that there was a contract in contemplation, and thinking the shares would go up when the announcement of the contract came to be made—the price of the shares being then 14s. or 15s. and eventually rose to £9 after the announcement of the contract was made—thereupon, and in consequence of the information which some member of the Government had got, bought shares in this Company at a low price, in order to sell them at the higher price when the contract was announced. I desire to say frankly, on behalf of myself, that that is absolutely untrue. Never from the beginning, when the shares were 14s. or £9, have I had one single transaction with the shares of that Company. I am not only speaking for myself, but I am also speaking on behalf, I know, of both my right hon. friend the Postmaster-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in some way or other, in some of the articles, have been brought into this matter.

His hearers were profoundly impressed by the "sincerity" of Sir Rufus Isaacs' disclaimer, though some readers of his speech remained unconvinced. Mr. Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster-General, who be it never forgotten was aware when he spoke of his colleagues' gamble in American Marconis, was comprehensive enough to please anybody—far too comprehensive, as events turned out.

I confess that, after reading for months past allegations, insinuations, attacks, accusations of maladministration and favouritism, and even worse, it is to me a profound relief now to be able to stand at this table in the light of day, and give an answer to these assertions. I should like, in the first instance, to confirm, in unqualified terms, what has been said on his own behalf by my right hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs), and I can do it not only on my behalf, but on that of every member of the Cabinet. I say that these stories that members of the Cabinet, knowing the contract was in contemplation, and feeling that possibly the prices of shares might rise themselves, directly or indirectly, bought any of these shares, or took any interest in this Company through any other party whatever, have not one syllable of truth in

them. Neither I myself nor any of my colleagues have at any time held one shilling's worth of shares in this Company, directly or indirectly, or have derived one penny profit from the fluctuations in their prices. It seems shameful that political feeling can carry so far, that lying tongues can be found to speak and ears found to listen to such wicked and utterly baseless slanders such as these. *This Committee (i.e. the Marconi Committee) which will be appointed will enquire into every aspect of this question, and members of the Government will be most ready to appear before it. Every member of the House may have full confidence that while every part of this transaction will come under the searchlight of examination, it will be shown that there is no uncleanliness in any quarter* [my italics].

Mr. Lloyd George, as we all know, went one better than his colleagues, and unsophisticated persons might imagine, unless the House of Commons had set the seal of its approval on his conduct by formally declaring that the Chancellor of the Exchequer acted in "good faith," that he went over the border-line. Mr. George Lansbury, then Socialist Member for Bow and Bromley, referred to current rumours concerning Ministerial Marconi speculations, adding, "I hope there will be no kind of shrinking on the Committee with regard to this matter." A wonderfully prophetic remark. This was like a red rag to a bull to the injured innocent at the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, who shouted "I hope, too, there will be no shrinking on the part of those who make the allegations." (I am quoting the Official Report.) "MR. LANSBURY. 'The irritation expressed on the Treasury Bench this afternoon when people are making speeches is, I think, not a very nice sign at all.'" It was the very worst sign and we now know the cause of it. "'I am entitled to say what other hon. members have said without interruption, that there have been very grave rumours all over the City, that people have made money out of this business who ought not to have made money out of it. I am entitled to say that without interruption.' Mr. Lloyd George made a remark which was inaudible.* MR. LANSBURY. 'I do not think you are. I never mentioned the right hon. gentleman. Why he should be so eager to rise in his place and speak as he has done I do not know.'"

Mr. Lloyd George had *very* good reason for jumping about like a cat on hot bricks.

* Mr. Amery, a very competent arithmetician, calculates in the admirable address printed on a previous page, that at one time Mr. Lloyd George was making money out of Marconis at the rate of 16s. a minute.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE. The hon. member said something about the Government; and he has talked about "rumours." I want to know what these rumours are. If the hon. gentleman has any charge to make against the Government as a whole or against individual members of it, I think it ought to be stated openly. The reason why the Government wanted a frank discussion before going to Committee was because we wanted to bring here these rumours, these sinister rumours, that have been passed from one foul lip to another behind the backs of the House.

In the course of another interjection St. Sebastian of Limehouse stated: "I came here this afternoon because I had heard what was said *outside*. I have waited carefully, and not a single member on the other side of the House, or anybody else who has taken part in this Debate, has ever hinted at anything. The only member who has hinted completely dissociated himself from the rumours. The hon. member (Mr. Lansbury) is the first one who has said so: I demand that his charge shall be formulated." At that moment Mr. Lloyd George, or rather his broker, held a substantial number of Marconi shares which the "investor" had not paid for, while his friend Sir Rufus Isaacs was also carrying on his behalf a further instalment for which there had never been any question of payment. Nevertheless these disclaimers are solemnly pronounced by Parliament to have been made in "good faith."

If this is ancient history, it has a painful bearing on contemporary events and should prepare the public for further disclosures. Closely as the reader may have followed the tortuous utterances of the master of mental reservation at the head of the Government, he is possibly unaware of the fact that Mr. Asquith, after allowing Mr. Samuel to repudiate last October on behalf of the entire Cabinet any suggestion of Marconi speculations, to-day bluntly declines to make any declaration of disinterestedness on behalf of a single member of his own Government, including himself. He has even refused to make any enquiries as to possible Marconi speculations by his colleagues—*ex hypothesi* he is afraid to do so. The Postmaster-General's declaration has admittedly gone by the board and the Whitewashers have carried the day and established the Ministerial Right to Speculate in Marconi shares as part of the Coalition creed. All that we have to guide us as to the relations of the Cabinet with the Marconi Companies are the various statements on oath of the only four Ministers who appeared before the Select Committee,

namely Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Churchill.

Although Mr. Samuel's ineptitude, conceit, cowardice, and duplicity last October make him as responsible as any man for the moral collapse of British Liberalism, he is not believed to have personally gambled in Marconi shares during the negotiation of the Contract, and his statement on oath to that effect may be unreservedly accepted. Sir Rufus Isaacs was equally clear before the Committee that apart from the transactions disclosed—which it must, however, be said in passing have not been completely elucidated—he had never participated in any Marconi speculation, and as he spoke on oath his statement may be equally accepted. Mr. Lloyd George welcomed the opportunity of making a similar announcement which I should not take the responsibility of questioning, though it becomes necessary to point out that in his over-eagerness the Chancellor of the Exchequer made another blunder on a matter of fact which was only discovered through an accident. He was asked by Mr. George Faber, after he had specifically declared that he had had no Marconi transactions whatsoever except those already known: "With the exception of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Lord Murray—we know they had shares in the American Company—of your own knowledge could you extend that (*i.e.* the disclaimer) to the other members of the Government?" Observe Mr. Lloyd George's answer spoken on oath: "*Certainly I would. I have no hesitation in doing it. But at the same time it is not for me to answer, though I am certain of it, and absolutely certain of it—perfectly certain.*"

The sequel discounted the value of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's "Certainly." Two months afterwards it was established before the Committee that Lord Murray, then Master of Elibank, had had yet another substantial transaction in American Marconi shares in his capacity as trustee of the Party funds. Here was another extraordinary episode. On April 17, 1912, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Whip of the Party were engaged with Sir Rufus Isaacs in a common venture in American Marconis, which as privileged beings "in the know," they (Mr. George and the Master of Elibank) were able to buy at £2 without the irritating formality of paying

[illegible] been made of the intimacy of these three

friends, who were living under the same roof at this time, and everybody knows that the Master of Elibank is a man of conspicuous frankness, besides being one of the most brilliant ornaments of the Liberal Party, universally trusted by every one from Mr. Asquith downwards.

Great, therefore, was the astonishment at the subsequent disclosure through the Fenner bankruptcy, and thanks to the determination of the *Globe* and the *Daily Express*, that on April 18, only twenty-four hours after he had bought American Marconis in conjunction with Mr. Lloyd George for £2, the Chief Whip as trustee of the Liberal Party funds had bought 2500 American Marconis at £3 5s., while later on he bought another block of 500 American Marconis on the same account. We have not had the advantage of hearing the sworn testimony of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George on this startling development, but a paragraph appeared in the Radical Press categorically stating that both these Ministers were as surprised as the rest of the world to hear of their friend's further "flutter."

We are likely to hear more about it as questions must arise requiring answer, and if Lord Murray has any regard for his reputation he will abandon the comfortable seclusion of Bogotá at the earliest possible moment and return to this country in order to try and put himself right with the public. I am only concerned at the moment with the investment of Party funds in Marconi shares as showing how completely in the dark even most intimate friends in the present Government are of each other's affairs. The latest if not the last revelation may be regarded as cancelling Mr. Lloyd George's optimistic asseveration that he was "absolutely certain" that there were no further Ministerial speculations in any Marconi shares.

Mr. Churchill, as we know, worked himself up into a towering passion when he appeared before the Committee on April 28 to dispose of unfounded rumours connecting his name with Marconi speculations, and incidentally he completely shattered the defence laboriously reared on behalf of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs, namely that it was an innocent, irrelevant, if not a positively virtuous act to have bought Marconi shares, provided they were not British shares. Mr. Churchill framed his own furious disclaimer in his own way, and it may be interpreted,

like the disclaimers of his colleagues, as covering the members of his family, and therefore it finally disposes of the City rumour that a Churchill has made a fortune out of Marconis, which probably accounts for the groundless assertions concerning Mr. Winston Churchill. The *verba ipsissima* are worth reproducing as showing at that date how the First Lord of the Admiralty regarded the imputation of having speculated in Marconi shares—a somewhat striking contrast to his attitude at the National Liberal Club when doing homage to the illustrious "investors."

I [Mr. Churchill] am grieved beyond words that a Committee of my fellow members of the House of Commons should have thought it right to lend their sanction to the putting of such a question to me. Having said so much, I will proceed to answer your question. I have never at any time in any circumstances, directly or indirectly, had any investment or any interest of any kind, however vaguely it may be described, in Marconi telegraphic shares or any other shares of that description in this or any other country of the inhabited globe—never. And if anybody at any time has said so, that person is a liar and a slanderer.

That is what we have been reduced to since October. Then it was "Perish the odious suggestion that any Minister might have speculated in any Marconi share!" In the interval only these four Ministers have made sworn disclaimers before the Select Committee which has been suddenly and arbitrarily closed by a strictly partisan vote, doubtless on the suggestion of the Government, without completing the purpose for which it was appointed. The inference is as irresistible as it is scandalous. In the first place, Messrs. Falconer, Booth and Co. have failed to fulfil their expressed intention of declaring on oath that no member of the Select Committee had had any dealings in Marconi shares. Secondly, they dare not await the evidence of Lord Murray of Oilybank, who remains skulking at Bogotá because *ex hypothesi* his story might put an even worse construction on Ministerial transactions than they bear at present. Lord Murray can make any statement in his place in Parliament with impunity—he can safely repeat the October precedent of his colleagues. Thirdly, the Select Committee dare not continue sitting lest they should be forced into further investigation of the Fenner books, which damn the whole Party by showing that it was pecuniarily interested in the prosperity of a Marconi Company during the negotiations and prior to the ratification of the contract with the

Marconi Company by Parliament. The Fenner books probably contain other perilous Party secrets. Nor dare Messrs. Falconer & Co. follow up the further clues to which attention was persistently called by the *Daily Express*, which has hit the right nail on the head with sufficient frequency to suggest that it had good reason for urging that particular brokers and bankers should be invited to give evidence concerning possible operations by some of Cæsar's other wives. So long as the Select Committee remained sitting there was a place where yet other Ministers might be haled and compelled to disclose on oath the truth concerning *their* Marconi speculations or Marconi speculations in which they were indirectly interested. The existence of the Government demanded that it should be suppressed.

Pace the *Westminster Gazette*, which in common parlance is "asking for it," no one except a salaried member of the Radical Party will ever again believe any statement not made on oath by any Minister in Parliament or elsewhere who has any interest in misleading the public—unless it be corroborated by reliable testimony. That is one conspicuous lesson of this sinister affair. After the cowardly deceptions practised in complete security upon an innocent, unsuspecting public by his own colleagues, and after the tricks they subsequently resorted to in order in the first place to conceal and subsequently to minimise the facts, the very least that Mr. Asquith should have done to save the fragment of good name remaining to the Panama Party was to hold a private Enquiry among Ministers outside as well as inside the Cabinet with a view to ascertain whether any of them had had any interest whatsoever in any Marconi shares during the period of the negotiation between the Marconi Company and the Government, and, what is equally important, whether any of them had given "tips" founded on official knowledge to relations or friends which could be turned into money by the latter either for themselves or as trustees for the tipsters. Afterwards Mr. Asquith should have gone before the Select Committee and given the results of his investigations *on oath*. His failure to do so, coupled with the shutting up of the Committee so as to clear the way for another Marconi Agreement scarcely less preposterous than the last one, convinces us of what we have long suspected, namely that other Ministers, besides the confessed

culprits have something to conceal in connection with Marconi matters. Fortunes have probably been made by the favoured few in the know at the expense of the ignorant many. With all their advantages of superior knowledge and with so many Marconi Companies to choose from, it is incredible that every Ministerial speculator should have lost money, which is in some mysterious way represented as an act of virtue saving the honour of the "investors" who have already disclosed themselves.

It is not for nothing that Ministers are known as "the little brothers of the rich." Happily their doom is sealed.

L. J. MAXSE.

THE FUTURE OF TURKEY IN ASIA

The Balkan War has raised a new crop of questions in Europe, which will occupy the anxious attention of diplomacy for a long time to come, and may permanently affect the balance of power. It does not yet seem to be fully perceived that the war must also inevitably produce a series of new issues in the Middle East, while it will further modify a number of old issues in that region. Unless the Turks are bent upon national suicide, one of the first results of their further exclusion from Europe will be an effort to consolidate and strengthen their incomparable position in Asia Minor. They are not yet freed from the embarrassments caused by their treatment of subject races, and now that—despite their sudden march on Adrianople—they are setting their faces eastward once more the Armenian question may be expected to grow more acute. Their primary need in Asia Minor is better communications, and consequently the Baghdad Railway project is once more being pushed forward. They will have to make up their minds about their future policy in Arabia, and either abandon pretensions which they have not the strength to enforce or waste their impaired resources in futile efforts to extend their sway over the peninsula. They must also come to some arrangement with Great Britain about their questionable position near the head of the Persian Gulf, and stop the foolish actions which have produced constant bickering during the last decade. If they really want to turn barren wastes into a land of smiling plenty—a thing the Turks have never done yet—they will take in hand Sir William Willcocks' great schemes for the revival of the ancient irrigation system of Chaldea, which might be made one of the greatest granaries in the world, as it was in olden times. Then the Turks have to settle their frontier dispute with Persia, which has dragged on for more than half a century. But Persia,

presents a largely separate phase of the Middle Eastern question. Its plight only touches the outcome of the Balkan War, because the expected increase of Turkish activity in Asia Minor will lead Turkish politicians to take a closer interest in developments beyond their Asiatic frontier. The Persian muddle is primarily an affair which concerns Great Britain and Russia. If, as seems possible, the course of events in Persia during the next few years brings Great Britain and Russia nearer to each other and nearer to Turkish territory, a whole vista of new and, on the whole, unwelcome changes in the Middle East will assuredly be opened up. The purpose of these notes is to examine briefly the various issues named.

That Turkey still has a splendid heritage in Asia Minor is beyond question. Her military strength has always been chiefly drawn from her Asiatic provinces, where the bulk of the true Turkish population dwells. Her financial position is dismal, but now she is freed from the constant drain involved by Macedonia it is not beyond amelioration. Under wise and prudent control, and with the help of irrigation engineers in Anatolia and Chaldea, Asiatic Turkey could become one of the richest countries in the world. The progress it has made even during a long period of misrule is remarkable. It is a progress which has been wrought, not by the Turks, but in spite of them. Whether after their miserable failure in Europe they will recover wisdom—if they ever possessed it—in the ancient home of their race remains to be seen. One may contemplate the outlook without much hope, but certainly not with despair. The Turkish Government has much to do in Asia Minor before it fulfils the expectations of those who still wish it well. The Armenian problem, of which more anon, is not the only complication which confronts it. The Kurds are a constant source of anxiety, Syria is restive and inclined to clamour for autonomy, and the Arab population along the lower Tigris and Euphrates is always in a state of chronic but half-timorous revolt. All these difficulties might be overcome by just and humane treatment of the subject races; but while the cult of political assassination continues to engross the attention of Stamboul it is useless to expect administrative sanity in Asia Minor. Two things may with some confidence be predicted about the future of the remnant of the Turkish Empire. The first is

that the vague dreams of German colonisation in Asiatic Turkey, which attracted enthusiasts in Berlin a few years ago, have not now—and probably never had—the slightest prospect of being realised. Germany's " mission " in Asia Minor resolves itself into the furnishing of capital and the initiation of economic enterprises. British capital and energy have found a similar outlet in South America and in Mexico, but we have not dignified our business undertakings in these regions with the designation of a " mission." The second conclusion is that the scheme recently propounded for placing large areas in Turkey's Asiatic provinces under foreign tutelage will never be accepted at Constantinople, and cannot safely be enforced by external pressure. The Turks undoubtedly mean to follow their own bent in the vestiges of their possessions. If their policy involves them in final ruin, they will bow to the will of Allah. Their success or failure depends upon their appreciation of the saying, disregarded in modern Turkey, that " God helps those who help themselves."

It has been already pointed out that if Turkey is to regenerate herself in Asia Minor she must have better communications. Her initial requirement is a trunk railway traversing her dominions from end to end. The principle of the Baghdad Railway has never been seriously questioned in this country. What has been objected to is the attempt to involve Great Britain in the scheme, and the efforts made to shape it in a form which would violate our paramount position in the Persian Gulf. The critics of the project have always said: " If German financiers and Turkish politicians want to build a railway in Asiatic Turkey upon Turkish territory, in Heaven's name let them do it." The idea that Great Britain has opposed the scheme is pure imagination, as I have repeatedly shown in the pages of this Review. The reappearance of Great Britain as a factor in the Baghdad Railway question is due to two causes, which are only indirectly connected with the welfare of the scheme. One is that British consent is required to certain financial arrangements with Turkey. The other is that Great Britain is compelled to assure herself that the railway does not impinge upon definite British interests at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The negotiations with Great Britain regarding the Baghdad Railway were re-opened before the Balkan War. The parties to

the negotiations were Turkey and Great Britain; Germany remained in the background, but controlled the strings. It would be giving the Turkish Government credit far too much prescience to say that it began negotiating afresh because it was eager to press forward the construction of the Baghdad Railway. Its anxiety began and ended with its desire to secure British assent to a further increase in the Turkish customs dues, ostensibly intended, among other things, to provide funds for the service of the railway scheme. In 1907 we agreed to the raising of the customs dues from 8 per cent. to 11 per cent., largely in order to furnish money for the requirements of Macedonia. We are now invited to sanction a further increase to 15 per cent., and it may be gathered from the statements of Sir Edward Grey that we have tentatively promised our approval. The scheme for the final sections of the Baghdad Railway has undergone various modifications during the last twelve months. Last year we were told that the Baghdad Railway Company had "renounced" its right to construct the section from Baghdad to the sea, receiving by way of compensation access to the important Mediterranean port of Alexandretta. The right thus "renounced" purported to pass into the hands of a somewhat shadowy Turkish company, which was in turn to transfer its concession to a new company in which Great Britain, France, Germany, Turkey, and possibly Russia were to participate. This curious project has now disappeared, and apparently we are back at a position wherein the original Baghdad Railway Company is to complete the line. Germany has thus done uncommonly well out of the fluctuating negotiations. She has got all she ever held, and has found her way to Alexandretta as well. It is characteristic of Berlin methods that we are now told that Germany never really "renounced" her rights over the last section at all. If that is the case, certain official statements in the House of Commons last year were singularly careless, and must have been made without sufficient enquiry.

Great Britain has, however, tentatively reached certain bases of agreement with Turkey which, if they are confirmed, will remove the chief objections to the Baghdad Railway scheme which have from time to time been advanced in this Review. She has begun by intimating that while she does not oppose the construction of the line, she does not wish to involve herself in

participation in the work. In other words, she does not intend to acquire a proprietary interest in the line, direct or indirect. That is not precisely a point of agreement with Turkey, but it is a preliminary announcement of vital importance, which concedes the policy so often advocated in these pages. Great Britain seeks, however, to be represented on the railway board by two directors, whose principal task will be to attempt to safeguard British interests, particularly in the matter of rates for the conveyance of merchandise. The two important points of agreement with Turkey are that the terminus of the line is to be at the port of Basra, and that the practical independence of Koweit, the real key of the Persian Gulf, is to be assured. If these conditions are assented to by all concerned, the Baghdad Railway question need no longer cloud international relationships, for all the safeguards Great Britain appears to require will have been duly provided.

The whole question of the object of the Baghdad Railway turns upon the choice of terminus. If its object is innocent and economic, it will stop at Basra; if its purpose is political and veiled, it will seek to run to Koweit. I have so often, here and elsewhere, explained the bearings of this question that the facts need not again be repeated in detail. Basra is the natural port of Mesopotamia, and is approached by a broad waterway which, with certain improvements, will be superior to the approach to Hamburg. It is already a thriving centre of commerce, and has been so for centuries. No projector of a trunk line through Asiatic Turkey would dream of choosing any other terminus if his scheme was based on business principles. So long as the German promoters sought to carry their line across an arid desert to Koweit, we were bound to regard their intentions with profound suspicion, and to oppose it to the utmost. A railway to Koweit might mean at any time the upsetting of British paramountcy in the Persian Gulf, and it would in any case introduce a disturbing factor which we were compelled to deprecate. If, as is now understood, the Baghdad Railway Company agrees to stop at Basra, and not to attempt an extension to Koweit save with British consent—which should never be given—then the scheme can go forward without opposition from London. The coincident arrangement with Turkey regarding Koweit is in the nature of a compromise. Great Britain proposes to recognise the suzerainty

of Turkey over Koweit, and Turkey will engage to respect Koweit's autonomy, will not interfere with the internal affairs of the Sheikh and his subjects, and will recognise the special conventions concluded between the Sheikh and the British Government. I have never believed in the validity of Turkish claims to suzerainty over Koweit, and do not now believe that they could bear examination; but the dispute is obscure and ancient—Lord Lansdowne once inadvertently embarrassed the British case—and the compromise leaves us in a solid position at Koweit. The Sheikh cannot alienate any portion of his territory without British consent, and there are other undertakings which give us all we require.

The Baghdad Railway question, then, is on a path which points to an ultimate settlement upon lines which do not at present appear likely to impair British interests. Through all the dramatic events in the Balkans the negotiations have quietly continued, though little is heard about them. They continue because Turkey wants more money from her customs, and that is a need which remains insistent though Ministries fall and Grand Viziers are assassinated. The construction of the line steadily goes on, even while the peasants of the countryside are drafted off to the battlefield. Sooner or later, as Mr. Balfour once said, the railway is going to be made. When it is completed it will have a great effect upon the future of the Middle East. The British domination of the Persian Gulf will never be quite the same thereafter, trade will find new channels, the Gulf will become an ocean highway, and Turkey, if she does not collapse meanwhile, may play a part in the affairs of the Middle East which absence of rapid communications at present renders impossible.

Before that day arrives we are likely to see very disturbing occurrences in Asia Minor. For years past Europe has been looking with anxiety at Macedonia. It may be predicted with some confidence that the time is near at hand when the Powers will be turning with even greater apprehension towards Armenia. To the popular imagination, the Armenians seem to be a race leading a precarious existence punctuated by massacres. They are something more than that. The more intellectual among the Armenians are awake and eager. They long for the betterment of their position, and are aggrieved that the Turkish Revolution,

which promised so hopefully, has brought them no alleviation of their woes. The Government at Stamboul gives them no efficient protection against the depredations and cruelties of the Kurds. It has made repeated pledges which it was unable to fulfil, doubtless because it was immersed in troubles elsewhere. Meanwhile the Armenians feel that they can wait no longer. They are being tempted to look for help in directions other than the Golden Horn. They have plucked up enough spirit to declare that they will not continue to submit to intermittent butchering. If Turkey will not save them from the Kurds, other nations may; but they are shrewd enough to feel still that their plight may be a choice between whips and scorpions, and many of them would probably prefer to remain under the Turkish flag if they can do so in reasonable security. Ardent spirits among them dream of Armenian independence, but there will be no independence for intermingled subject races in Asia Minor. The Armenians are too scattered for such hopes, and nowhere do they preponderate. The chances are that their destinies will be decided by others. In the Middle East the Armenian question is the problem to watch just now. It may be heard of with startling insistence very soon, and in ways which may not bode well for the future of Turkey.

The position of Turkey in Arabia is another issue of which very little is heard, though it is full of potentialities, and had more to do with the drama fought out on the plains of Thrace than is generally realised. Had not Turkey wasted much strength in long and unsuccessful efforts to quell the rebellions in Yemen and Asir, she might have made a better showing in the days of her great trial. The Turks have never done mighty deeds in Arabia. When the great Wahabi movement in Central Arabia threatened them a century ago, they had to turn to Egypt for help to suppress it. They have never really conquered Yemen, and only their fears for the safety of the Holy Places can have led them recently into dangerous adventures in the uplands of Asir. The central factor in the vague politics of Arabia in the last decade has been the reappearance of the Wahabi dynasty of the Bin Sauds. Their renewed rise is one of the hidden romances of modern times. Forty men, headed by the principal surviving member of the house, captured the city of Riadh less than ten years ago. Then followed fierce fighting with the rival and

usurping family of the Bin Rashida. It is a story of moonlight battles, of raids by clouds of horsemen, of conflicts between warriors in chain armour, of days decided, like Crecy, by the prowess of marksmen with bows and arrows. It has led, within the last few weeks, to the astonishing sequel of the expulsion of the Turks from Eastern Arabia.

Bin Saud has for some years now been master of Central Arabia. He is on good terms with Mubarak of Koweit, who formerly protected him and set him on his feet. He has long dreamed of extending his rule to the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf. The small and ragged garrisons of Turks in El Hasa did not daunt him, but he was restrained, quaintly enough, by nervous fears of the Turkish power at sea. He had no ships, and was afraid that the mouldy old corvettes which fly the Crescent flag in the Persian Gulf might bring an army with the Vali of Baghdad at its head to join issue with him in Arabia. The memory of Midhat Pasha's enterprising cruise of annexation in the seventies was still a potent deterrent. The news of Lule Burgas fired his courage, and in May last he swooped down upon the province of El Hasa and expelled the small groups of dispirited Turkish soldiers which were left. A few Turks were killed, but the majority of the troops were taken away on a British steamer. Bin Saud is now lord of the Gulf shores from the confines of Koweit territory at Musalamiyah Bay to the beginning of the Pirate Coast. He is likely to remain so. Turkey has already consented to abandon her claims to the peninsula of El Katar, which were never admitted by Great Britain. She is not able to disturb Bin Saud in El Hasa just yet, and perhaps may never do so. The Turkish "possessions" in Eastern Arabia were comparatively modern and were never effectively held. Outside one or two oases and small harbours no Turk was safe. The best policy for Turkey now is to establish friendly relations with the Wahabi chieftain. He was on respectful terms with the Sultan a few years ago, and would doubtless be not unwilling to resume intercourse if skilfully approached. It may be added that, so far as is known, he has no hostile feeling towards Great Britain, and would be glad of more definite recognition from us. One can never contemplate Arabian affairs without feeling that the barren spaces of the peninsula may still hold fresh surprises for the world

without. Such a meteoric outpouring as the rise of Islam is not likely to be repeated, but Arabia is a land of strange possibilities. The skill and valour with which Bin Saud has made himself ruler of the greater part of Arabia in the last ten years is a most striking episode, and it has gone almost unwatched, because few people know or care anything about Arabia. If Bin Saud tries to seize Mecca and Medina, as his ancestors did, his prowess will soon become famous. There are no visible signs that he cherishes any such intention at present, but his success, as well as the persistence of the Yemen revolt, suggest that Turkey will be well advised if she confines her activities in Arabia within their present limits.

As we pass from Turkey into Persia, the problems of Ottoman rule still pursue us. The boundaries of Turkey and Persia are imperfectly defined, and when the roving Kurds who are Turkish subjects are not harrying the Armenians they cross into Persian territory and bully the people of the Shah. The Turco-Persian frontier dispute is more than fifty years old. British delegates long ago drew suggested lines of demarcation, but their proposals are forgotten outside the Foreign Office. Last month, at the instance of Great Britain, Turkey agreed to the appointment of a new Turco-Persian Boundary Commission, upon which the two countries directly concerned, as well as Great Britain and Russia, will be represented. One can only hope that the dispute will be adjusted before another fifty years have passed. In view of the proposed British line from the head of the Persian Gulf through Persian territory, a settlement of the strife on the Turco-Persian frontier has become an object of some importance for Great Britain.

Persia herself shows no sign of improvement. Of all the problems of the Middle East, that of Persia is the most complex and the most hopeless. No one can read the Persian Blue Book recently issued by the Foreign Office without feeling that there is little chance of Persia working out her own salvation from within. Yet if she cannot do so, the death of Persian independence must be within a measurable distance, although it is an independence merely compounded of anarchy and weak misrule. Sir Edward Grey has striven hard to stave off the evil day of British intervention in the south.* He has done so, doubtless, because he realises that the dangers of going in will ultimately be even greater

than the danger of staying out. Great Britain has every reason to regard with the utmost dismay the prospect that she may have to take Southern Persia in hand. Our military position in India does not warrant such an extensive adventure. We have too many responsibilities upon our hands already. But we have to face the possibility that if we do not enter Southern Persia others will, and should such a position arise there can be little doubt what the answer of any British Government will be. The experiment of the Swedish Gendarmerie in the south is being watched with patience, but without much hope. Persia as an independent nation is almost dead already. Her rulers have no strength, her mountains and plains are swept by hordes of predatory banditti, her few cities wait a deliverer. Not Russian aggression, not British acquiescence, but the numb incompetence of the Persians themselves is hastening the doom of the Persian monarchy.

The outlook in the Middle East contains few gleams of brightness. The Baghdad Railway should spell progress, but the menace of the Armenian problem may at any moment thrust it into the background once more. Arabia is striking out for herself. If Persia had virility enough to do likewise British statesmen might be easier in their minds.

LOVAT FRASER.

A LITERARY PRINTER

Writing in May 1792 to Lord Sheffield, Mr. Edward Gibbon, then "of Lausanne," appears to have been unusually exercised by the absence of certain information he had been expecting from London. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1788—which only reached him in his Swiss retirement long after date—had appeared "a very curious and civil account of the Gibbon family"; and he desired to correspond with the writer, whose personality was disguised by the initials "N.S."—standing possibly for "no signature." To this end, he had, in the previous February, addressed a courteous communication to the proprietor of the magazine; but up to the time of his letter to Lord Sheffield had received no reply. He therefore begged his friend to "call upon Mr. John Nichols, bookseller and printer, at Cicero's Head, Red-Lion-passage, Fleet-street, and ask him whether he did not, about the beginning of March, receive a very polite letter from Mr. Gibbon of Lausanne?" adding, though not as part of the message, "To which, either as a man of business or a civil Gentleman, he should have returned an answer." Lord Sheffield cannot have acted very promptly on this commission, for it is renewed three months later, and repeated to Gibbon's publisher, Cadell. However, by October, Nichols had apparently shown signs of animation; and all was well "in the best of possible worlds." The writer of the article eventually turned out to be that eccentric baronet and genealogist, Egerton Brydges, whose grandmother was a Gibbon, and who, many years later, published a letter which the historian addressed to him on the subject.*

But Brydges never saw his new-found relative; for Gibbon, shortly after his return to England, died at his lodgings in St. James's Street; and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*

* *Autobiography of Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart.*, 1834, i. 122.

for January 1794, Nichols, then managing that periodical, forthwith printed the "very polite letter" mentioned above. It is notable, in addition to its main purpose, for two things: one being Gibbon's magniloquent characterisation of Nichols as "the last, or one of the last, of the learned Printers;" the other, its suggestion that the interesting literary, historical and miscellaneous papers dispersed through "Mr. Urban's" pages should be detached from their ephemeral context, classified carefully, and re-issued as a separate publication of moderate size.* Something of this Nichols had already done for the Memoirs of his master, Bowyer; something more he did in expanding that work into the invaluable *Literary Anecdotes* and *Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*. These compilations, it is not too much to say, are as indispensable to students of the period they embrace as the D.N.B. or *Notes and Queries* would now be to any one engaged on the history of the last century. How far Nichols was encouraged in his enterprise by Gibbon's hint, upon which he did not act directly, must be matter of conjecture. But in his several capacities of Printer, Antiquary, Editor and Writer, he was long a prominent personality; and, backed by the commendation of the author of the *Decline and Fall*—even if one does not rate that certificate as highly as the author of *Vanity Fair* rated it†—may fairly claim to deserve some passing record.

Like Laureate Whitehead, Nichols was the son of a baker. He was born on the 2nd of February in the eventful '45, at Islington, then a pleasant village detached from London, where there were still green lanes and lingering traces of woodland, and where, from Elizabeth's old hunting lodge of Canonbury Tower, the amateur of altitudes could (as per advertisement) enjoy a "Prospect into five Counties" at once. His school days were spent in the local academy of John Shield, whose earliest scholar was William Hawes, later the founder of the Royal Humane Society, but more memorable to letters as the Strand apothecary who ministered to Goldsmith in his last illness. For eight years

* John Walker's *Selection of Curious Articles from the Gentleman's Magazine*, 1814, 4 vols., partly complies with this proposal. In our day the exhaustive *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, edited by Sir Laurence Gomme (1883–1906), covers wider ground.

† "To have your name mentioned by Gibbon is like having it written on the dome of St. Peter's." (Thackeray's *English Humourists*, 1858, p. 275.)

Nichols was his instructor's favourite pupil; and he was at first intended for the Navy. But the death, in 1751, of Lieutenant Wilmot of the *Bellona*, a connection from whom much was expected, put an end to this project; and in 1757 the boy was apprenticed to William Bowyer, the younger, a well-known printer in Dockwell Court, Whitefriars. Bowyer, who had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was a man of superior attainments, and seems to have very thoroughly carried out his obligations as a master, since, in addition to educating his apprentice as a typographer, he is said to have given him a very fair classical training. And Nichols had, besides, literary proclivities of his own, which, contrary to all precedent, his employer encouraged. He scribbled verse for popular anthologies; sang the praises of his native Islington; and contributed youthful essays to the *Westminster Journal* under the style of "The Cobbler of Alsatia."

What caused writers at this date to masquerade so frequently as "Cobblers" is not now apparent;* but for the locality chosen, there was ample justification. Bowyer's premises in Dockwell, or Dogwell Court, were situated in the very heart of that former "debtors' sanctuary and thieves' paradise," the "Alsatia" of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*. We have it moreover on Nichols's own authority that his master's printing-office had actually been the "George Tavern" of Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia;* and consequently the favoured rendezvous of its "Soldadoes and Fooladoes"—its Scrapealls and Cheatlys and Captain Hackums.† But with William of Orange the unblessed privileges of the place had passed away; and under the third George but little of "bombard-phrase," buff-belts, and rusty rapiers could have haunted the patient compositors at Whitefriars, blinking curiously over the crabbed texts of Buxtorf and Hedericus. The chief event of these early days, as regards Nichols, was a fruitless mission to Cambridge, on his employer's behalf, to secure the University printing—an office which that learned body, no doubt wisely, elected to retain in its own hands. But his want of success did not diminish his favour with Bowyer; and, young

* Robert Lloyd wrote in the *St. James's Magazine* in 1763 as "The Cobbler of Tissington"; Colman, as "The Cobbler of Cripplegate."

† It is now "part of the establishment" of Messrs. Bradbury, Agnew and Co. (*London Past and Present*, by H. B. Wheatley, 1891, iii. 504.)

as he was, Nichols was rapidly acquiring a reputation for ability. Already he was a freeman of London, and a Liveryman of the Company of Stationers; and in 1764, when he was twenty, Bowyer took him formally into partnership. Three years later they moved from Dockwell Court, where Bowyer had been born and had lived for nearly sixty-seven years, to Gibbon's Red Lion-passage, on the north side of Fleet Street, a little to the east of Fetter Lane. Over the lintel they erected a bust of Cicero, bearing, in reference to Johann Fust's early editions of *Tully's Offices*, the inscription—"*M. T. Cicero, a quo primordia preli.*"

By this time, however, Bowyer had grown old and infirm. But the unwearied "Architectus Verborum"—as he styled himself professionally—persisted, almost to the end, in correcting personally the Greek texts he printed; and his last effort was a fresh edition of a work which he had always admired, Bentley's *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, duly equipped and augmented by marginalia collected from Warburton, Lowth, Clarke, and others. This was published in 1777. In the same year, Bowyer died; and was buried at Low Leyton in Essex. Nichols, one of his executors, at this date two-and-thirty, came into part of his personal estate, and succeeded to the business. He was a widower; but was soon to marry again. He had also adventured seriously in letters. One of his earliest enterprises was the annotating with Bowyer in 1774 of two Essays on the *Origin of Printing;* and he had himself edited some supplementary volumes of Swift, besides being responsible for an edition of the miscellaneous writings in verse and prose of William King, that jovial and jocular judge of the Irish High Court of Admiralty who figures in Johnson's *Lives* (between Duke and Sprat!) as the author of an Horatian *Art of Cookery*. In both these efforts Nichols had been materially assisted by Isaac Reed, the Staples-Inn solicitor, one of those enigmatical personages who would help any one, but "rather stand in the pillory than put his name to a book." What, however, must be regarded as Nichols' true beginning was the *Brief Memoirs of Mr. Bowyer*, a pamphlet of fifty-two pages which, in 1778, was circulated privately among a few of his master's old friends. With this in reality originated the long series of biographical, bibliographical and anecdotical publications mainly associated with his name, and for which his

s are still in request. In spite of Gibbon's laudation, he
carcely, like Bowyer, a scholar. "He never (he himself
s) affected to possess any superior share of erudition, or
profoundly versed in the learned languages; content, if
n and intelligible terms, either in conversation or in writing,
ld contribute his quota of information or entertainment." *
is modest estimate should be added that he was untiring
iosity, and indefatigable in the assembling of material of
ts. He had, moreover, the invaluable faculty of attracting
is archæological and antiquarian projects a number of
urs and learned volunteers of the Reed type whose activities
im continually supplied with relays of gratuitous informa-

e of the first results of the welcome accorded to the Bowyer
of 1778 was a sixpenny pamphlet, issued in 1781, under
tle *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; and a
que of his Works chronologically arranged; with occasional
ks*. Hogarth had died as far back as 1764; but nothing of
ritical importance had been written about him until, in
er 1780, Horace Walpole at last issued his long-withheld
volume of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, in which he gave
account of the artist, as well as a list of his engravings,
chiefly on the Strawberry Hill collection. Walpole's book
e effect of creating what would now be called a "boom"
garth prints; and Nichols—who had contemplated some
nention of Hogarth in the extended biography of Bowyer
he had then at press—seized the opportunity of turning his
notes into a separate work, in which task he was largely
by Reed and others. Foremost of these latter was that
rly captious critic, George Steevens, the Shakespeare
ntator, who was also a Hogarth collector; and who, from
ue copy of Nichols's pamphlet, which is preserved at the
n Museum, seems to have aided his associate by insidiously
lating, among other things, some exceedingly "severe
ions" on his Twickenham rival. These, however, were
ately modified before publication; and, in a subsequent
f the *Anecdotes of Painting*, Walpole frankly acknowledged
Nichols's researches were much more accurate and satis-

* *Literary Anecdotes*, etc., 1812, vi. 630.

factory than his own, and that they omitted nothing "a Collector would wish to know; either with regard to the history of the Painter himself, or to the circumstances, different editions, and variations of his Prints." He added, as in duty bound, that he had completed his list of Hogarth's works from Nichols.

This utterance belongs to 1786; and, before that date, Nichols had expanded his slender tract of 1781 into a thick three-shilling book, which by 1785 * had grown to more than five hundred pages. Twenty years later (1808–10), and some time after Steevens's death, this had increased once more to two portly quarto volumes, entitled at large: *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes, a Chronological Catalogue, and a Commentary*, by John Nichols and the late George Steevens. To these, in 1817, was added a third; and the three volumes constitute the mine from which modern biographical accounts of Hogarth have mainly been quarried. Recent research has rectified minor errors of fact; and fuller knowledge has come to recognise, not too soon, a side of the artist's genius, which his contemporaries, hoodwinked by the clamorous picture-dealers and connoisseurs, were content to ignore, namely—his extraordinary merits as a painter; but it is nevertheless from Nichols and Steevens that we derive most of our general information respecting him. And it is clear that a large proportion of this information is directly attributable to Steevens, who, whenever he could restrain his ingrained tendency to malevolent aspersion—a tendency favoured by his ambush of anonymity †—was without doubt a highly-instructed interpreter of the "graphic representations" which Charles Lamb rightly ranked, for their "teeming, fruitful,

* The writer possesses the actual copy of the intermediate, or second edition of 1782 prepared by Nichols for the edition of 1785. At the beginning is pasted a slip inscribed: "This Vol. belongs to Mr. Nichols, Printer, Red Lion-passage, Fleet-street. G. S. [i.e. George Steevens]." In a note to the *Literary Anecdotes*, 1812, vi. 632, Nichols admits that he was "indebted for nearly every critique" on Hogarth's plates to Steevens, who, he adds, wrote the "Prefaces" to the second and third editions. This is confirmed by the copy above described, in which the introductory "Memorandum," although initialed "J. N. Nov. 10, 1785," is wholly in Steevens's handwriting—further evidence of which is frequent in the succeeding pages. Steevens also made numerous corrections before his death, with a view to a fresh edition.

† In the *Genuine Works*, Nichols took the precaution of indicating, by notes or quotation marks, most of his collaborator's more mischievous contributions.

suggestive meaning," rather with books than pictures. "Other pictures we look at—his [Hogarth's] prints we read."

It is excusable to linger on the *Anecdotes of Hogarth*, because too little importance has hitherto been attached to their position and value in the Nichols bibliography. Usually priority is given to the *Memoirs of Bowyer*, really published a year later—since the first tentative issue of 1778 cannot be said to have been published at all, and the Hogarth book had its origin and being while the *Memoirs of Bowyer*, which took four years to print before it appeared in 1782, was still on the stocks. Bowyer was undoubtedly a notable man; and perhaps, even more than his "apprentice, partner and successor" (these are Nichols' words on his title-page), deserves the praise of Gibbon as "the last, or one of the last, of the learned printers." He had, as we have seen, received a University education, by which he profited; and at Cambridge he made many learned friends, who remained his friends through life. When, in 1722, he became his father's partner, he at once took charge of the literary and critical department, almost immediately earning the approbation of that heavily erudite typographical antiquary Michael Maittaire, for whom he afterwards set up those metrical *Senilia*, of which Johnson could be persuaded to say no more than that they made Carteret a dactyl. Bowyer grew interested in philology and archæology; and books bearing his imprint speedily obtained a definite reputation, equal only to that of his contemporaries, Baskerville and the two Foulises. Moreover, he was a close critic of texts, a commentator, and (like Richardson after him) a diligent compiler of Prefaces, Indexes, and "honest Dedications." To such works as Wilkins's *Selden* and the *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* he rendered substantial aid; he helped much in the dictionaries of Littleton, Schrevelius, Buxtorf and Hederich; introduced an English version of Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, and was one of the many correctors of Conyers Middleton's *Life of Cicero*. Numismatology was also among his hobbies; and he supplemented the labours in this direction of his old college friend, William Clarke. His most enduring work was his *Critical Conjectures on the New Testament;* his last has been already mentioned. He is an excellent example of the old, unhasting, unresting craftsman and bookman, laborious, assiduous, con-

scientious, dying placidly at last, after a long life, with honour and troops of friends. James Basire engraved a capital portrait of him at seventy-eight—a lean, learned face, looking out of a symmetrical cauliflower wig—with steady eyes, hooked nose, and precise, close-pressed lips. There is also a bust of him in Stationers' Hall.

His career, it is true, was not eventful; and, in his partner's *Memoirs*, the "troops of friends" bear about the same proportion to the life-story as the notes of the biographer to the text. Indeed it would require a Mathias or a Warton or an Isaac d'Israeli to defend the extraordinary liberality of the Nichols scheme of annotation. Often a single line at the head of a quarto page is followed by a note of more than forty in small type, frequently extending over-leaf, and not seldom annotated in its turn. Now and then the page is all note. And there is something in the contention of Walpole, who, commending Nichols for accuracy, observes that he calls too many people "great." "I have known several of his heroes (says Horace) who were very *little* men." Indeed, for not a few of Bowyer's more illustrious contemporaries—for Goldsmith, for Gray, for Smollett, for Sterne—one must be content to seek in vain. You may look for them, as Lien-Chi-Altangi, in the *Citizen of the World*, looked for the *sommités littéraires:* they are not distinguishable, because they are not present. Richardson, a brother-printer, has, to be sure, a longish passage, obscurely assigned, for its main substance, to "the writer of the verses annexed to the fourth edition of *Clarissa*." It contains little but what are now familiar facts, of which the only one relevant is that Bowyer printed the first volume of the Abbé Prévost's paraphrase of *Pamela*. A second note deals at length with the iniquitous doings of Messieurs Exshaw, Wilson and Saunders, the "Irish Rapparees" who "invaded" Richardson's property by piratically anticipating the authorised publication at Dublin of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Hogarth, we know, had already been withdrawn from Nichols' pages for special and separate treatment, and figures only in a note to Dr. Trusler's moralising of him, which Bowyer printed. Fielding is mentioned, merely to contrast his reference to Zachary Grey's *Hudibras* in the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* with Warburton's extraordinary abuse of a work to which he himself had contributed, but subsequently described,

after his fashion, as—in regard to its notes—"an execrable heap of nonsense." Of this judgment Nichols not unreasonably observes that if the notes at times treat of insignificant books, the books in question require to be referred to, since they are mentioned by the author annotated—a defence, by the way, which might be advanced in many similar cases where notes are too hastily condemned as otiose. Johnson's notice of Cave in the *Gentleman's Magazine* supplies a two-page comment. This, however, is all we have of Johnson, whom Nichols admired enthusiastically, and whose *Lives of the Poets* he printed. But, if Leviathan be absent, of the lesser fry there is no lack. You shall find something of Fielding's "Parson Adams," William Young, concerning whom—to use a happy expression employed by the great Dictionary-maker—it may be said that he had abilities which he possessed rather than exerted; of Robert Lloyd, who comes in the same category, and whose lamentable career has already been summarised in these pages; of the Formosan fraud, George Psalmanazar; of the curious antiquary and book-collector John Bagford, whose letters with their bad spelling and good matter are still to be seen at the British Museum; of impostors such as Bower and Lauder; of divines as diverse as Dodd and Delany; of pressmen like Bowyer's connection, Ichabod Dawks, and Dyer of the news-letters—the "*Dawksque Dyerque*" of that elegant Latinist, Mr. Edmund or "Rag" Smith of Christ Church, Oxford; of Ducarel and Peake and Lort, antiquaries; of Frances Brooke, who wrote *Lady Julia Mandeville;* of Shenstone and Mason, and Melmoth and Spence, and Churchill and Armstrong, and Jago and Keate, and some hundreds of others whom to recapitulate would

eclipse
That tedious Tale of HOMER's Ships,

and achieve a Catalogue without the compensating advantages of an Index. To-day Bowyer's *Memoirs* is a book of reference rather than a book to be read, though read in its own time it undoubtedly was. Walpole's testimony has already been heard; and Johnson, writing late in life to its author that he had been enjoying it at Ashbourne, describes it as "full of contemporary history," while in an earlier letter, despatched from "Brighthelmston" in the year of its publication, he tells him how much he has been informed

and gratified. And then he goes on to say he wishes Nichols would complete the labours of that eccentric antiquary, Dr. Richard Rawlinson,* who, up to his death, had collected considerable material in continuation of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* of Anthony à Wood.

It was part of Nichols's nature to develop and expand a successful idea; and the connection which in 1778 he had formed with the popular *Gentleman's Magazine*, founded by Cave, greatly enlarged his opportunities for obtaining and securing the particular waif and stray of literary history in which his soul delighted. By 1812 his accumulated information had grown to six volumes, which he issued in that year under the title of *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. Bowyer's *Memoirs* was still the professed kernel of the series, which the title-page further defined as "comprizing . . . an incidental view of the progress and advancement of literature in this Kingdom during the last century; and biographical anecdotes of a considerable number of eminent writers and ingenious artists." Three supplementary volumes contained an index and additions. Yet even this collection did not exhaust its compiler's energy, or material. Between 1817 and 1831 appeared six more volumes of *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*. Two of these were posthumous; and two more were added in 1848 and 1858 by his son, John Bowyer Nichols. The *Illustrations* include many of Nichols's own letters; but they are scarcely as interesting as the *Anecdotes*. The format of both, however, makes them more easy to consult than the *Memoirs of Bowyer*, while their arrangement more nearly coincides with the convenient progression of a work of reference. And whatever their defects may be, they abound in those "biographical incidents" or "minute passages of private life" which Johnson defined as "anecdotes," and which, in this sense, he told Boswell he loved. Whether, could he have studied his famous biography, he would have entirely approved his listener's remorseless reading of this admission, as applied to his own presentment, may be

* Dr. R.—according to Nichols—was the perfervid nonjuror who, having been induced to believe that a head blown off a spike on Temple Bar had belonged to the ill-fated Jacobite, Counsellor Christopher Layer, directed himself to be buried with that misleading memento in his right hand. But this direction, says the D.N.B., was not carried out.

doubted; but there must still be many who, with him, relish anecdote in its restrained and regulated form.

The development of the *Memoirs of Bowyer* has led us far beyond the date of the first appearance of that book in 1782; and the intermediate record of Nichols's activity, both as a printer and antiquary, is closely packed. With the works which he merely printed, we can have little here to do. Neither need we linger on such topographical efforts as the histories of Hinckley and Canonbury, nor on the eight folio volumes which, between 1795 and 1815, he devoted to the county of Leicester, and regarded as his "most durable monument." It is rather with his labours as a registrar or interpreter of the literary history of his time that we must deal. Foremost of these come the eight volumes of *Select Miscellaneous Poems*, with which, in 1780–1782, he supplemented the collections of Dodsley and Pearch, and Johnson's *Poets*, and which, we are told,* contain not a single piece that had previously been printed by their predecessors. In this work he was assisted by Lowth, Percy, and Pope's editor, Thomas Warton. Another important production was the *Epistolary Correspondence* of Francis Atterbury, 1783–7, which—despite its unscientific arrangement, and the fact that the original letters, now in the Chapter Library at Westminster, have since been reprinted—remains (in its latest form of 1799) an invaluable store of trustworthy information, deserving, in the words of Canon Beeching, the Bishop's latest and best biographer, the "most ample acknowledgment of obligation." Nichols also added several hundred lives to the second edition of the *Biographical Dictionary*, undertaken with Dr. Ralph Heathcote; aided in and prefaced the six-volume *Tatler* that Calder built out of Percy's material; edited Steele's *Letters*, and some of his minor efforts—the *Theatre Fish-Pool*, *Town-Talk* and so forth; and was, finally, responsible for a volume of the works of Leonard Welsted, intended to relieve that luckless verseman and translator of Longinus from Pope's malicious "Flow, *Welsted*, flow, like thine inspirer Beer," an apparently unwarranted aspersion, though Welsted had unhappily begun the quarrel. But the enterprise with which, from 1778 onward, Nichols was most persistently and profitably occupied—an enterprise that, in fact, helped him as much as he helped it—

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1790, pp. 96–98.

was the famous omnium gatherum known as the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

In 1778, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, once fondly described by Johnson as "a periodical pamphlet, of which the scheme is known wherever the English language is spoken," was more than forty-seven years old. Since Edward Cave, in January 1731, had first set up his presses in the quaint turreted building at Clerkenwell, formerly the entrance to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, the *Gentleman's Magazine* had gradually grown to be an established institution, penetrating to the remotest corners of the three kingdoms, flourishing in the face of opposition, improving notwithstanding its prosperity, and victoriously holding its own against a host of envious imitators and competitors. *London* and *Universal*, *Scot's* and *European*—none of these or their congeners had any vogue at all corresponding to that of the blue-covered periodical which made its appearance regularly at the end of each month, with a representation of the old Gatehouse on its first page. The rude type-metal cut still shows the side-door opening into Cave's offices, and the window of the great room over the archway where (according to tradition) Garrick made his debut in Fielding's *Mock Doctor*. In its earliest form the *Gentleman's Magazine* bore the sub-title of *Monthly Intelligencer*; and the putative "author" was announced as "Sylvanus Urban, Gent," a compound *nom de guerre* of itself happy enough to absolve its begetter from any imputation of sluggish invention. The initial purpose was simply to give "Monthly a View of all the Pieces of Wit, Humour, or Intelligence daily offer'd to the Publick" in the swarming news-sheets of which, even at this date, there were in London alone no fewer than two hundred; to add to these things "Select Pieces of POETRY,"* "*Transactions*

* The specimens chosen for the first number led off with the *New-Year's Day Ode* of the recently appointed laureate, "C. Cibber, Esq;" This is followed by an Ode to the same dignitary by Queen Caroline's thresher-poet, "Stephen Duck, Esq;" according to whom—

> "*Phœbus* with jöy looks *Britain* round to see
> The happy state of his lov'd poetry"—

as evidenced by the glorious elevation of that "great prince of comedy and song," Eusden's successor. Other tributes are more impartial, if not so flattering. Some of the remaining "metrifications" consist of epitaphs on the actress, Ann Oldfield (a famous impersonator of Cibber's "Lady Betty Modish"), who, "alive with Peers

and *Events*, Foreign and Domestick," Births, Deaths and Marriages, etc., "Prices of *Goods* and *Stock*," "Bill of *Mortality*," "A Register of Books," and "Observations in *Gardening*." Subject to the inevitable modifications arising out of expansion and experience, and the greater originality born of confidence, this continued to be the staple matter of the Magazine, since the "Preface" (by Johnson) to the Index for the first fifty-six volumes, while dwelling on the growth of the antiquarian element in the text, lays stress on the permanent value of the Historical Chronicle, and the records of Books and Pamphlets, especially—as regards the latter—for the period antecedent to the advent [in 1749] of the *Monthly Review* of Ralph Griffiths. Many of the numbers reached five or six editions; and, according to Johnson, the sale in Cave's day was ten thousand copies. This must have been a very moderate or a very early estimate, as a far larger circulation appears to have been attained by some of Cave's "invaders." * Nor can they all have perished prematurely. The *London Magazine*, for instance, survived until 1785, and the *Universal Magazine* until 1803.

With one exception, no collaborator of distinction was at the outset associated with Cave in his long-planned, but hazardous venture. Among the early contributors mentioned by Sir John Hawkins, the most notorious is Samuel Boyse, author of *The Deity*, a poem Fielding praised in the *Champion* and quoted in *Tom Jones*. Boyse is the typical "distressed poet" of the period, "*impransus*" and improvident—subsisting precariously between the pawnshop and the sponging-house. When he was starving, he declined to eat his beef without ketchup; and he would lay out his

with Monarchs n her Grave," as Bramston sings, had, not long before, been magnificently interred in Westminster Abbey—a strange contrast to her gifted French contemporary, Adrienne Lecouvreur, who, early in the same year, 1730, had only found unchristian burial in the Grenouillère, an obscure corner on the south bank of the Seine.

* Hill's *Boswell*, 1887, iii. 322. Johnson perhaps meant that ten thousand copies made an edition, although his statement receives confirmation in the verses of an Oxford Correspondent prefixed to vol. vi. (1736):

"Happy in this, that while his Rivals fall,
Ten Thousand Monthly for his Labours call."

It is difficult to ascertain the exact circulation of these old periodicals. In the last quarter of the century the *Town and Country* was said to be selling at the rate of 15,000 copies per month; the *Lady's*, 16,000.

last half-guinea on truffles and mushrooms, which, for want of clothes, he ate in bed.* Another was the Clerkenwell "pen-cutter," Moses Browne, author of *Piscatory Eclogues*, later to become the pioneer editor of Walton's *Angler*, and Vicar of Olney, where he had John Newton to his curate. A third was John Duick, also a "pen-cutter," † who, in the intervals of composing prize-poems for his proprietor, played shuttlecock with him for the good of his health. Hawkins mentions several more names, among which may be cited Akenside; Savage, whose "Volunteer Laureate" Cave printed; Lockman, afterwards the "Herring Poet" of Hogarth's *Beer Street;* and "Robert Luck, A.M.," Gay's Barnstaple schoolmaster. But the illustrious exception above referred to is Johnson, of whom we first hear in connection with the fifty-pound prize offered by "Mr. Urban" in July 1734, for a poem on the comprehensive theme of *Life*, *Death*, *Judgment*, *Heaven*, *and Hell*. In the November following Johnson wrote to Cave from Birmingham, under the pseudonym of "S. Smith," ‡ offering "sometimes to fill a column" with verse or criticism. That Cave replied is known; but not what he said—though it is quite possible that Johnson's proposal to do away with "low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party" (some of which things had already been laid at "Mr. Urban's" door) may not have been entirely palatable even to "a man of slow parts." Three years later, however, Johnson contributed to the magazine the fine ode *Ad Urbanum* beginning

> URBANE, *nullis fesse laboribus,*
> URBANE, *nullis victe calumniis*—

which, besides other felicities, includes, for its penultimate stanza—

> *Non ulla Musis pagina gratior,*
> *Quam quæ severis ludicra jungere*
> *Novit, fatigatamque nugis*
> *Utilibus recreare mentem*—

* Piozzi, *Anecdotes*, 1826, p. 92.

† Two of this obsolete calling invite a note. But Johnson, who knew Browne, gives it no place in his Dictionary. There is only one illustration of the word in the O.E.D., and it is but vaguely defined elsewhere.

‡ This must have been one of Johnson's earliest letters. It was sold at Christie's in June 1888, for three guineas. What would be its price now?

surely the best of all mottoes for a popular miscellany! Cave, who was a Rugby boy, must have appreciated the scholarly compliment, for the verses appeared in the *Gentleman's* for March 1738; and henceforth, says Boswell, that magazine was, during many years, Johnson's "principal source for employment and support." His work was of all sorts, and frequently editorial; but for a considerable time his best ascertained duties were the reporting, under the heading of "The Senate of Lilliput," of the debates in Parliament. Johnson was at first employed simply to revise the rough records brought home from memory by one of Ralph's "Authors by Profession," a certain Guthrie, with whom this matter had previously rested; but as Johnson "more and more enriched" the speeches in re-casting them, the task at last fell wholly into his hands, and for some three years he was their "sole composer." After him, they were continued by Hawkesworth and others, and, in this form, finally faded out altogether in 1746. In the Preface of 1747 they are described as belonging to a time when "a determined spirit of opposition in the national assemblies communicated itself to almost every individual, multiplied and invigorated periodical papers, and rendered politics the chief, if not the only, object of curiosity"—to which Dr. Birkbeck Hill adds that "they are a monument to the greatness of Walpole, and to the genius of Johnson." During the same period Johnson wrote several admirable short biographies, *e.g.* of Father Sarpi (whose history of the Council of Trent he had begun to translate), of Boerhaave, Drake, Sydenham, Roscommon and Savage, besides numerous miscellaneous papers, some acknowledged, others assigned to him on internal evidence. Among the latter are included Prefaces to separate volumes, more than one of which deal trenchantly with the manners and methods of "Mr. Urban's" unscrupulous rivals.*

In January 1754 Cave died; and Johnson, then hard at work on the *Dictionary*, wrote an obituary notice in the February number of the magazine, to which was prefixed the well-known etching of Worlidge after Kyte's portrait. By this time the *Gentleman's* had entered on its twenty-fourth volume; and was still regarded as "one of the most successful and lucrative pamphlets which literary history has upon record." The last

* See especially volumes for 1738 and 1739.

assertion is indirectly confirmed by the inscription on the monument erected to him in Rugby churchyard, which states that it brought him "an ample Fortune." At Cave's death the magazine passed into the hands of David Henry, a young printer who had married his sister; and Henry, in conjunction with Cave's nephew, Richard Cave, carried on the business. Johnson continued to assist; and fresh contributors were found in Christopher Smart, Dr. James of the Fever Powders, Hill of the *Inspector*, John Newbery, "the philanthropic bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard" (as Goldsmith calls him), while to its bare list of books the magazine began to superadd reviews. When, in 1766, Richard Cave died, Francis Newbery's name appeared on the title-page; and twelve years later, after Henry had transferred his printing work to an agent, John Nichols became associated in the management. From this date until a short time before his death in 1826 Nichols virtually acted as editor, taking the keenest interest in the fortunes and development of the concern, and contributing regularly on all topics, either over his initials or a pseudonym. Cave, Johnson said, "never looked out of his window, but with a view to the *Gentleman's Magazine*"; and in this kind of vigilance Nichols was his worthy successor, besides being far more of an "editor," as that term is now understood. Of course he depended largely upon an ever-increasing staff of correspondents,* and it is quite conceivable that his material was not always of permanent value; but there is no doubt that to his unwearied assiduity in collecting and selecting it is due that the *Gentleman's Magazine* acquired the reputation it enjoyed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century of being the most trustworthy existing repertory of current Literature, Science, Topography, Antiquities and Biography—the last three especially. Its value in these respects was considerably increased by the "General Index" to the first fifty-six volumes, compiled in 1789 by the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, Assistant Librarian of the British Museum. To this was prefixed a preface prepared by Johnson for an earlier occasion. More than thirty years later a further Index, carrying the record to 1818, was published; when Nichols, being then seventy-six, contributed a leisurely intro-

* Cowper's delightful description of his three hares, Puss, Tiney and Bess, appeared in the *Gentleman's* for June 1784, and the epitaph on Tiney followed in December.

duction describing the rise and progress of the magazine, and embodying many discursive details bearing on its history. In a longer paper, some of these might find a place. But we may refer to two. One is the curious admission contained in a correspondence between Richardson and Cave regarding Johnson's *Rambler* (which Cave printed) that neither of those lettered worthies, on their own showing, had ever read more than a few numbers of the *Spectator;* the other involves the disclosure of Nichols himself as a verseman. In the volume for 1784—anticipating Mr. Toots, and taking on him a becoming *superbia quæsita meritis*—he addressed the following sonnet to himself:

URBAN, thy skill matur'd by mellowing Time,
 Thy pleasing toil, thy well-conducted page,
Through Britain's Realms, and many a Foreign Clime,
 Have charm'd the last, and charm the present age.
Unnumber'd Rivals, urg'd by thy renown,
 To match thy useful labours oft have tried;
In vain they tried; unnotic'd and unknown,
 In cold Oblivion's shade they sunk, and died.
Chear'd by the fostering beams of public praise,
 Continue still "to profit and delight";
Whilst Learning all her ample store displays,
 Her "varying" charms at thy command "unite."
Hence future Hawkesworths, Wartons, Grays may sing,
Where virtuous JOHNSON plum'd his eagle wing.

That this unlocking of its writer's heart is more than respectable can scarcely be claimed. But it is noteworthy on other grounds. Besides preserving the mottoes of the magazine, *Prodesse et delectare* and *E pluribus unum*, it is interesting from the fact that Nichols submitted it to Johnson at his last interview with him. His old friend, among other farewell injunctions, adjured him, as he had adjured Reynolds, not to work on Sunday. "Remember to observe the Sabbath," he said; "let it not be a day of business, nor wholly a day of dissipation"; and he added that his words should have their due weight as they were "those of a dying man." *

After the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of which the later story belongs to our own days,† there is not much more to say of

* General Index to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1821, iii., lxiii., n. In the magazine the sonnet is followed by a reprint of Johnson's ode *Ad Urbanum*.

† It only came to an end in the present century.

Nichols as a *littérateur*. *Fessus nullis laboribus*—like his predecessor, he continued to exert his praiseworthy activities, reaping in due time the reward of the diligent, and becoming successively Common Councillor, Deputy of his Ward, Master of the Stationers' Company, Registrar of the Royal Literary Fund, Governor of this or that charity—and so forth. Not the least of his distinctions, perhaps, was that he belonged to Johnson's last club at the Essex Head. He had his losses; and, in 180[illegible] he suffered heavily by a fire, which destroyed the bulk of his stock. But he outlived this calamity more than eighteen years, to die suddenly in his house at Highbury Place on November 2[illegible] 1826, leaving an irreproachable record for integrity and industry and the reputation of having successfully contributed by "his pleasing toil" and "well-conducted page" to the instruction and gratification of many thousands of his contemporaries.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

ON THE SALÈVE

At Geneva one is impressed not only by the dark-blue wall of the Jura on the north-west, but by those grey bastions of the Grande and Petite Salève to the south-east, which bound the opposite side of the wide valley watered by the Arve and Rhone. There comes a time when that blue wall of Jura stands up in raiment of gold, and at that hour not infrequently beneath the witchery of sunset the whole barrier of the Salève blushes into pink and rose.

But it is neither for colour nor form that the Salève so haunts us as for the fact that the strange upland ridge enshrines the memories and work of great men. Lamartine, as he toiled up the Pas de l'Echelle from Veyrier, sang of the glory of the ascent, and at Bossex beneath the grey bastions in a little cottage, now but a barn for cattle's provender, was, so Browning sings, born the soul of Jean Jacques Rousseau—

> In that squalid Bossex, under that obscene red roof, arose
> Like a fiery serpent from its egg a soul—Rousseau's;

and few poets have ever described to us the glory of the vision revealed in the ascent to the upmost plateau of Salève by the Grande Gorge, between Bossex and Collonges as Browning in his poem "La Saisiaz":

> Every side my glance was bent
> O'er the grandeur and the beauty lavished through the whole ascent
> Ledge by ledge, out broke new marvels, now minute and now immense;
> Earth's most exquisite disclosure, heaven's own God in evidence!

Browning, who after six weeks' sojourn under those magnificent grey walls in 1877 left beneath their sheltering care for ever the ashes of his friend the "Dear and True," whom he has immortalised in that same poem.

But other names and memories there are which cluster roun the Salève. At the heart of the quiet little village of Mornex stands on its garden terrace the simple barrel-roofed single room with tiny balcony, called to-day "Pavilion Wagner," wherefrom the musician in the autumn of 1856, saw the veils of rain sweep up across the plain of Arve and wove the vision of the spirits of the storm to the wondrous music of his Valkyrie. Therein at a later time in 1863–4 Ruskin worked at his "Munera Pulveris" and in the pauses of his labour astonished the villagers by his hard work with spade and wheelbarrow in the garden plot hard by.

It was Whit-Monday, and I determined to visit the hamlet of La Saisiaz, where the sudden death of Browning's friend and companion, Eliza Egerton Smith, on September 14, 1877 inspired the poem which deals with death, the soul, and the life beyond.

The Judas tree was in full flower at La Veyrier; nightingales were singing in the lilac bushes hard by, and cuckoos were calling to their mates when I took train, crowded with happy holiday-makers escaped from Geneva town, and was swiftly borne over a land of corn and wine by Bossex with its picturesque church along under the great rampart wall of Salève to the three cross roads where the train stops and the people sit down beneath the shadowy plane-trees and the hop-grown trellis to take their coffee or eat their bread and wine before they wander up into the garden village of Collonges. I was struck by the happy-go-lucky way with which in picturesque confusion the village had been planned —each house secure within its garden plot, fragrant with lilac, and each in hottest summer made cool by shade and sound of running water.

Close by the unpretentious church and spire was the washing tank of the village, and just beyond a lane led to the left towards the village cemetery. There in perfect quiet, fenced round by a low wall and surrounded by vineyards, a crazy iron gateway gave entrance to a tiny square plot of ground quite insufficient to our English notions for village burial purposes. But here, as elsewhere, people have no scruple about using the same burial-ground time after time, and the result is that there is a look of strange disorder and fearful carelessness, made still more hideous

by vast uprearing of bead-wreaths and rusty wire, of tattered ribbons and faded flowers, of weeds, and kecks innumerable, which must distress all who are used to the reverent care and comeliness of an English churchyard. This sense of distress was increased by the ashes of a hideous holocaust of half-burnt wreaths which filled the corner of waste roadside ground beside the entrance gate.

I remembered how Browning had described this cemetery:

> Therefore, paying piteous duty, what seemed You have we consigned
> Peacefully to—what I think were, of all earth-beds, to your mind
> Most the choice for quiet, yonder: low walls stop the vines approach
> Lovingly Salève protects you; village sports will ne'er encroach
> On the stranger lady's silence, whom friends bore so kind and well
> Thither "just for love's sake"—such their own word was.

I remembered, too, how in the prefatory verse to that poem Browning had written:

> Waft of soul's wing!
> What lies above?
> Sunshine and love,
> Skyblue and spring!
> Body hides—where?
> Ferns of all feather,
> Mosses and heather,
> Yours be the care!—

and somehow or other I had hoped that the love for the English lady, who so suddenly passed from the village six-and-thirty years ago, would still have guarded her resting-place, even if friends in England had apparently forgotten it.

But I was disappointed. There in the south-west angle of the little walled space an unadorned round-headed slab of marble clamped to the stuccoed wall barely recorded the death of the loved one who so charmed the poet with her wit and her music. "Sacred," so ran almost in mockery the words,

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF ANNE ELIZA EGERTON SMITH,
SECOND DAUGHTER OF THE LATE EGERTON SMITH, ESQ.,
OF LIVERPOOL.
DIED AT LA SAISIAZ
14 SEPTEMBER 1877.

Where were the

> Ferns of all feather
> Mosses and heather,

to whose tender care the poet had consigned his dear friend's ashes? They were non-existent, and in their place was rankest grass. Not even a dandelion flower to give cheer was occupant of the grave space.

I came back to the village and asked of several people whether any memory remained of the English lady who had died suddenly at La Saisiaz and had been buried at Collonges. There was none, but *there* was La Saisiaz, a mile out of the village beneath the Salève with several houses, one of which might, perchance, have been her home.

I wandered on to La Saisiaz leaving the boys at their sport as Browning had probably seen them, outside the little inn—sport of quoits and skittles. I passed the poplar trees and the Madonna shrine and out into the open country till I reached a roadside *café*, and there, where three roads met, I took the right-hand one, and so found La Saisiaz. I made enquiry fruitlessly for the house with the terrace garden, close beneath the Grande Salève and somewhere near a sounding mountain stream, and I looked for "the level path" that on the eventful day let Browning "drink the morning deep and slow." I looked, too, for "the little quarry—ravage recompensed by shrub and fern," but in vain.

It was worth while, however, to have gone upon my fruitless quest if only to recognise with what unerring eye Browning had depicted the scene from that vantage-ground, "The blue lake's wrinkle marking the river's inrush pale," the "mazy Arve," the "city's congregated peace of homes and pomp of spires."

Yet the poet had been at fault, for he spoke of vessels "sliding white and plain" upon the said "mazy Arve," while as a matter of fact the rush of water is so great that boats do not ply upon it.*

* I learned afterwards from the Mayor of Collonges that the house which remains unchanged from the time it was occupied by Miss Egerton Smith stands higher up than I was led to believe, under the bastion wall of the Salève. That the village still remembers her tragically sudden death and feels honoured by its connection with her memory embalmed in Browning's poem.

The minute description that Browning had given of his climb up to the heights of Salève after the six weeks' sojourn at its base, when he

> Climbed or paused from climbing, now o'er—branched by shrub and tree,
> Now built round by rock and boulder, now at just a turn set free,
> Stationed face to face with—Nature? rather with Infinitude,

made one make enquiry as to the probable walk he meant to take with his friend and companion, and at the last, for her sake, the day after her funeral, took unaccompanied and alone. I have no doubt that he went up by the rough pathway through the Grande Gorge. The path has been much improved since his day, but it still takes a slow walker two hours of steady upward climb. There is a shorter path from Collonges to-day, called the Sentier Orjobet, but it was not made in Browning's day.

Time did not allow me to attempt it that afternoon, but on the following day I ascended the Grande Salève from Monnetier, and standing at the top of the great gorge was enabled to see the view that Browning saw—saw as he saw,

> . . . the triumph crowning all
> There's Salève's own platform facing glory which strikes greatness small,
> —Blanc, supreme above his earth-brood, needles red and white and green,
> Horns of silver, fangs of crystal set on edge in his demesne.

It was an all-golden Whit-Monday afternoon, and as I climbed up every holiday-maker whom I met had his hands full of cowslips and the lesser gentian. I was quite unprepared to find the summit of Salève a noble down of close turf, whose three-mile length of undulating vantage-ground was starred with flowers. Myriads of gentian mingled with myriads of cowslips. If the cowslips ceased, buttercups of deeper gold than we in England know added splendour to the blue stars at my feet. Here and there on my right hand the grey lilac cliffs rose sheer from woody ledges golden-brown with the early russet leafage of the oak, whilst here and there upon the western slope the scrub of hazel and thorns, not yet in leaf, stood coral-pink against the blue of distant mountain ranges.

I sat down in sight of the burial-ground of Collonges—a tiny speck far below in the brown vineyards by the side of the white road that leads to the village. There with the poem in my hand, I

was able to feel how much the splendour of the scene, as Browning saw it, of the great plain between me and the wall of Jura, of that blue lake fading far away into luminous air and of the coiling river which took the sun, helped me to a right understanding of the power that Nature has to heal a sorrowing heart.

The deathless gift of such a scene, the recurrent glory of the flower-enspangled earth, the marvel of those mountain walls, now amethyst, now blue cobalt inlaid with ivory, all these spoke with voices of strange appeal to that part of me that could not die. It seemed an impossibility to believe that the spirit of the gracious lady laid in earth beneath the guardian Salève she so much loved, or the spirit of the poet whose ashes rest far away "in London's central roar," could fail still to feel the joy that this magnificent scene had given them, or that the companionship of soul with soul, 'twixt friend and poet, and those whom the poet's words have in turn made their friends, should ever cease to be.

H. D. RAWNSLEY.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *July* 8, 1913.

THE gods continue to have President Wilson in their keeping. Nothing could have been more fortunate for him than to have the Tariff Bill opposed by some of the great interests, for that is proof positive to the people that what he advocates is for their advantage, and the opposition is purely selfish. It was a lucky day for the President when the sugar-growers of Hawaii and Porto Rico and Louisiana combined their forces and flooded the newspapers with their advertisements, and sent their representatives to Washington to try to convince senators that free sugar would be destructive; and Mr. Wilson showed that he is not solely dependent upon luck when he publicly declared that a sugar lobby was at work. Another man might have contented himself with vague hints, and trusted to the press to do the rest; Mr. Wilson threw down the challenge to the lobby and forced it to take the defensive.

There may be a good deal of truth in the explanation of the sugar-growers that free sugar is solely in the interest of the refiners, and will not benefit the consumer, and that the millions now invested in sugar plantations, and cane and beet-root sugar factories will be lost, and that any man whose business is at stake has a right to protect himself and use what influence he possesses to save himself from ruin; but what ranges public opinion against the sugar interests is the fact, brought out by the investigation of the lobby, that for years, whenever a Tariff Bill has been under consideration, the sugar men have been influential enough to have the schedule written to suit themselves. The public believes, and probably there is good ground for the belief, that the sugar men have been more interested in squeezing the last farthing out of the consumer, than in merely

protecting themselves against unjust or foolish legislation. The great fortunes made out of sugar in recent years would seem to negative the suggestion that the business has had to struggle against foreign competition, or has been conducted at such a close margin that the profits were always in danger of disappearing.

But what proves Mr. Wilson's luck is an exposé of a lobby much more powerful, far-reaching, audacious, and unscrupulous than the sugar lobby, and any lingering doubt the public might have had in regard to lobbying in Congress, is now dispelled and Mr. Wilson's critics are silenced. For years the National Association of Manufacturers, among whose membership are some of the leading manufacturers of the country, has carried on a bitter and unrelenting war against the American Federation of Labour, and there has been little concealment of its attitude. Both in Congress and in some of the State legislatures it has opposed legislation, furthered by the Federation of Labour, it has been on the side of the employers in breaking strikes and boycotts, it has brought suits against labour in the courts. So far as the public knew, all that it did was open and legitimate. It was conceded that an association of employers had as much right to oppose legislation, which it considered injurious, as the Federation of Labour had the same right to support legislation supposed to be for its advantage, for neither side made any pretence of altruism nor indulged in the hypocrisy of caring about anybody else except themselves. The Manufacturers' Association was often criticised, it was felt it needlessly antagonised the labour unions, and more might be accomplished by tact and conciliation, but it was for the Association to select its methods, and so long as it fought openly and used the weapons civilised warfare sanctions, no one had any right to complain.

But now it comes to light that the Association blustered in the open and assassinated under cover. There is nothing more despicable than an informer, and no one will accept the testimony of an informer without ample corroboration, but when an informer produces documentary proof his testimony is entitled to consideration. A few days ago the New York *World* astonished the country by publishing the disclosures of "Colonel" Martin Mulhall, formerly the confidential agent of the National Associa-

tion of Manufacturers. Mulhall's motive is plain. After having been in the employment of the Association for ten years he was dismissed, he claims unjustly, and especially so because of the very extraordinary services he rendered; and if what he says is true the Association adds ingratitude to its other sins, for Mulhall had earned not only gratitude but a pension. His motive therefore is plain—revenge. He was also, doubtless, influenced by pecuniary considerations. He sold his story to the *World* for $10,000 and turned over to it some 20,000 letters, papers, reports, and accounts, which that newspaper has since placed in the custody of the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee.

Mulhall's charges, which will be investigated by special committees of the House and Senate, in brief are that from 1902 until last year, he was the "field agent" and confidential representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, and his duties during that time were either political or to aid employers when they had trouble with their workmen. He received his instructions either from the President, the General Counsel of the Association, or its General Manager. In its war against the American Federation of Labour the Association took an active part in promoting the election to Congress of men who were friendly to its policy, and opposing those who were antagonistic; in both cases its work was done secretly. Mulhall brings letters received from the officers of the Association to show that money was disbursed through him to help certain members to be elected and to defeat others. He declares that $60,000 were spent in the interest of one Republican member of Congress in whom the Association was particularly interested, and on election day, Mulhall and his agents enticed 135 Democrats to an ice house and made them so drunk that they were unable to go to the polls. He tells of the Association, through its agents, securing the appointment of certain Congressmen as members of the House Committees on labour and judiciary, those committees having jurisdiction over the legislation which the American Federation of Labour was urging and the Association was opposing. He tells of money spent in bribery, of clerks and officials about Congress being paid to procure information that was of value to the Association. In his capacity as strike-breaker, he tells of members of labour unions being bribed to

betray their associates; there is one case of arbitrators selected to settle a great labour dispute having been bribed to decide against the men. There is a sensational story of $40,000 being offered to Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, to induce him to desert the Federation and become one of the agents of the Association. The names of half a hundred former or present members of the House and Senate are mentioned; men who either profited by the efforts of the Association, or were regarded by the Association as friendly, and to be relied upon to support legislation the Association favoured, or were on the Association's black-list and to be driven out of public life if possible. This, of course, is only the barest outline of this extraordinary and disheartening story, disheartening because it proves how rotten American politics are. One of the letters Mulhall has published shows that the Association was aiming to make itself a dominant political force, and it was anxious to bring about the appointment of one of its men as Secretary of Commerce and Labour in President Taft's Cabinet as the first move. The attempt was not successful.

It is perhaps needless to add that all the men whose names are mentioned by Mulhall deny the truth of his allegations, and the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers assert that Mulhall is now trying to destroy the Association in the interest of the American Federation of Labour.

In the light of these disclosures a letter from Dutch Guiana in the New York *Sun* has interest. The writer, presumably an American, protests against some motion pictures recently exhibited entitled "The Money Kings of America." In one John D. Rockfeller is represented as present at a meeting of the Cabinet in the Taft Administration; in another several members of the Cabinet are in conference with "the money king" at his house, plotting to get hold of some important public papers which have just been signed by the President. The films, the correspondent says, were manufactured in the United States, and he wonders that Americans should lend themselves to traducing their country and its highest officials, and holding them up to contempt in the eyes of the world.

Commenting on this letter the Washington *Star* observes:

The performance does look black and odious. But is it blacker or more odious than performances that take place right at home here in the same line? Has not the American public for years been fed with assertions that "The Money Kings of America" run America? Are they not represented as controlling Presidents and Congresses and courts, shaping Presidential messages, Congressional legislation, and judicial decisions? Have not Congressional and Presidential campaigns been fought and some of them won on that proposition?

The people in the show business have simply taken a leaf out of the book of the politicians. They have dramatised a political best seller. Stump speeches and newspaper editorials have been drafted for use by the "movies," and put on the market at a distance. Have not the people been asked to believe that Congress—not one Congress, but every Congress—is "on the make"? Has not the charge been repeated over and over again that the "interests" have their paid agents in both Houses, and through them secure or defeat legislation as they may desire?

When these slanders are thrown on a canvas at a distance before a *foreign* audience they anger a chance American observer. But at home in another form they have wide circulation and a reprehensible amount of approval.

That is the curious thing about the American—the pleasure with which he befouls his own nest. Not the most prejudiced, bigoted or ignorant foreigner says as many unkind things about the American as the American says about himself; in fact, it is the foreigner of understanding and sympathy who is usually charitably silent when silence is a virtue, and it is from the foreigner and not the American that the world learns of the many admirable qualities Americans possess. If one reads American newspapers, American books and American fiction, one soon learns that America leads the world in murder, lying, dishonesty, immorality, corruption, railway accidents, and trickery in general. Murders more than twice as many in thousands as in England in hundreds is an old story; perjury so common that the judges no longer take notice, except when it is more than usually flagrant; "graft" everywhere; corruption in Congress and the courts; the big man cheating the little man, and the little man cheating the child; and this, mind you, is not what foreigners say but what the Americans say about themselves, and apparently with pride. One wonders why they should say it and what it all means.

No further effort has been made since I last wrote to secure the renewal of the futile and misnamed Anglo-American arbitration treaty which expired early last month. The official explana-

tion offered is that the Democratic members of the Senate have been too busy with the Tariff Bill to have time to give to anything else, but after the Bill has been reported to the Senate it will be possible to take up the treaty; the unofficial and more correct explanation is that the friends of the treaty, fearing they are in a minority, are reluctant to force the issue and have it proclaimed to the world that the United States, despite its theoretical love of arbitration, withholds its assent to a treaty that is supposed to provide the means for arbitration. The opponents of the treaty are naturally quite content to have it lapse, but when later the attempt is made to renew it, as it will be, they say they will insist upon the adoption of an amendment still further destroying what little value it possessed. To avoid doing anything that might be construed by Great Britain as an affront, a "general" amendment will be adopted which will exclude, not only from the British treaty, but from all other similar conventions certain questions. In plain English, Great Britain will not be permitted to ask arbitration of the Panama Canal tolls, and Japan will not be allowed to arbitrate its contention that the legislation of California violates the provisions of the Japanese commercial treaty. In a word, the Senate is willing to sanction an arbitration treaty that excludes from arbitration the only questions that any nations consider are properly subject to the decision of an arbitral tribunal.

The strong opposition of the Senate to an effective treaty of arbitration has not deterred Mr. Bryan from pushing his own scheme of peace between the United States and all the rest of the world; and he is gratified because twenty Governments, big and little, have notified him of their acceptance of his proposal in principle. Whether they will be willing to accept when the details, as yet unformulated, have been submitted for their consideration remains to be seen, but probably they will if Foreign Secretaries are influenced by the recommendations of their Ambassadors and Ministers. In the diplomatic corps it has become the fashion cynically to agree that any European Power will sign any treaty proposed by an American Secretary of State. American treaties, as recent experience has shown, being subject to construction or revocation by any one of the separate states of the Union cannot, of course, be taken seriously, so that it is

not of much consequence what treaties nominally exist between the United States and the rest of the world. The opposition of the Senate to the renewal of the British and Japanese arbitration treaties does not make the diplomatic corps have much confidence in the value of any other schemes of the same character.

Both the President and Mr. Bryan are using their influence to secure the renewal of the British arbitration treaty without amendment, and the President, I am told, will refuse to ratify the treaty if its original text is changed, which probably would be the easiest way out of an embarrassing situation, and a proper rebuke to those members of the Senate who, while pretending to be in favour of arbitration, are making it impossible.

To the supporters of a big Navy talk of peace and arbitration treaties is not at all pleasing, and more than one newspaper has sharply called Mr. Bryan to account for his pacifist speeches, and told him that a nation always talking peace is in danger of having to fight, and the United States is in no condition to meet a first-class naval Power; Japan, of course, being the Power of which the big navy men now profess to be in fear. The *Army and Navy Journal* asks whether "Mr. Bryan is not treading dangerously near the border line, not only of good taste, but also of diplomatic propriety, in raising his voice now in favour of settling all questions without war"; and the danger of such utterances is that "foreign jingoes" may misconstrue them as an evidence of national weakness, the same paper thinks, and it lectures Mr. Bryan by pointing out to him:

It may not only create in Japan a misinterpretation of the temper of the American people, but it is likely to show the people of California that the negotiations with Japan are being conducted by the State Department through the intermediary of a doctrinaire who is actuated more by devotion to his abstract theories of right than by a just estimate of the actual conditions confronting the Californians.

Other papers are content that Mr. Bryan shall play with plans that can do no harm, and amuse himself by launching as many battleships of "Peace" and "Friendship" as he pleases, provided that does not interfere with the launching of Dreadnoughts equal, if not superior, to the largest afloat. So long as the shipyards are kept busy and construction goes on apace, Mr.

Bryan's fleet of Flying Dutchmen can have all the sea room it wants.

One reason the arbitration treaties meet so much opposition is the fear of the big navy men that every treaty of arbitration lops a battleship off the Appropriation Bill. If there is no danger of war, and there will be no wars in the future, as Mr. Bryan is constantly saying, and all difficulties are to be settled by the diplomats, the necessity for a Navy ceases, and money instead of being "wasted" in building ships can be used to better advantage, is the argument of the peace men in Congress, who would be glad enough to see all naval construction stopped for the next few years. There are a great many Americans, especially those living in the middle western States, who care very little about the Navy, and honestly believe that every dollar spent on ships and guns is money thrown away. The middle West takes only a mild interest in the Navy, and as it is far enough removed from the coast not to be in fear of a bombardment and looks upon war as a remote contingency, the building of ships costing millions seems very much like throwing money away. Which is the reason a Western member of Congress has given notice he will endeavour to have a law passed, permitting merchants and manufacturers to put their samples on naval vessels, so that the Navy can be used profitably to spread the blessings of American commerce. There is no danger that the law will be passed, but the suggestion shows how the Navy is regarded by some Americans.

Americans pride themselves on their oratory, and the fluent and easy grace of their public speakers—so different from the stiff House of Commons manner, they are fond of saying—so I am sure the reader will appreciate this little oratorical gem. It fell from the lips of Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi, who was deploring that in the City of Washington there is no statue erected to a woman:

In surveying the city of Washington, the eye of the visitor is struck by the marvellous beauty of the granite, bronze, and marble statues erected to the heroes of the battlefield, or the men who won achievement in other walks of life. There is not a statue to woman; and yet there never was a deed accomplished in history, no matter how great, that did not have behind its maker the guiding influence of a good woman.

The woman should be recognized. If I had the building of a suitable statue to American womanhood, I would mould its base as large as eternity; for its shaft I would use the everlasting granite of truth, and I would build it so high that its piercing pinnacle should reach through the clouds into the fairest sanctuaries of heaven in order that the two maidens I would place thereon could whisper into the ear of God Almighty.

In the hands of a maiden clad in blue I would place the "Stars and Stripes," and the maid in grey should have the "Stars and Bars," while the angelic choirs of seraphim and cherubim joined them in singing "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie."

And instead of laughing the audience actually applauded.

In the last fourteen years the expenditures of the United States Government have more than doubled. The appropriations made by Congress then were £190,899,211 as compared with £410,916,902 last year, while population has increased approximately in the last twelve years from 75,000,000 to 95,000,000, and the wealth of the nation in the same period has grown from £17,703,461,355 to £21,420,842,383, which shows that national expenditures are increasing much faster than population or national wealth. But the City of New York has done even better. Fourteen years ago its budget, in round figures, was £31,000,000, last year it was £71,000,000. New York, however, is not alone among American cities in increasing its cost of government; nearly all the great municipalities are spending money lavishly, as their *per capita* indebtedness shows. That of New York grew from £20 in 1903 to £27 in 1910 (it is now £32); Philadelphia from £7 to £11, Baltimore from £8 to £14, San Francisco from 6s. to £8 (due to the earthquake and fire), Pittsburg from £11 to £16, Cincinnati from £17 to £21. Part of the debt created during the last few years is the result of extravagance bad management and not a little corruption; but most of it has been contracted to satisfy the demands of the citizens, and has gone into public works, parks, playgrounds, hospitals, the paving of streets, and other similar improvements.

The enormous increase of State and municipal indebtedness during the last few years is one of the causes of the world-wide scarcity of money at the present time, and the high interest rates money commands. The United States is not only using all its surplus investment capital at home, but is borrowing abroad to meet demands that must be satisfied, and with the rest of the world in the same condition municipal and State bonds can be

disposed of only with great difficulty. Several cities whose credit is unchallenged and some of the States have been forced during the last few months, either to withdraw their offerings and make temporary arrangements, or to raise the rate of interest so as to tempt investors. A few years ago the City of New York found no difficulty in selling 3 per cent. bonds, now it considers itself fortunate in being able to dispose of bonds at 4½ per cent. Some financial authorities think there is grave menace in State and municipal extravagance, and unless there is a period of severe retrenchment a collapse is inevitable, but it is not easy to see how budgets can be reduced in the near future. Most of the American cities are growing very fast, large expenditures are necessary for their improvement, and public works in progress cannot be abandoned. Taxation, of course, increases with the growth of the debt, and with the passage of the Tariff Bill a Federal income tax will have to be paid; but taxation in the United States has not yet reached that point where it pinches, and until the burden is heavier it is unlikely any serious attempt will be made to economise.

Mr. Clark, the Speaker of the House, has already called attention to the American emigration to Western Canada, and he thinks efforts should be made by the United States to check this movement. "In one week not long since," he said, "1845 American farmers, with $388,500 in cash and $145,000 in personal property, crossed into Western Canada with the purpose of settling permanently in British North America. That's an average of $288 *per capita*, and that week was below rather than above the week. average of emigrants into that region alone."

Surely this exodus of American farmers to the Canadian north-west is worthy of serious thought, for these emigrants are among our best citizens. I am personally acquainted with two or three hundred of them, and there is not a bad or shiftless man in the lot. They are industrious, intelligent, God-fearing men, seeking to better their condition and to improve the prospects of their children. They almost invariably take their families with them.

According to the Speaker "the lure of cheaper land," and the greater facility with which farm lands can be acquired in Canada are the main reasons for American emigration to Canada, but the *New York Sun* finds still another reason. "Furthermore, the

Americans taking up land in Canada," the *Sun* comments, "except under a better enforcement of the laws for protecting life and property; that is an attraction that Mr. Clark does not mention." Western Canada is, of course, the place for the ambitious man not afraid of work and with some capital, and in every respect is superior to the agricultural states of the United States. These Canadian lands are better than the American, there are millions of acres that have never been touched by the plough, and the wheat they produce is so superior to that grown across the border that the millers of Minneapolis are compelled to buy the hard wheat of Canada and mix it with American wheat before they grind it into flour. Mr. Clark accepts the conventional statistical estimate that the average adult is worth $1000 considered solely as an asset to the country, and on that basis he calculates that the annual loss by Canadian emigration is $123,882,000, a heavy financial drain on a nation even so rich as the United States. But there is probably no way of stopping the drain as cheaper lands and better laws, and greater protection to life and property are inducements the farmer cannot resist; and the United States is now taking its own medicine. For years it was able to command immigration of the best kind, because it was the newest country and had the largest advantages to offer, now Canada has supplanted it, certainly so far as agriculture is concerned.

It is notorious that politics are always uncertain, but nowhere do they seem to be quite so ungoverned by reason as in the United States, and the mystery not even the most experienced politician is able to solve is what has become of the Progressive vote. After the impressive showing made by the Progressives in the last election, the New York legislature passed a law to enable the members of that Party to become "enrolled" and acquire a legal party standing, and the Board of Elections was directed to send out forms to voters, who had simply to sign and return them, and thus be entitled to vote at future elections as Progressives, and have the names of their candidates placed on the official ballots with the Republican and Democratic candidates. But although the Progressives cast 18[illegible] votes for Roosevelt for President in New York last November and six thousand more for Straus for Governor, thus far only [illegible]

forms in New York City have been returned to the Board of Elections. And this indifference is not confined to the City of New York but is general throughout the State. In cities where Mr. Roosevelt polled several thousand votes the enrolment is only a few hundred. Because a man has not enrolled as a Progressive does not mean he is no longer a member of the Party, or he has forfeited his right to vote, it simply leaves him free to declare his Party allegiance later. And that is the interpretation put upon this meagre enrolment. The majority of the Progressives, in the East at least, realise that the only way to defeat the Democrats is for the Republicans to be united and they will, it is believed, support a Republican candidate at the next election if he is only mildly tinctured with Progressivism rather than fight for a losing principle and be sure of defeat. So long as the Democratic Opposition is divided between Republicans and Progressives the Democrats have nothing to fear. Every former Republican knows that, and is apparently willing not to call himself a Progressive at the present time if he can turn the Democrats out. After that there may be another contest between Conservatives and Progressives; but the first thing is to get back into power.

A. MAURICE LOW.

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET SIR FREDERICK RICHARDS

ADMIRAL of the Fleet Sir Frederick Richards died in September of last year, and with his passing the country lost one more of the great Admirals who are inspired with the tradition of Nelson and of Lord St. Vincent, and of all that gallant company of seamen that wrested the dominion of the sea from a world in arms. The naval officers of his generation, as midshipmen, learned their business from gunners, boatswains, quartermasters, and topmen who had served under Nelson; their senior officers had fought under him; the ships were rigged as they were in 1800, and war-time, and the very guns had spoken at Trafalgar. The present writer was privileged to be present at the meeting of the brother officers and contemporaries of Sir Frederick Richards, convened last November to do honour to his memory. Admirals of the Fleet, Admirals, ex-chaplains, engineers, surgeons, paymasters, a ring of veterans, their lined, grave countenances stamped with the indescribable signet of the sea—England shall hardly behold their like again. There also was the late Sir William White, he who as Chief Constructor to the Navy had worked with Sir Frederick Richards through the arduous years during which the Admiral was First Sea Lord. When he spoke of his old chief his voice failed him. Speaker after speaker testified to their affection, admiration, and respect. What manner of man was Sir Frederick Richards that, although almost unknown to the nation at large, he should thus dominate the hearts of his friends?

The truth is that Sir Frederick Richards owned that rare combination of qualities which alone, under the existing conditions of affairs, can achieve triumphant success in the highest post in

the Navy without concession of self-respect or of loyalty. As a naval officer his entire devotion was to his Sovereign and his country. It is commonly supposed that, combined with brilliant gifts, so sincere a consecration must command a successful and an honoured career, but the assumption is erroneous. England resembles China in that the real interest of the mass of her people resides in trade. Her pride consists not in military prowess, nor in chivalry, nor in the cultivation of the arts, nor in the progress of science, nor in the enjoyment of life. She keeps her soul in her breeches pocket. (It may, of course, be the proper place; I am only concerned to note the fact.) The result of the exclusive worship of trade, as in China, is that the profession of arms is regarded with suspicion; sailor and soldier are necessary no doubt, but only because trade must be protected. They are the paid policemen of the temple. The money-changers of that sacred edifice are regarded as the proper persons to decide upon the number of policemen required. But the sailor and the soldier own another view. They believe their calling to be essential, because only by it can other occupations exist. They know that their profession demands the exercise of the noblest virtues known to man: self-sacrifice, courage, obedience, loyalty, hard work. They also know that behind the great trade machine are hearths and homes and wives and children and friends, for whose safety and welfare the sailor and soldier are alone responsible. Hence it is that they are perpetually urging the Government of the hour to take the precautions which they know to be requisite. Only a few succeed, and of those few was Sir Frederick Richards. Thousands, even millions, of people to-day who perhaps never heard his name owe their portion in life, of peace and security and perhaps of wealth, to the silent, resolute Admiral who gained the supremacy of Great Britain on the sea.

It was in the year 1884 that the country began to be aroused to a sense of its insecurity in the matter of Naval Defence by the articles which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Richards was then a Junior Lord at the Admiralty. From 1885 to 1888 he was Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, where he co-operated with distinguished success with the troops employed in the annexation of Burma. During that three years the anxiety concerning naval force was steadily

increasing. The representations of Captain Lord Charles Beresford, supported by other known authorities, had stirred the whole country. The moment was ripe for a comprehensive statement of naval policy, and Sir Frederick Richards was the man to make it. He made it—going beyond his terms of reference—in the report, drawn up by him together with Admiral Sir Vesey Hamilton and Admiral Sir William Dowell, on the Naval Manœuvres of 1888. In that masterly document were stated the essential conditions of British sea-power and the methods by which it should be restored and maintained. Upon that statement was founded the Naval Defence Act of 1889, the Government of the day adopting in its entirety the programme drawn up by Lord Charles Beresford. Sir Frederick Richards then expounded to the Hartington Commission on Naval and Military Administration the right principles of organisation, which during the long years of peace had fallen into desuetude. At that time the Board of Admiralty was a somewhat irresponsible body, virtually destitute of any system of organisation for war. In 1890 Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Richards went to sea again, being appointed Commander-in-Chief in China. Then, in 1892, he was appointed by Lord Spencer to be Second Naval Lord at the Admiralty, to succeed Sir Anthony Hoskins as First Sea Lord upon his retirement, which took place in 1893.

In that year Sir Frederick Richards seized his great opportunity. Profoundly acquainted with every detail of his profession, he had made himself an authority upon the requirements of Naval Defence as a whole, and upon the method of administration which must give effect to them. Again, as the last ships of the Defence Act of 1889 were being built, anxiety awakened in the country, and again Lord Charles Beresford published a definite shipbuilding scheme. But on this occasion Sir Frederick Richards was First Sea Lord. He did not adopt Lord Charles Beresford's proposals in detail; but he did more. He planned a shipbuilding and a naval works programme, and an increase of the personnel, which should provide for the adequate Naval Defence of the whole Empire, whose execution should extend over a period of years, and which actually exceeded Lord Charles Beresford's estimate. The Gladstone Cabinet of the day declined to accept the scheme. Sir Frederick Richards,

with his colleagues, instantly proffered their resignations, whereupon the Cabinet accepted the scheme. The country did not then, and does not now, understand the significance of the sequence of events. But the Navy understood. The Navy caused to be painted the portrait of "King Dick," and presented it "from the Navy to the Nation"; and it hangs in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, where, as a unique distinction, it was placed during the lifetime of the Admiral.

That programme gave the Empire a sufficient and a splendid Fleet; naval harbours at Portland, Dover, Gibraltar, Simons Bay, and extensions of the dockyards at Simons Bay, Devonport, Malta, Gibraltar and Hong Kong. From 1893 to 1899, when Sir Frederick retired, was a period of considerable international stress and anxiety. It was largely due to the great naval administrator that war was prevented on more than one occasion. For what is the use of going to war when the seas are held all over the world by a superior force?

Of his services to the Navy itself let naval officers speak, for they alone know the unbending discipline, the scrupulous justice, the faultless loyalty, and the unfailing kindness of the First Sea Lord. Their testimony is contained in the report of the meeting held in November last, which may be obtained, upon application, from Admiral Sir John Durnford, Catisfield, Fareham, Hants. I am permitted to quote from a private letter—one of hundreds of such letters—written by one of his old colleagues upon the proposal to establish a memorial to Sir Frederick. "As an illustration of his kind-heartedness, when he heard of my having lost my sight he wrote and said that the tears ran down his cheeks. For some years also he used to come to this place two or three times a year to take me for walks. These with so many other kindnesses will enable you to realise what my regard for him was. . . ."

To succeed in administering the Navy, while winning the affection as well as the respect of the whole service; to succeed in enforcing a vast scheme of Naval Defence upon an unwilling Government, while retaining the esteem and the confidence of Ministers, and while keeping so immaculate a detachment from politicians that both great parties in turn were eager to avail themselves of his services; to perform the greatest services to

the State, while remaining unregarded by the Press and unknown to the public; and all the while in private life to bestow secret acts of kindness, to inspire enduring friendship and to find his greatest pleasure in making children happy: such, in outline, was the achievement of Sir Frederick Richards.

In person Sir Frederick was a burly figure, with a great head, a broad and jovial countenance, and the shrewd eye of the sailor. His portrait, painted by Mr. A. S. Cope, R.A., gives the man to the life. His anger was formidable; his determination instant and immovable. Yet he had a noble generosity and an unfailing courtesy. His talk was seasoned with the humour of a brave and candid spirit. Loyalty to his Sovereign and to the Service was second only to his religion, and he would tolerate no derogation of his office. There is a story that in the Zulu War of 1879, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had taken a passage in the *Boadicea*, flagship of Commodore Frederick William Richards, and who could not be landed at his destination because a heavy sea was running, told the Commodore that he must put him ashore at all costs. Richards refused, pointing out that his men would certainly be drowned; whereupon Sir Garnet demanded obedience, for was he not Commander-in-Chief? Not on the sea, where I, said the Commodore, in effect, am second only to the Sovereign; and the General had to pipe down.

Of Sir Frederick's administration at the Admiralty the full record is contained in confidential papers, and cannot yet be made known. When the time arrives, the true greatness of the man will be revealed, to remain an example to his successors. It will then be made clear that while he did much to reform the system, it was still in spite of its disadvantages that he was able to ensure the country's interests.

Enfeebled by age and illness, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Richards insisted, against all remonstrance, upon walking in the Coronation procession of King George, because, said the Admiral, he desired to honour a good sailor and a good King. It was his last public act. He died in retirement and in comparative poverty. He never asked anything for himself, and he never got it.

It is desired by his brother officers and friends that a memorial should be instituted to his memory, a memorial which should

both commemorate his great services to his country and confer a benefit, as Sir Frederick himself would have desired, upon children connected with the Royal Navy. The Committee therefore propose that a tablet, or medallion, should be placed in a suitable public building, and also that a trust fund should be created, the interest on which should be devoted to beneficent purposes connected with the Royal Navy. An invitation to subscribe was issued early in the year to the Navy and to the friends of Sir Frederick Richards, and it is now desired to extend the opportunity to all those who appreciate a life dedicated to the public service.

L. COPE CORNFORD.

THE RISE OF CONSTITUTIONALISM IN JAPAN

The birth and progress of representative institutions in a new land must ever furnish, for the student of affairs, a fascinating theme. In the case of Japan the process has an interest all its own. Of Oriental nations she is the first to have embraced the whole gospel of the West. In her numerous adaptations from an alien way of life, phenomenal good fortune has attended her. Only in this one respect—perhaps the most crucial of all—does success still wait. Moreover, the grand experiment, with all its gains and hazards, has drawn the attention of an awakened East, whose populous communities, stirring out of age-long sleep, are making ready to follow where Dai Nippon leads. In the present case, also, circumstances have combined to invest the unfolding drama with special force and significance. The events which, in the early part of the year, worked the Island Empire into a fever, showed the tender plant of Constitutionalism to possess a sturdiness which even those who sowed the seed and watched its earliest growth could scarcely have foreseen.

The story of Constitutionalism in Japan is commonly held to begin with the twenty-second year of the Meiji Era. On the eleventh day of the second month of that year (1889)—the date, no doubt, was deliberately selected, being that on which Jimmu Tenno, first and most divine of the Mikados, is fabled to have ascended the throne—Mutsuhito graciously invited his subjects "as descendants of the good and loyal subjects of the Imperial ancestors" to co-operate harmoniously in "securing for ever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial ancestors," and in "making manifest the glory of our country both at home and abroad." In grateful recognition of the boon the occasion was made one of general rejoicing. February 11, as the [illegible]

versary of two such notable events, is observed as a national holiday—second only in importance, in Japanese eyes, to the day of the reigning emperor's birth. It is not to be supposed, however, that a change in the form of government which in other countries has been accomplished only at the cost of civil strife and bloodshed was in this case gratuitously bestowed upon an unwilling or indifferent people. Representative institutions in Japan, as elsewhere, came into being after, and because, they were fought for. Nor was the strife all bloodless.

Japan's advance from feudalism to representative government was from the first beset by the militarism which pervaded—and, to a large extent, still pervades—the upper ranks of the nation. In the course of centuries the feudal *daimyo* and their *samurai* retainers had laid wide and deep the foundations of their class. It was their privilege to fight for, their responsibility to defend, the Heaven-given land. In such exalted rights and duties the *heimin*, or Japanese plebs, had neither part nor lot. Outnumbering their superiors by fifteen to one, it was theirs but to "stand and wait." Obviously the first step towards national reorganisation on modern lines was, by abolition of the privileges of the military caste, to establish the principle of equality of citizenship. As early in the Meiji Era as 1878, the wearing of swords—the distinctive mark of the *samurai*—was forbidden by Imperial decree, and, with the adoption of universal military service on European lines, the right of the peasant to bear arms in defence of his country was implicitly recognised. This social revolution was not effected without a struggle. The reformers had to meet the attack of the redoubtable Saigo Takamori and his host of Satsuma clansmen, jealous for the honour of their caste. Thirty thousand valuable lives were sacrificed before the peasant could say, with the two-sworded warrior, *Civis Japonicus sum*. But of the issue no doubt remained. The plebeian soldier, the ignoble conscript, had come to stay. Later, as the world knows, he proved his mettle on the plains of Manchuria.

"Disestablished" though the *samurai* were, their superior education and social status continued to count in their favour. Military power taken from them, the civil came in its stead. The chief offices of state fell, almost in the nature of things, into their hands. Japan's first Parliament, like England's in the thirteenth

century, consisted entirely of noblemen—knights of the shire—and their erstwhile retainers. A deliberative, rather than a legislative, assembly, it was a failure at that. But out of the fiasco came forth light. And on one at least of the "giants in those days" the lesson was not lost. To Itagaki, formerly head of the great Tosa clan, it fell to point the way of Constitutionalism to his countrymen.

Appraisers of the New Japan are wont to assign to Ito the credit of her swift advance in the matter of representative institutions. So far as his record goes, however, that astute and far-seeing statesman seems to have set more store by the letter than by the spirit of the Constitution, in the framing of which he himself was so largely concerned. For government by political parties he cherished a profound contempt. The political organisation which he permitted to be associated with his name was formed of publicists who were prepared to subscribe to his ideas and fall in with his plans. That association (as we shall see) has advanced since those days: it has succeeded in weaving itself about a principle. In so far as, in the beginning, it was led by Ito, it followed not after measures but after men. To the Chief of Tosa we must look as the apostle of government by party in Japan. He was the first to perceive that in one way only could the country be saved from domination by a military oligarchy—namely, by means of a popularly elected legislature. Seceding from the ruling clique, he gathered about him a number of young men who had returned from travel in Europe, and set himself to the task of converting his countrymen to Liberal views. Not long afterwards, and influenced by very similar considerations, Okuma withdrew from office and, with an equally zealous band of adherents, preached the new creed of popular control. Thus came into being two political parties, working independently along the same lines, with the Government for the common enemy. Their task proved easy. Complete success crowned Japan's first constitutionalist campaign. Within a few months of its inauguration an Imperial Decree announced that, in ten years time, a national assembly would be convened.

The keynote of the Japanese Constitution is the Throne. "The Emperor combines in himself the rights of sovereignty." He "exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Diet."

(Arts. iv and v). His person, as that of the latest of a line of Emperors "unbroken for ages eternal," is "sacred and inviolable" (Art. iii). What is perhaps more important from the political standpoint is the principle, duly set forth, of Ministerial responsibility, not to the Diet but to the Emperor. The appointment of Ministers vests also in the Imperial will. Particular stress is laid by the late Prince Ito, in one of his expositions of the Constitution, upon the Sovereign's right to select his Ministers from whatever party he pleased, or from no party at all. Finally it must be remembered that the Diet sits for only three months in the year (Art. xlii) and that during the remaining nine, in the event of "urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities" the Emperor may issue Imperial Decrees "to take the place of law."

This centralisation of power, in theory, in the hands of the Sovereign, will probably be condemned by the constitutionalist as the weak point of the Constitution. By those who fashioned that instrument it was regarded as the strongest. Among the shifting sands of our environment, thought the reformers, there is at any rate one fixed and solid rock—the veneration of our people for their divinely descended head. What the makers of the New Japan failed to make sufficient allowance for, was the inevitable effect of modern ideas and of ever-increasing intercourse with the West upon this spirit of reverential unquestioning loyalty, founded as it was upon the slender basis of the supernatural. Moreover the pages of Japanese history afford numerous instances of a Mikado "sacred and inviolable" indeed, but politically impotent; while the real direction of affairs rested with some more or less despotic dictator, or with a bureaucratic clique. There exists in Japan at the present time a small coterie of distinguished men, grown grey in the service of the State, who form a sort of supreme council and in whose hands the real power lies. These men stand between the Diet and the Cabinet, between the nation and its King. Sagacious, experienced, resolute, they have in practice, so far, been of genuine assistance to the State, and have played a definite part in the national development. It is difficult, indeed, to see how Japan, in her constitutional swaddling-clothes, could have made shift without them. Nevertheless, they are "not mentioned in the Constitution." Their position is irresponsible

and anomalous, and impossible to reconcile with any theory of representative government. Necessary as they undoubtedly were in the past, the question now arises whether they have not, as an integral though unofficial part of the Japanese Constitution, survived their usefulness. "The law" said St. Paul, "was our schoolmaster, to bring us to Christ." Just such a purpose did the *Genro* serve in Japan's progress to constitutional freedom. But with a pupil grown to years of discretion, the need for an escort disappears.

Bearing in mind these conditions, which, peculiar as they are to Japan, have profoundly modified the course of the constitutional movement in that country, we shall be in a position to follow more closely the history of its final stage—the evolution of party government. The followers of Itagaki had taken unto themselves the name of *Jiyu-to*, or Liberals, while those of Okuma styled themselves *Shimpo-to*, *i.e.*, Progressists. In 1898, that is to say, just twenty years after the Japanese Rousseau, as he has been called, had inaugurated the process of political agitation, these two bodies, differing more in name than in nature, united to form a "Constitutional Party" (*Kensei-to*). The amalgamation impressed both the official and the non-official world, and it was felt that the objection hitherto advanced against the formation of a Ministry on party lines—namely, that no single political association possessed sufficient talent to conduct the affairs of the country—could no longer be maintained. Accordingly Counts Itagaki and Okuma were invited to form Japan's first party Cabinet. They accepted the Imperial mandate: it was indeed the fulfilment of the aim for which they had long laboured. Alas for human weakness! The coalition did not outlive the test of six months of office. Jealousies arose between the leading men, and the party broke up into the two sections which had composed it. The moral of the failure was evident enough. Unless one party or another succeeded in attaching to itself the highest statesmen in the land—the "clan statesmen" or, as they came to be known in later days, the "elder statesmen"—there was little hope of its making headway with the task of government.

It was in this direction that the next move took place. Throwing principles to the winds, the Liberals laid themselves at the feet of Ito, who by this time was *facile princeps* in the official

world. It was indeed an unconditional surrender that the Marquis demanded, coupled with the significant condition that the new organisation was to be known not as a "party" but as an "association." Thus came into being the *Seiyukai* ("friends of the Constitution"), which from that day to this has been the most powerful section of the Japanese Diet, and which has played so conspicuous a part in the struggle of the past few months. In truth, it has travelled far since the day of its inception. Intended by Ito as a safeguard against the party system, it has become the champion and defender of that system. Ten years ago, on the eve of a new Session, its distinguished chief solemnly admonished the Association against any resort to obstructive tactics. He laid down the doctrine that once Ministers had been appointed to office it was the duty of politicians, as loyal subjects of the Emperor, to abstain from interfering with them. Now this Association, frankly a party, has been "holding up" the Government of Japan by way of asserting the principle that at least the majority of the Cabinet should belong to the party which can command a majority in the Diet!

In 1903 Ito, called to the Presidency of the Privy Council, resigned the leadership of the *Seiyukai* to his second-in-command, the Marquis Saionji, who during the stormy times of the Satsuma rebellion had learned democracy in France. Since that date the "Friends of the Constitution," comprising three-fifths of the membership of the House of Representatives, have, with insignificant exceptions, acted as a Ministerial party, supporting the Government of the day—not always, however, whole-heartedly. The Progressists, numbering a fourth of the House, together with two minor parties, constituted a somewhat ineffective Opposition. The critical events of the Russian War hushed at once, and for several succeeding years, the turmoil of domestic strife. Throughout that period Marquis, now Prince, Katsura, who held the reins of government, deemed it advisable to make a working arrangement with the *Seiyukai*, though subsequently that statesman defined his attitude as one of "indiscriminate friendship" for all parties. A year ago Katsura "retired" from political life—the expression is his own—and, on the death of Mutsuhito, took up the post of Grand Chamberlain in the Imperial Household—Into his shoes as Premier stepped his nominee, the Marquis

Saionji. It was an admirable choice, for that nobleman as President of the *Seiyukai* was not only assured of no trouble from the Diet but could, as no Prime Minister in Japan had really done, administer the affairs of the nation constitutionally in the truest sense. In short, the era of Taisho had made a most auspicious start. Save for a none too promising financial situation, all the omens predicted peace. Such was the state of affairs when, at the close of last year, the military clique precipitated a crisis by demanding provision for two additional divisions for the defence of the Korean frontier.

The details of the ensuing struggle are too well known to need recapitulation here. It will suffice to "point the moral and adorn the tale."

Militarism, allied with the bureaucracy—with which, to all intents and purposes, it is identical—has always, in Japan, despite the Constitution, retained in its own hands the ruling power. In the eyes of militarists and bureaucrats alike, the Party Cabinet was a thing abhorred. For it involved full recognition of the principle of Ministerial responsibility not to the Emperor, nor to the Genro, nor to officialdom, but to the Diet; and with the acceptance of that theory, the power would pass from their hands into those of the People. Such an issue, representing all that bureaucracy holds most dear, was worth fighting for. The resignation of War Minister Uyehara last November was the flinging down of the gage. It would enforce the resignation of the Saionji Ministry and would lead eventually to the recall of Prince Katsura with whom, as a militarist of the militarists and a bureaucrat of the first water, the interests of the ruling caste would be quite safe. Such, in its broad outlines, was the scheme with which Field-Marshal Prince Yamagata, *doyen* of the military class, has been generally credited.

Thus far, indeed, the design succeeded. Subsequent events, however, proved the conspirators to have made serious miscalculations in two respects. They counted, as heretofore, upon a divided Diet. They reckoned, as in the past, upon an indifferent public. They had neither. Marvellous to relate, the Diet rose to the height of its great opportunity. A "Constitution Protection Society" was formed, not from one party, nor from two, but from all; the Diet presented a solid front to the enemy. While

Prince Katsura advanced to the attack with his announcement of forming "a new party" he found a House profoundly hostile and intractable. Unexpected "friends of the Constitution" arose likewise in the country. The campaign of mass-meetings carried out in all the large centres under the flag of the Allied Parties produced remarkable results. Riots in Tokyo, Osaka and Kobé left no doubt as to the depth and character of popular feeling regarding the issue at stake. In the face of such unforeseen and portentous developments, only one course remained open to the "privileged caste." Even the Japanese bureaucrat has not parted with the saving grace of common sense. Katsura, and with him the Genro, and with them officialdom at large, bowed to the universal storm.

Though it is early yet to appreciate the effects of the most momentous of Japan's political crises, three at least can scarcely be overlooked. For the first time in Japanese history, in a pitched battle with the ruling class, the Diet has scored heavily. The final establishment of the principle of Ministerial responsibility to the Legislature would seem to follow as a matter of course. In the second place, the political instinct of the Japanese people has been aroused. This must tend to make doubly sure the success of the Diet—*vox populi, vox Dei*. Finally, there can be little doubt that as the result of certain tendencies of Japanese statecraft—among which must be included the abuse of the Imperial prerogative in the matter of Decrees and of prorogation and dissolution of the Diet—the prestige of the Imperial House has suffered. How, and to what extent, these things will affect the future of the Japanese race, it is not possible to foresee. There is no reason, however, to take a pessimistic view. The developments of the past few months amount, in brief, to this. On February 11, twenty-four years ago, the Japanese people received a Constitution. On February 11, in this year of grace, they made it their own. They may be trusted, in the future, to make the best use of it.

E. BRUCE MITFORD.

A MONTH IN INDIA

The visit of the King and Queen to India, apart from being one of the most successful of Royal progresses, had at least one minor effect. It discovered India as a resort for the traveller wearied of the Riviera and plagued with Egypt. Elderly people on occasion attempt to beguile the tedium of their remaining years by reflecting on the changes between the intervening milestones. Not the least remarkable is the shrinkage of the world. It is contracting like the *peau de chagrin* and has this further resemblance that the smaller it gets the less time it gives us to realise its opportunities. Not so long ago, to go round the world in eighty days was considered so marvellous a feat that a Frenchman wrote a book about it.

In the eighties, when a distinguished actor proposed to go to America upon a professional tour, his friends rallied round him, and at the farewell dinner one of the most eloquent speakers of the day finished his peroration by calling in broken tones upon the elements to protect the intrepid entertainer, so desperate an adventure seemed contemporary travel. Now the Trans-Siberian Railway, with the assistance of the Canadian Pacific, lays a girdle round the earth in forty days, and people go to America for a week-end. Still, in this country people are slow to accept change, and it was the occasion of the great Durbar which brought home to the general intelligence the accessibility of our Indian Empire. Hitherto it had been regarded as closed to all except those favourites of dual fortune—the leisured rich. Even then the enterprise was not one to enter upon with a light heart: The climate intolerable and, except at stated seasons, dangerous to Europeans. The hotels at all times fatal at least to one's comfort and peace of mind, while to see anything of the country you must be prepared to face months of exile, an expen-

sive as it was uncomfortable. Then the Durbar came. Every one who was any one, as the halfpenny papers say, went and returned in six or seven weeks not conspicuously the worse. It gradually leaked out that the climate of northern India from October to April is probably the most perfect in the world. A slight calculation showed that Bombay can be reached in fourteen days, and upon the question of expense a rupee at 1s. 4d. makes an English sovereign go an agreeable way. How far the extension of the travel area is desirable in itself must remain an open question.

For years this country was detested abroad. The feeling reached such an acute pitch that a naval advantage of at least two keels to one was conceded by the smallest Englanders. Eminent thinkers reasoned upon the fact and found various explanations—envy of our great Empire, and so forth. The real reason was much simpler if less flattering to our national pride. The only Englishman the average foreigner ever saw was the cheap Cook's tourist who elbowed his or her discordant way through the capitals of Europe. To the foreigner he was England incarnate and England intolerable. So at the present day a similar exodus of uncouth citizens from a great European nation is raising indefinitely, in spite of Mr. Angel, the standard of international armaments. But, after all, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who hates a tourist almost as much as he hates a certain type of Irishman, has to admit "It is good for every man to see some little of the great Indian Empire and the strange folk who move about it," and to bear with us on a holiday is perhaps not too great a price to pay for co-partnership in the British Empire. Unless you agree with Dr. Johnson's fifth maxim of travel, "get a smart sea-sickness if you can," it s advisable to join the steamer at Marseilles. It has a double advantage. You save a week on the steamer and avoid the Bay of Biscay in winter.

Every one at Bombay was welcoming the launch of a modern up-to-date boat, the *Gablon*, by the Austrian Lloyd Line, which runs to Trieste. If only that Line would build a few more modern ships, the traveller would have the advantage of an alternative route. Much as Anglo-Indians grumble at the P. and O. no one can complain of their feeding. The meals are many and good, and with moderate luck the worst sailor in the world might get

from Marseilles to Bombay without missing one. The Mediterranean capricious *comme une jolie femme*, as the French say, is the danger zone; once through that, except during the monsoon, you are sure of peaceful summer seas. On the voyage you begin to realise the great luxury of Indian travel. At the right time of the year you know not merely what the weather will be, but that the weather will be fine. In the East the seasons are the only weather prophets, and they are delightfully infallible.

Bombay is a beautiful spot, which never seems to have been appreciated. One hears much of Bombay, but little of its beauty. A magnificent bay with picturesque islands in the middle distance and a background of mysterious hills. The town faces west, and to look across the warm sea from the lawn of the Bombay Yacht Club, watch the sun setting behind the vague hills, and then a yellow moon rise through a mauve haze is worth even a fortnight on any steamer. The Yacht Club is a dangerous place for the traveller. It is apt to become his Capua. He will find it difficult to leave its comfortable halls. The absence of doors and windows, the noiseless waiters serving you with bare feet on the polished floors preserve the Eastern atmosphere even in an English club, and you begin to realise the charm of a climate where fresh air is not merely wholesome but comforting. A great charm of Bombay is that it is a city not merely on the sea but along the sea. The front, curving pleasantly, stretches for about five miles to Malabar Hill. On the point is Government House, and the best residential quarters are near, where rich Parsees and high officials live in bungalows which deserve their name as little as the cottages of Newport. A first and lasting surprise in India is the green grass of the parks and gardens. The Maidan of Calcutta, that famous green, the park at Lucknow, the Golf Club at Agra, the gardens of the Bombay bungalows are all alike in this, a result attained no doubt by infinite trouble and the possibilities of cheap labour.

In Bombay the formal sights for the tourist are not many. The Caves of Elephanta should not be missed—of surprising interest, they reward you further by a delightful view of the bay and its islands. The Towers of Silence have a serene horror all their own. In the most luxurious quarter of Bombay sit, almost at the doors of their prey, the obscene vultures waiting aloft with a horrible patience—of all undertakers surely the grimmest.

There are Law Courts, a picturesque Town Hall, and a rema
railway station, but they do not count. The interest of B
is the place itself and its people. It begins at once. Y
delayed in landing, because an elderly European is being cr
with garlands of flowers interwoven with tinsel on his :
from Europe. As you leave the dock you are caught b
fascination of the streets which never wanes. Crowds n
and various; fat Parsees with bowler hats without any
and a more common head-dress made apparently of fly
and shaped like a mitre. Mohammedans with beards dye
Hindus with the many caste-marks painted on their fore
Arabs with an odd head-dress made apparently of the pad
which Western women eke out their hair. A favourite
common to both sexes is a sort of divided skirt which can be
to suit the temperature, and on hot days disappears almost e
like a scandalised mainsail revealing two brown legs.
variety of costumes is infinite. You may wear anythi
nothing. The children wear, frankly, nothing except an
sional bangle. The women are extraordinarily picture
one garment, vivid and varied in colour, wound round the
Their arms and legs covered with gold bangles, rings on
toes, and generally a ring through one side of their nose, th
and the brown skin making an agreeable harmony. It i
how superfluous clothes seem when the skin is brown. I
main streets you see men walking with nothing on but a
cloth, and yet they hardly strike you as being undressed.

The native barbers do a great trade, which they exerci
the public pavement, sitting and shaving in meticulous
their clients, as often as not stripped to the waist for the occ
In the native bazaar the crowds increase, and the streets
the Arabian Nights. How the carriages and taxi-cabs m
to circulate without accident is a constant wonder. Life
the open, the houses seem to have no fronts, and a pecul
of the native is that he appears to be able to sleep anywh
any time, and the more uncomfortable the position and
the sounder seems his slumber. A dust heap, the pave
the platform of a railway station, serve equally as a dormito

Your servant as a rule sleeps outside your door where
is not even a mat. The servant is a great feature of Indian t

and on him your comfort largely depends. If possible it is safer to get some friend in India to engage one. Mine came from Mr Cook. No one could have been better served. It is impossible to travel in India without a servant, a fact for which you cannot be too grateful. He takes all the cares of travel on his shoulders: packs, unpacks, valets you, registers luggage, tips every one that is necessary, finds out the trains, brings you your tea, waits on you hand and foot; and my particular servant proved, in addition to his other virtues, a very efficient general guide to places of interest *en route*, and all this for forty rupees a month. It is true you are expected to give him fifteen rupees in addition to start him, and a present at the end, but even then you get very good value for your money, especially if you share his services and one servant is quite sufficient for two people.

Having secured your servant the next thing is to buy bedding. Wherever you go you take your bed with you. In the trains no bedding is supplied. Even in private houses one often has to find one's own. It means a wadded quilt like a Japanese mattress, sheets, pillow, and above all a thick rug, for India is full of cold surprises in the early morning, all of which packs very neatly in a capacious hold-all, and can be bought, hold-all and all, for about 25s. For clothes the ordinary flannel suit is all that is wanted—sun helmets should be bought on the spot; the London affair is always expensive and usually calculated to give you sunstroke without fail, and it is just as well to buy a linen suit which you can get admirably made in a few hours for 25s., or if you are more luxurious one of tussore silk for little more. In clothes the Anglo-Indian has almost as much latitude as the native. There is only one sumptuary law, but that is rigid. You must not wear a sun-helmet after sundown. If you do you are socially lost. You may as well be a pro-native at once. At the races and similar functions your servant attends you with a hat in a linen bag, like squires of old waiting on the knight with helmet, ready for the necessary exchange. By this time you are fairly equipped.

Having exhausted Bombay, where there is a large and excellent hotel on the sea, the Taj Mahal, you make your plans. An agreeable surprise is the cheapness of travel. You can get a ticket from Bombay, which takes you to Ahmedabad, Mount Abu,

Ajmer, Jaipur, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, Calcutta, and Darjeeling, and back to Calcutta for two hundred and nine rupees (one rupee being 1s. 4d.). Your servant's ticket is absurdly cheap, and his wages includes everything except his fare. You pay nothing for his board or lodging.

Though cheap, the travelling is by no means uncomfortable. The carriages are large with broad seats, not across the carriage but along the sides. At night your servant comes in and makes your bed on the seat. The carriages are all fitted with electric fans and have lavatories attached, and most of them excellent baths. As a rule there is a restaurant car, but sometimes you are dependent on the railway's refreshment room. Food is a weak spot in the Indian life. It is never very good and seldom more than adequate. If you are at all off the beaten track it is advisable to take a basket of provisions with you in case of need. It is prudent, except in clubs or places where you are sure of your food, to avoid milk, butter, and fish. Water must never be touched, and even soda-water regarded with some suspicion. After all, nowadays, it is quite a relief to get bad food occasionally, as Lord St. Aldegonde said of good wine, one gets so bored with good food.

One should also be careful to take some warm clothes on one's pilgrimage. In Bombay, where it is always hot, the temperature varying little through the year, it seems incredible that one can ever be cold again. Yet you may leave Bombay for Mount Abu at 10 P.M. with all the windows open in the carriage and the fans going, and wake up at 8 A.M. bitterly cold. At Delhi in the middle of March it was so chilly we had fires in the hotel, and directly you get up among the hills the nights and early mornings are cold. In fact, if you travel only in the north-west provinces and in the cold season you may well get as erroneous an idea of the Indian climate as Padgett, M.P. Although one is told that from the middle of February to the middle of March was too late for comfort, the heat was never inconvenient. It may have been an unduly cool season, but during the month the weather conditions were almost ideal, and one was very little troubled by flies and mosquitoes. The early mornings are delicious in their fresh coolness, and in the evenings you can sit in the veranda of your hotel without a wrap.

Either the Indian hotels have been grossly maligned or they must have been vastly improved of late years, at the best excellent, and at the worst adequate. No one could, or at any rate should, wish for a more comfortable one than the Cecil at Agra. Their entire difference from the European model is in itself an attraction. Now all hotels in Europe are on the same plan. One gets tired enough of the Ripolin austerity of the Ritz, and with its excellent, but unvarying cuisine, its menus the same in Madrid as in Piccadilly, the Esperanto of the kitchen—and how much more of its servile imitators. The Indian hotels are certainly different. Built round a pleasant flower garden in one story, or at the most two, you walk, it may be, across the garden to your meals, and sleep in a large bare room with a dressing-room off, in which you find a large tub filled and emptied by a servant you never see. The rooms have deep verandas where you rest during the heat of the day and sit after dinner, and where the local vendors of curiosities display their wares, mostly rubbish of the most obvious kind, and an occasional conjurer performs the oldest and clumsiest tricks. How the Indian conjurer got his reputation is one of the mysteries of the East. I may have been unfortunate, but I never saw one that would have been tolerated at a children's party. The mango trick, of which one has heard so much, as presented by the conjurer I saw would not have deceived a Christian Scientist. Another advantage of the Indian hotel is its cheapness, from six to eight rupees a day except in Calcutta and Bombay is the price, and there are no extras. Your round ticket from Bombay to Calcutta enables you to break your journey anywhere on the way.

In a month it is possible to see with perfect comfort and without undue hurry Mount Abu, Jaipur, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Benares, Calcutta, Darjeeling, and return to Bombay in order to catch the return boat. Unless time is the essence of the contract, it would be better to return from Calcutta by sea—but if your holiday is limited to two months you must catch the Bombay boat.

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enclosed by a high crenulated wall with seven gates—the wall peculiar to Indian cities and resembling the architecture of an old-fashioned dish, known, I believe, as Charlotte Russe. The Maharaja Jai Singh, who built it two hundred years ago, was a social reformer, and with the innate vandalism of his kind left the old town of Amber, six miles away, to build Jaipur. The broad streets have one advantage, you can see better than anywhere else the most picturesque crowd we saw in India. The streets are kaleidoscopic in colour. One does not at first realise what makes an Indian crowd so picturesque. It is the turban. In Jaipur, made in every shade of colour—one very fresh green shade being a particular favourite—with the result that a crowd looks like a gigantic flower bed; you see them being dried in the streets after the dyeing, a native holding each end and waving the brightly coloured silk in the sun. India is waiting for a water colourist in the style of Melville or Brabazon. The trades are localised. You see a street of women grinding corn by hand between mill-stones, others sifting it, and then selling it to the patient purchaser. March is a good month for Jaipur. It is one of the seasons for weddings, and all day long you meet gorgeous wedding processions. A tiny bride, hardly more than a child, perched in resplendent clothes on an elephant richly caparisoned and with an enormous bouquet on his tusks; a band, the relations follow in carriages and on horses—the women all in closed carriages —the bridegroom riding, each procession like a pageant arranged for your benefit.

Here you see the native conveyance, the ekker, in great request. The ekker is a very remarkable vehicle—resembling a chess-board on two wheels, and not much larger, there seems no limit to the number of natives it can accommodate. I myself counted six besides the driver—and no springs! But the native seems immune to physical discomfort. The number that will crowd into a third-class carriage and stay there for days with every appearance of enjoyment is almost incredible. No one should miss the old city of Amber, six miles from Jaipur. You come upon it surrounded by mountains. The town wall with bastions at intervals, climbing round the mountain like the Great Wall of China, half-way up the palace, looks over a lake below. Of all the impressions of India nothing, not even Fatehpur

Sicri, the forts at Agra or Delhi, not even the Taj Mahal, remains so beautiful, so expressive of all the feeling of the East as the Palace at Amber. It is an awful warning against the social reformer.

On the way to Delhi one had a grim reminder of the conditions under which the officials work. An Englishman got into the carriage and remarked pleasantly that it was hardly worth while for the train to stop, as the village was almost empty owing to plague. Those who had not died had deserted. Delhi was divided into the two antagonistic camps all the world over of north and south. The south have won, and won, it cannot be questioned, on their merits. The design now is to build on the south of the river, directly opposite the Delhi fort and the old palace of the Moghuls—which rise high on the opposite bank. It is a wonderful opportunity, and if one did not know what English architects can do with sites, full of promise. With Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, the Mutiny excludes all other interests. The famous Ridge at Delhi is a great surprise—one pictures it a commanding hill looking over the old town. In fact, it is a gentle slope some two miles away, the military importance of which might be missed by any one but a soldier. The fort at Agra is far finer than that at Delhi; grimmer and more imposing, and the palace more complete. Beautiful as the palace at Delhi is, so much of it has gone that the general effect is marred and the Agra palace gives you a superb view over the town and the famous Taj.

The Taj Mahal has been so much praised that one cannot refuse a sneaking sympathy to the man who described it as a Turkish bath with a lighthouse at each corner. Its superb beauty is beyond question. The great Indian vice of over-decoration does not affect it; elaborate though it be the decoration is as bold and effective as the design. It is beautifully placed on the curving banks of a river, superbly endowed by art and Nature. Yet is it all we are told? Perhaps because one looks at it with Western eyes its beauty seems merely objective, its message null. It lacks soul. It has not the suggestive significance of St. Mark's, at Venice, or the Cathedral of Seville, admittedly at its best by moonlight, the cold, pitiless perfection is a little repellent. Its atmosphere chills, as perhaps a tomb should.

About Fatehpur-Sikri there can be no doubt. Its appeal is different but irresistible. A delightful motor drive takes you to Akbar's great city, twenty miles under an avenue of acacia trees, green parrots flying in and out, monkeys playing, and a stray jackal nosing you from afar, at intervals a mud village with the brown children playing naked in the sun. You see it still as the fourth Moghul and his court left it—unaltered yet deserted.

At Lucknow the interest centres in the Residency—still as it was after the siege, battered and ruined, the famous house, for it is little more, stands in a beautiful park. That it could have resisted attack so long is an amazing portent—the finest of all Indian monuments. Here we see another instance of the admirable work done by Lord Curzon when Viceroy. Upon his initiative a roll of honour has been made, none too soon, of all those in command during the defence. He was the first Governor of India who took a real interest in the historical monuments of the Empire, and, better still, spent money in the cause, and what is even more unusual spent it with admirable taste. It was not so long ago that an ingenious Governor-General suggested pulling down the Taj Mahal and selling the marble, as a financial operation. After Lucknow, which might almost be an English town, Benares takes one back to the East. The high steps running along the river bank crowned with queer Hindu temples and thousands of the faithful, old and young, men and women, bathing in the sacred Ganges. Every now and then a smoking pyre, where a corpse is burning to ashes, soon to be cast in the waters. The bathers in every attitude of devotion, sublime and ridiculous, a stout, middle-aged gentleman sitting in the river up to his waist and holding his nose lest the sacred spirit shall escape during his meditations may be either, according to the point of view.

One thing that strikes you about Calcutta is that it does not smell nearly as badly as Mr. Rudyard Kipling alleges. A fine impressive city—its great feature the Maidan, a green open space, stretching down to the Jumna, two miles long and a mile across. Here is the Cricket Club, the race-course, and the historical Fort William. Big ships can lie off it, and in the old days of the sailing East Indiamen it must have been a sight for the gods. Along the town-side are all the principal buildings and the excellent

Bengal Club where, if you are wise and have a kind friend among its members, you will stop. If by this time you are not sated with travel you should certainly go up to Darjeeling. It will be very cold, but you will be rewarded with the finest mountain scenery in the world. It means a night in the train each way, but is well worth the effort to see a mountain range not merely twice as high as Mont Blanc, but which looks it, and then, Calcutta seen, you return direct to Bombay.

This is merely an attempt to indicate what may be done in a month's travel. If you are an American you might include Udaipur, said to be the most beautiful city of North-west India. If you prefer an easy life, and omit either Mount Abu or Darjeeling you have more than ample time to see all the places mentioned. And the cost? Two hundred pounds will enable a traveller to do all this in perfect comfort, rather less than the same time spent in the Riviera or Egypt would cost him. There is only one danger in so short a visit: It is almost impossible to avoid writing an exhaustive treatise on the better government of India—still, it is said that the temptation may be resisted, perhaps even by

A COOK'S TOURIST.

THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN SURVIVAL

A PRIORI arguments can never be anything more than invitational; that is to say, the most they can do is to show a reasonable *prima facie* view for the investigation of phenomena. They suffice only to make out a case superficially; they offer a shop window to arrest; they make out a plausible case that the time of the enquirer will not be wasted, that the investigation is worth while. All conclusions on this earth must stand or fall by the test of direct evidence; a theory to be accepted must account for facts, and those facts must first of all be proven. This, of course, is the merest truism; but it is as well to recall and reiterate one's axioms on the threshold.

It must have appeared to Huxley and Tyndall and the representative men of science of their day that the *a priori* promise of Psychical Research was unalluring. Huxley, when asked to look into certain alleged spiritualistic phenomena, replied that even if the facts were true they did not interest him. He was at liberty to answer in this way inasmuch as a man has a right to his own individual tastes and interests. Yet it is impossible not to wonder at his attitude. He was informed that certain phenomena were observed, which, supposing they were accurately observed, might well throw fresh light upon the whole field and scope of science, and even open up a new and unsuspected corner of that field; and he declined to consider the phenomena on the ground of lack of interest! One must suspect that the real reason of his refusal was his disbelief in the phenomena. Yet why should phenomena be rejected as false or fraudulent without examination? Huxley's attitude is reproduced to-day in what I might call the great majority of conventional scientific men. The orthodox schools of science will have nothing to do with psychical phenomena, will not examine the evidence offered, or

do so with careless superficiality, and with predetermined minds. When I invited a very distinguished man of science to deal with this question of survival his reply was jocose, and he asked in effect what we wanted with another life anyway? It was Professor James, I think, who wrote of the "sectarianism" of modern science; and using another figure one might also say that science can be, and has often been, as dogmatic and as bigoted as religion. Science seems to me to-day to be blocking its own light. Dr. Richet, a most impartial investigator, declares that there is no fear "that the invasion of a new science into the old will upset acquired data. . . . Consequently psychical phenomena, however complicated, unforeseen, or appalling we may now and then imagine them to be, will not subvert any of those facts which form part of to-day's classical sciences." He himself is of opinion that metapsychical phenomena constitute a new science, at present in a rudimentary form.

Orthodox science still presents an indifferent or a contemptuous face to this enquiry; yet there are constant accessions to the ranks of enquirers, and the roll of distinguished scientific investigators is now a long one. The old guard dies hard, but it is dying without surrender. On the other side are many well-known names, such as Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., Dr. Russel Wallace, O.M., F.R.S., Lord Rayleigh, O.M., F.R.S., Professor Hyslop, Sir Joseph Thomson, F.R.S., Sir William Barrett, F.R.S., Professor Flammarion, Dr. Ochorowicz, Professors Janet and Flournoy, Dr. Morselli, and others too numerous to mention. In this company one may claim that Psychical Research has become respectable, and has been lifted out of the obloquy and disrepute in which it was once unscientifically pursued. The older spiritualists with their table-liftings and slate-writings were objects of derision, and it required enormous moral courage for Sir William Crookes, as far back as 1870, to publish his faith in the genuineness of the phenomena. But it is probably to the English Society for Psychical Research, established in 1882, that we owe the emergence of the enquiry into its present importance, and its recognition as a serious and even dignified branch of investigation. No man worked harder than the late F. W. H. Myers to achieve this, and he died with a full conviction of the facts which he had investigated for twenty

years. The Science of Metapsychics will owe a deep debt of gratitude to this devoted band of pioneers and founders. After all, most sciences have had undistinguished and even vulgar and shady beginnings. We owe chemistry to the alchemist with his search for the Elixir of Life; from the astrologer with his horoscope can be traced the descent of astronomy. Spiritualism, attended though it is by suspicions, manifest frauds and cheating, hallucinations, self-deceptions, and great credulity, may in time to come be looked back to as the somewhat questionable ancestor of a great new science.

This science must, however, prove and justify itself in the same way in which other sciences have done and are doing. We must exact of it the same evidences, apply to it the same rules, as are requisite for the science of chemistry or of biology. It is claimed that there are phenomena unaccounted for by our existing scientific knowledge. Very well. Let us first see if these phenomena are genuine, and, if they are, then let us discuss the possible explanation. That is the simple and direct course in all investigation.

The character of these phenomena may be briefly stated. Mr. Myers in *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* frames a synthetic philosophy which unites a great variety of phenomena under one complex theory. Here I shall only take such phenomena as claim expressly to be the resultants of discarnate spirits, that is of human beings surviving in other conditions than those of the body. These phenomena are technically known as manifestations, and that term may be accepted for clearness and for lack of a better. Dr. Joseph Maxwell, who has devoted his life and means to their study, and who is not a spiritualist, but a distinguished French jurist, gives a list of phenomena which I take the liberty of adapting.

I. Physical Phenomena, which comprise: (1) Raps and knockings. (2) Sundry other noises. (3) Movements of objects without contact (telekinesis), and movements with insufficient contact to account for the movement (parakinesis). (4) Apports, that is the sudden appearance of objects without the intervention of human agency. (5) Penetrability; the passage of matter through matter. (6) Visual phenomena which can be subdivided: (*a*) Vision of the odic effluvium; (*b*) Amorphous

lights; (c) Forms, either luminous or non-luminous; (d) Materialisations. (7) Phenomena leaving permanent traces, such as imprints. (8) Alteration in weight of objects, Levitation. (9) Changes in the temperature; sensations of heat and cold. (10) Cool breezes.

II. Intellectual Phenomena: (1) Typtology, table-rapping to form coherent communications. (2) Automatic writing: (*a*) Immediate; (*b*) By instrument such as planchette, ouijah board, etc. (3) Direct writing on slates or paper without human agency; this includes precipitated writing. (4) Incarnation or control (otherwise communication by voice or writing in trance). (5) Direct voices; when voices are heard appearing to emanate from vocal organs other than those of the persons present. (6) Various other automatisms.

This list is by no means complete, but it will suffice for the purpose of this paper. Indeed, it is quite out of the question within the compass allotted to me that I should deal with all these subjects. I have set them forth merely to show the variety of phenomena to which the attention of scientific men is invited—usually in vain. I propose to touch on *two* only of all these divisions, namely, automatic writing and trance communications being (2) and (4) of my list under the head of Intellectual Phenomena. I do not intend to refer to the remarkable mass of records relating to Physical Phenomena.

Under the heading of Trance Phenomena the accumulation of material is colossal. It is improbable that anything like full records have been kept of even the phenomena of well-known and well-observed "mediums"; and "manifestations" are being given in hundreds every day. By the laws of evidence, which are applicable to all branches of science, these phenomena must be observed and recorded under test conditions. Such conditions were rendered possible in the case of the famous "psychic," Mrs. Piper, owing to arrangements made by the Society for Psychical Research. Mrs. Piper was kept under rigid surveillance for years, and all her sittings were controlled and regulated by Dr. Richard Hodgson, well known as the exposer of Madame Blavatsky. I must clear the ground by premising that through this constant and determined supervision over so long a period fraud was rendered an impossible explanation of the

phenomena. Dr. Hodgson, Professor William James, Sir Oliver Lodge, and many other distinguished and competent enquirers absolutely refused to consider fraud in connection with Mrs. Piper. Some other explanation of the phenomena must be sought. The phenomena themselves purported to be communications from human beings once on earth, and were received either through the voice or the hand of the entranced medium. The genuineness of Mrs. Piper's trance has been acknowledged by many scientific men, including some having no sympathy with any spiritistic theory. A vast quantity of sittings has been printed in sundry volumes of the English Society's *Proceedings*, and to these the interested reader may be referred. The data are abundant, but here I propose to select only a few communications for examination. To read through the reports of the cases is to come across thousands of pieces of information relating to the identity of the person purporting to communicate. Dr. Hyslop, of Columbia University, who had many interesting sittings with Mrs. Piper, in which his father and others purported to communicate, has drawn up a statistical table of results he obtained. It must be understood that in these sittings information is given and questions asked by the "control," who claims to be a discarnate spirit, and that these questions and answers are directed towards proving the identity of the intelligence communicating. Dr. Hyslop's * summary of his analysis is as follows:

True incidents mentioned by the trance communicator, 152; false incidents, 16; indeterminate incidents, 37; true factors (*i.e.* component facts of the incidents), 717; false factors, 43; indeterminate factors, 167.

The great disproportion of true incidents and factors in this case cannot obviously be attributed to chance or guessing. Critics are wont to explain the results by unconscious telepathy between the sitters and the medium or sensitive. I do not propose in this short paper to deal with the huge question of telepathy, simply because I propose to select incidents where the sitters were entirely ignorant of the facts communicated. My summary of incidents must necessarily be brief, but I refer the reader in footnotes to the detailed reports in each case.

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part xli. p. 121.

In a communication purporting to come from George Pelham (pseudonym), references were made to his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Howard (pseudonyms), who were not present, and the trance personality said in connection with the name Katharine, a daughter of Mr. Howard, "Tell her, she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katharine." When this was reported to Mr. Howard, who was unsympathetic to the spiritist theory, he "related that George, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katharine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as Time, Space, God, Eternity, and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that sometime he would solve the problems, and let her know, using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting." No one present at the sitting had any knowledge of these facts.*

In communications purporting to come from Bennie Junot (pseudonym) the trance personality asks, "Dad, do you remember the maples where I put a little seat?" Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Junot, who were present, remembered it, but on reference to a son discovered that this was true.†

Dr. Hodgson sitting alone, the trance personality said, "Ask dad if he remembers the day we went out in the woods and got the fern for mamma, and ask him if he will try to find the rods I spoke of. I thought I heard my brothers say they had been gone for some time, is that so?" Mr. Junot notes on this: "Statement about ferns correct—and brother did say on enquiry by father that the fishing rods had been taken away sometime ago."‡

Dr. Hodgson sitting alone, the trance-personality said, "Tell Roble [his brother] he may have my grey suit if it will fit him. I do not need it now. And when he sees it think of me." Mr. Junot states, "He left a grey suit which was a favourite with him."§

Dr. Hodgson sitting alone, the trance-personality said, "It was not Sport nor Daisy, but Dandy I was thinking about. . . . Ask dad if he can't remember him."

"The name Dandy was not recognised at the time," but some months later Mr. Junot wrote to Dr. Hodgson, "You may remem-

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part xxxiii. p. 297.

† *Ibid.* Part lxi. p. 402.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 413.

§ *Ibid.* p. 418.

ber that Bennie in speaking about the dogs named one as Daisy, and afterwards said it was 'Dandy.' A few evenings ago we started his uncle Willie upon the subject of our children's various dogs. He is a dog-lover, and all our dogs had come to us through him. Without knowing why we enquired he gave our dog history —stating among other things that the first dog our children ever had was Dandy. . . . Neither Mrs. J. nor myself remembers anything about this dog." *

Dr. Hodgson sitting alone, the trance-personality said, "I am oh so glad to see you and tell you about the cranberries. . . . I got it in my hat." This was not understood at the time, but at a later sitting when Mrs. Junot was present she asked if Bennie remembered mentioning the cranberries, and the reply came, "Yes, perfectly. I mean blueberries." Mrs. Junot then stated she remembered "clearly the incident during his last summer at Osterville. One day he brought in several clumps of blueberries to her in his hat." †

This Report on the Junot sittings with Mrs. Piper is rich in incidents of this sort, and the reader is referred to it, particularly to the case of a dog Rounder (pp. 492, 516), which is too complex to summarise here. From Dr. Hyslop's report of his own experiments which is also very instructive, I extract the following:

The trance-communicator who purported to be Dr. Hyslop's father, referred to his having taken strychnine in his last illness. Dr. Hyslop, who was away from his father at the time, knew nothing of this, but on enquiry afterwards found it to be true.‡

Dr. Hyslop and Dr. Hodgson present. The communicator referring to his religious convictions on earth said, "There is one tune going through my mind. Listen. Nearer my God to Thee, Hyslop." Dr. Hyslop at the time commented upon this that his father "belonged to a denomination that would not tolerate either hymn singing or instrumental worship in its religious services. . . . His attendance at church also was so strict that he *never* went to any church where he would even hear a hymn." Later Dr. Hyslop writes, "I was explaining the absurdity of the incident and pointing out that it, with some others, was flatly against the spiritistic theory, as I read the record to my step-

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part. lxi. pp. 418–419.

† *Ibid.* pp. 420, 470.

‡ *Ibid.* Part xli. p. 387.

mother, when she emphatically agreed, and spontaneously remarked to confirm my judgment, all unconscious that she was overthrowing it, that this hymn was especially disliked by father, and that he very often expressed this dislike, remarking that he could not understand how orthodox people could use a Unitarian hymn." *

Dr. Hyslop and Dr. Hodgson sitting. The communicator referring to the United Presbyterian Church in the town he had lived in said, " They have put in an organ." Dr. Hyslop knew nothing of this and found on enquiry " that an organ had been put into this church about two months previously, the denomination being opposed to instrumental music until recent changes in its constitution permitted the introduction of it in churches desiring it." †

Dr. Hodgson, who had the conduct of Mrs. Piper's mediumship under the English Society, died suddenly on December 20, 1905, and a short time afterwards messages purported to come from him through Mrs. Piper, writing automatically in trance. I extract one or two incidents.

A lady, Mrs. Lyman (pseudonym), had given Hodgson a ring on his fiftieth birthday, and the communicator referred to this ring in a sitting with Miss Pope. The ring had not been found, and he was told so. He stated that it had been on his finger when he started for the club when he died, and added, " I recall putting it in my pocket. I did so because it hurt my finger when playing ball. I am not dreaming; I am clear. When I get here first I am a little stuffy, but I am as clear now as I ever was. I put it in my waistcoat pocket."

The communication showed a little confusion later, but the fact remains that " the ring was found a couple of months later in the pocket of Hodgson's waistcoat, which had been too carelessly explored for it." ‡

Referring to a proposal of marriage he made to a young lady, the Hodgson control said: " Do you remember a lady-doctor in New York? A member of our society?" Professor James (the sitter): " No, but what about her?" Hodgson control: " Her husband's name was Blair, I think." Professor James:

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part xli. pp. 380, 412.

† *Ibid.*, pp. [illegible]

‡ *Ibid.*, Part lviii. pp. 13-16.

"Do you mean Mrs. Dr. Blair Thaw?" Hodgson control: "Oh yes. Ask Mrs. Thaw if I did not at a dinner-party mention something about the lady. I may have done so."

Mrs. Thaw writes: "Fifteen years ago when R. H. was visiting us after his operation for appendicitis he told me that he had just proposed to a young lady and been refused. He gave no name." Professor James remarks on this: "Mrs. Thaw is the only living person beside Newbold to whom I can certainly find that he ever spoke of this episode."*

In a sitting the Hodgson control refers to Professor Newbold and says, "Ask him if he remembers the day we went to the seashore and we sat on the beach, and I told him how I hoped to come over here any time, only I wanted to finish my work. Ask him if he remembers what I told him about my getting married."

Dr. Baily (the sitter): "I don't know anything about it. That's a good test." Professor James adds: "Proves to have been correct."† There is a great quantity of veridical information in these Hodgson sittings, for which the reader is referred to the record.

In the *Proceedings of the S.P.R.*, Parts xxv. and xxvii., Mr. F. W. H. Myers records certain experiences of the Rev. W. Stainton Moses, which are well worth the attention of any one interested in this branch of science. I extract one incident only from many of the same kind. Mr. Moses and Dr. and Mrs. Speer were the sitters, September 1, 1874, and all three are above suspicion. Mr. Moses was the "sensitive," and his account is corroborated by Mrs. Speer's account. This case comes under the first section of the list of Intellectual Phenomena given above. This is Mr. Moses's story, under diary dated September 1, 1874.

"A new spirit manifested by tilts. He gave his name Abraham Florentine, and he was in the American War of 1812, died August 5th, 1874, aged 83 years 1 month 17 days at Brooklyn." This case was afterwards investigated thoroughly through an appeal to American papers. It was established on the authority of the Claim Agent at Washington, the Adjutant-General at New York, and through personal enquiry, that Abraham Florentine had served in the war of 1812 in Captain Nicole's

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part lviii. p. 25. † *Ibid.* p. 58.

Company, 1st regiment New York Militia, Colonel Dodge, and had died on August 5 at the age of 83.*

In all the cases quoted above no one present at the sittings had any knowledge of the facts communicated, and in all these cases the facts were afterwards established. The abundance of incidents of this sort would amaze any one unacquainted with the investigations carried out under test conditions. What I have printed here are merely samples, not specially selected. Isolated and separated from their context they are less impressive than when read as forming part of oftentimes a graphic story. In all these cases fraud must be considered to be eliminated as an explanation; and chance or guess-work must equally be inapplicable as an explanation. As the sitters were ignorant of the facts communicated it is obvious that telepathy from them to the medium's mind cannot be invoked to account for the phenomena.

There remain three other hypotheses. One is that it is possible for the medium to gather telepathic information from absent people; the second that the medium has access, in Professor James's words, to "some cosmic reservoir, where the memory of all mundane facts is stored and grouped around personal centres of association." If we accept either of these hypotheses we must assume that the medium in trance is enabled to find out in distant places the one person out of millions capable of supplying the information, and to pick over his or her unconscious memories until she finds the fitting facts; or that she is enabled to dip into that cosmic reservoir of almost infinite earth memories and secure the same result. Add to this that we must conceive the medium's subliminal consciousness or secondary personality, having secured this stolen knowledge, as able instantaneously to build up deftly a personality, and to equip it with accordant and consistent dialogue, and constitute a dramatic play which shall identify the imposture to the sitters, friends and relatives as a convincing presentation of the supposed communicator. I have no hesitation in saying that the hypothesis of such gigantic mysterious powers and such diabolic ingenuity on the part of the medium is far more inconceivable and incredible than that of the simple spiritist theory. That cosmic reservoir is indeed the last ditch the telepathic theory has to die in.

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part xxvii. pp. 53, 82-85.

The third hypothesis is the spiritistic, and has the advantage not only of explaining all the facts, but also of being that which the communications received claim to be the true explanation.

From a multitude of evidential cases I will here only add two more, one of which is rather more complicated than the simpler cases I have offered.

Mr. F. W. H. Myers was known not only as one deeply engrossed in the subject of Psychical Research, but also as a classical scholar of wide reading. He died in 1901, and subsequently communications purported to come from him through various "sensitives," including Mrs. Piper, and other automatic writers. I propose to summarise one case.

On March 23, 1908, Mr. G. B. Dorr, of Boston, sitting alone with Mrs. Piper in trance, put the following question to the control purporting to be Myers. "What does the word 'Lethe' suggest to you?" In reply there came a strange medley of names and sentences in which Mr. Dorr could see no meaning, including the words, Iris, Cave, Morpheus, poppies, and C yx. (This last word was given thus as if a letter was missing.) Several classical scholars examined this record and were unable to make anything of it. But later Mr. J. G. Piddington, who has reported the case* with great ability and scrupulously scientific methods, happened upon the XI Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and here he found the explanation of all the names and incidents in the tragic story of Ceyx, King of Trachin, and Alcyone his wife. Any one who refers to that little-read poem will note the mention of Iris, Morpheus, and the poppies that grew by the waters of Lethe. Mr. Piddington demonstrated by his investigations that neither Mr. Dorr, nor Mrs. Piper nor Mrs. Verrall nor any one else whose brains might on the telepathic theory be picked even over three thousand miles of distance, was acquainted with this book of Ovid, and in consequence one must ask—Whence came the information communicated? The spiritistic theory explains it. What other theory does?

There is a most interesting pendant to this case. Mr. Piddington's report was printed in the *Proceedings of the English Society*, March 1910, which were not issued until *April* 9. Sir Oliver Lodge had previously written a letter to Mrs. Willett, an un-

* *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part lx. p. 86.

professional "sensitive" who writes automatically not in trance. He had asked her to read a question which he enclosed to Myers (who purported to communicate through Mrs. Willett) in a sealed envelope. Mrs. Willett opened this envelope on *February* 4, 1910, and read as follows: "My dear Myers,—I want to ask you a question—not an idle one. What does the word Lethe suggest to you?"

Mrs. Willett's writing began at once, and included many classical references, afterwards identified as bearing on the question; and on the following day she experienced a strong desire to write, and yielding to it sat down and produced this message. (I leave out the scribbles.) "You felt the call. I it is I who write Myers. I need urgently to say this tell Lodge this word . . . get the word I will spell it. . . . Yes the word I will spell it. . . . Yes the word is D O R R." This was repeated. Mrs. Willett knew nothing beyond the fact that Mr. Dorr was an American and was interested in Psychical Research, and certainly knew nothing of Mr. Dorr's experiment in Boston. I have cut this whole episode down to its narrowest limits. The full account invests it with more striking value.

I have one more case to add for which perhaps the incidents set forth above may prepare the reader. This case was not under the observation of the S.P.R. M. Chedo Mijatovich, formerly Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Servia in London, was asked by compatriots if he could get into touch with the spirit of a Servian king who died in the fourteenth century. M. Mijatovich was not a spiritualist, but he undertook the mission and visited a well-known medium * to see what could be obtained. He was informed that the medium could not promise success, but would do his best. Entranced, the medium said (I quote M. Mijatovich), "'Yes, here is the spirit of a young man who is most anxious to tell you something, but he talks in a language of which I do not understand a word.'"

The King on whom I concentrated my thoughts died in 1350 as a middle-aged man. I wondered who the young man could be whose spirit was anxious to talk with me, and asked Mr. Virgo (pseudonym) to reproduce at least one single word pronounced by that young spirit. He said he would try to do so. He bent towards the wall, in front of which

* I personally know this medium and am convinced of his honesty. But that is beside the mark, as the circumstances preclude all possibility of fraud on his part.

he sat in an arm-chair, and listened for some time intensely. Then he slowly repeated, to my utter astonishment, these words in the Servian language, "Molim vas pishite moyoy materi Nataliyi da ye molim da mi oprosti"—"I request you write to my mother, Natalie, that I beg of her to forgive me." Of course, I immediately recognised that it was the spirit of the murdered King Alexander. . . . If I needed a further proof that it was the spirit of King Alexander, I got it when Mr. Virgo said, "The spirit wants me to tell you that he now very much regrets that he did not follow your advice concerning a certain monument and the policy connected with it." This related to some confidential advice I gave King Alexander two years before his assassination, and which he thought he could not entertain at that time, and perhaps would do in the beginning of the year 1904.

M. Mijatovich is not only a distinguished diplomat, but has also been Professor of Political Economy at Belgrade, Minister of Finance and Commerce in Servia, and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He is an hon. member of the Royal Historical Society of London. He resigned his post at St. James's Court on the assassination of King Alexander in 1903. In answer to a letter from me he has been good enough to reply to certain questions concerning this sitting.

I did not make any appointment with Mr. Virgo. . . . I went taking my chance of finding him at home. I did not send in my visiting card, nor did I give the servant who opened the door my name. I simply asked the servant, "Is Mr. Virgo at home? and could I see him?" The servant invited me to step into the drawing-room and to wait for a few moments. When Mr. Virgo appeared he did not ask me who I was, nor did I tell him my name, nationality, and position. I was a perfect stranger to Mr. Virgo, and remained so till he awoke from his trance, when I told him that through him a spirit spoke to me in the Servian language and that I was a Servian. No one else was present. I was quite alone with Mr. Virgo. The message was with some effort, but very clearly delivered to me in the Servian. . . . When I returned home from Virgo I reported to my wife what happened, and then I wrote down the message on a paper. There is only one way of explaining the phenomenon, viz. that it was a communication from a spirit.

M. Mijatovich gives the following explanation of the message, which he kindly permits me to print.

I was an intimate friend with King Milan, the father of Alexander, and a devoted servant and friend to Queen Natalie, the mother of Alexander. To marry Draga Mashin King Alexander induced his father by several misleading statements to go to Carlsbad, and then forbade him to return to Servia, and behaved in many ways cruelly to him. And when he married Draga he behaved on several occasions cruelly to his mother, Natalie. When in November 1900, on my return from Constantinople, I saw King Alexander in the palace in Belgrade (in the same palace in which on June 11, 1903, he was cruelly assassinated) I, taking leave from him (decided to go abroad) said

to him these words, "Sire, this is perhaps the last time I [shall] see you and speak to you. As a faithful servant of your parents and of yourself, I consider it my duty to tell you that you are behaving cruelly to your father and to your mother. For God's sake, indeed for your own sake, mend your conduct towards them! A son who behaves badly to his father or mother never can prosper, and never can finish well. . . ." I think the message delivered to me through Virgo and in the Servian language has evidently some connection with my drawing his attention to the fact that he behaved cruelly to his parents.

M. Mijatovich states further:

I had then, and I have now no doubt whatsoever that the words came to me from the spirit of King Alexander.

What other explanation can be suggested?

In conclusion, I may say that I do not expect the evidence offered and the arguments employed within the narrow compass of this article necessarily to make instant converts. I have only designed to indicate the character of the evidence accumulated so carefully. But I do hope this paper may convince readers that this subject is not negligible even by scientific men, but that it deserves and demands their serious consideration, and I hope it may send them to an examination of authentic records in the *Proceedings of the English and American Societies for Psychical Research*. For the evidence claims to prove the survival of man after the dissolution of the body, and the demonstration of that would be incomparably the most important thing that has ever happened in this world. If that be demonstrated then everything terrene receives new values, assumes different proportions. This life of earth becomes insignificant beside the æonian life to which it is the prelude. This short span of troubled existence dwindles and fades before the infinite possibilities of a life in higher, freer, and fuller conditions.

One man, at least, who was austerely and resignedly agnostic for over five-and-twenty years, has on investigation been wholly convinced by the weight of the evidence, and herewith testifies to that fact.

H. B. MARRIOTT WATSON.

BOTHA *VERSUS* HERTZOG

SINCE the days when the late John Hendrick Hofmeyr founded the Afrikander Bond in the Cape Colony and turned it from its original form of a farmers' association into a political organisation, the solidarity of Dutch South Africa as a force in Parliament and in the country has been the dominating factor in the political life of South Africa. The example of John Hofmeyr was followed, after the war, when the gift of self-government was given first to the Transvaal and then to the Orange Free State, by Generals Botha and Smuts in the former, and by Mr. Fischer and General Hertzog in the latter Colony. When Union came, there were some among the leaders of the British people of South Africa who thought that the old tradition of the political unity of the Dutch might vanish once and for all. But the spirit of Hofmeyr, then close to his end, was too strong for Sir Starr Jameson and his colleagues. The first South African Cabinet was formed of the men who had been the leaders of the Dutch-speaking people in the Cape, the Free State, and the Transvaal. The ideal of a non-Party Government to carry South Africa through the first difficult days of Union was scouted by these leaders. General Botha took office as the first Prime Minister of the Union. With him were Mr. Sauer, Mr. Malan and Mr. Burton of the Cape *Bond;* General Smuts and Mr. Hull of the Transvaal *Het Volk;* Mr. Fischer and General Hertzog of the Free State *Unie.* The triumph of the old parties was proclaimed. Mr. Merriman, though he refused to take office under General Botha, declared himself willing to serve as a "humble private" in the ranks. Ex-President Steyn, from the retirement of his farm near Bloemfontein, gave the new ministry a pontifical blessing. The Prime Minister announced the unity in trinity of the three parties, and the train was set for their amalgamation into a single organisa-

tion under the proud name of "The South African National Party."

Three years almost to a week have passed since the day when General Botha took office. To-day the Party which then acknowledged his leadership is rent with controversy. The chill wind of dissension blows through its tattered and dishevelled ranks. Its leaders write bitter screeds of denunciation against each other in the public Press. And in each local branch a struggle is going on between the rivals for the leadership which (as one of its leading journals said the other day) is setting father against son, dissevering ancient friendships, and tearing the fair book of Party unity into scattered leaves which strew the countryside.

The quarrel between General Botha and General Hertzog came to a head early in December 1912. General Botha resigned the Premiership and, at the request of the Governor-General, re-formed his Ministry without General Hertzog. Since that day the quarrel between the two has grown almost daily more and more bitter. It culminated a fortnight ago in a vote cast by General Hertzog and his Parliamentary following in favour of a motion of no-confidence in the Botha Ministry which was moved by Mr. Cresswell, the leader of the five Labour Members of the House of Assembly. Before this, General Hertzog had declared that he could never take office again in a Ministry presided over by General Botha. Although strenuous efforts had been made by some of the most ardent adherents of the South African National Party to compose this personal quarrel between the two leaders, all these efforts came to nothing. Yet the strongest arguments were with those who worked for peace. They could appeal to the tradition which had bound the Dutch-speaking people of South Africa together in an almost unprecedented realisation of the truth of the maxim that "Unity is Strength." They could point out that this was no empty tradition, bolstered by merely sentimental considerations, but a deliberate and conscious policy conceived and carried into practice by the great brain and sure political insight of John Hofmeyr. They could prove to the rival leaders the immense success of this policy. They could show that it had given to the Dutch-speaking people of Cape Colony an almost unchallenged supremacy in politics before and after the war. They could remind General Botha and

General Hertzog that they themselves had tested and proved to conviction the practical efficacy of the policy in the Transvaal and the Free State under responsible Government. They could illustrate this success by a long list of the benefits which the policy had secured for the Dutch-speaking people—the burden of taxation laid upon the towns and pressing hardly at all upon the farmers of the country districts; railway rates adjusted so as to supply the farmer with his implements, his manure, his stock, at rates so favourable as to be losing rates for the Government railways in the three Colonies; similarly favourable railway rates for the carriage of the produce of the farmer to market; Government posts with ample salaries showered upon the rising generation of "our people"; adroit uses made of British forms of procedure in Parliament; solid majorities; elections whose issue was so little in doubt that the favoured candidates were under no inconvenient obligation even to visit the constituents whose suffrages they were seeking. Of these and innumerable other manifestations of the practical benefits of the policy of Hofmeyr the would-be peacemakers were able to speak. They could employ, too, arguments scarcely less cogent with leaders who knew through and through the nature of the people who were their followers. They could speak of the identity between the religious and the political beliefs of the Dutch-speaking people of South Africa. They could bewail the fact that the quarrel between the two was sowing dissension even within the churches. They could utter solemn warnings against such schisms, could thunder denunciations against those who, offending the little ones by the indulgence of their personal animosities, incurred the Biblical condemnation to the doom of death by drowning, with a millstone hanged about the neck. In vain. These appeals, these warnings, these denunciations profited the peacemakers nothing. To those who know South African politics with the bitter knowledge of experience this fact may be incredible. Nevertheless, for the present at least, it is a fact.

Sprung from what root of difference, nourished by what strength of hatred, did the quarrel between General Botha and General Hertzog prevail against the persistence of the peacemakers? It sprang, no doubt, in the beginning from a personal incompatibility between the two. General Botha, an easy man,

with a great fund of good-will, with excellent intentions; but hampered by the very defects of his qualities; too easy-going, too prone to overestimate the efficacy of mere facile good-will, too much inclined to believe that good intentions are sufficient to satisfy all reasonable claims, even though they remain unsubstantial and take no practical shape. General Hertzog, fanatical and uncompromising; ready to sacrifice everything to the realisation of his political faith; with the temperament of the inquisitor; caring only for the stark stuff of fact; contemptuous of mere words. The one a diplomat: the other a crusader. The one an opportunist: the other convinced that facts can be tortured to take the shape of theories. The one peace-loving and almost time-serving: the other hot with the belief that in matters racial, as in matters theological, the true faith commands its apostle to seek, not peace, but a sword. It was from the first inevitable that between these two there could be no lasting agreement upon aim or method. Their temperamental difference, obvious to those who have studied their political records, is now known to have declared itself from the first. General Hertzog's disclosure of this fact, made in the course of the statement which he communicated to the South African Press in reply to the attack made upon him by General Botha, is a grim comment on the reiterated assertion of the Prime Minister of the Union, while General Hertzog remained a member of his Ministry, that "the most beautiful harmony" prevailed between himself and his colleagues. "The following (says General Hertzog in this statement) is an extract from my diary:"

"May 19th, 1910. Breakfast with General Smuts, Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town. Discussed Orange River Colony education. Smuts asked what could be done to meet Opposition. Replied, nothing; all due to mere political agitation from Rand (Johannesburg). Smuts suggests I should go on Court of Appeal. Replied, I could not do so without playing false to my people. Smut's reasons for (my) going on Court of Appeal. . . . I have my doubts re reasons assigned. Inconvenience? More likely: Oh! that weak desire to pander to the agitator."

"On a subsequent occasion" (continues General Hertzog in his statement):

"Mr. Malan informed me that they were prepared to offer me a seat on the Appeal Court, whereupon I asked him to inform General Botha that I was not prepared to leave my people in the lurch, and that I should never let the people say of me that I bartered away their interests for a seat on the bench. . . . I never saw General

Botha during these days. Three things were clear to me at that time, as they must be to any one on reading the above. First, how sensitive people were to opposition. Secondly, how eager they were to satisfy Opposition criticism. Third, how willing people were to offer me up with the Free State on the altar of the Opposition. . . . Afterwards I met General Botha, who did not speak a single word to me personally on the subject, but took up the attitude of having already finally discussed everything with me, and my inclusion in the Ministry and the department which I was to control were simply mentioned as a matter which had been decided and was known to us all. *There was no mistaking the reluctance with which the Prime Minister accepted me as a colleague.*" *

This radical difference of temperament, thus apparent from the very first day of their association as members of a South African Cabinet, led by a gradual progression of friction aggravating friction, to the final quarrel between General Botha and General Hertzog. The issue between them is one of method rather than of principle, and questions of method are in their origin questions of temperament. Such a conclusion is opposed to that which has been drawn by many of the admirers of General Botha. It is the only conclusion which can be maintained after analysis of the reasons given by the two protagonists in the quarrel for their ultimate breach. These reasons are two. General Botha accuses his late colleague, first, of having failed in his duty as a Minister of the Crown when he declared in a public speech that "Imperialism was for him (General Hertzog) only good so long as it was useful to South Africa." This charge is elaborated by the Prime Minister in the following passage extracted from his first statement to the public:

As Minister of the Crown, and as a leader of the old Dutch population, it was his (General Hertzog's) duty to discuss with the greatest circumspection our relations towards the Empire, and especially to avoid the impression that our interests as South Africans were, or could be, in conflict with those of the Empire, and that a policy against the Empire might become necessary or desirable in certain circumstances. Such statements and discussions are entirely unnecessary, and are certainly not in the interests of our party and especially not in the interests of the older (Dutch) population, as they immediately give rise to misunderstanding and suspicion of a most serious and painful nature. As regards our relations to the Empire, therefore, I do not object that General Hertzog, together with me and others, gives preference to South African interests, but that, in an irresponsible and, I may say, a frivolous, manner, he discusses subjects which may appear to him to be academical, but which, in the historical circumstances of South Africa are of a most serious and delicate nature for the older, as well as for the newer population.

* The italics are the writer's.

To this charge General Hertzog has replied, first, that he makes a distinction between Imperialism and the Empire—one of those curious quibbles which appear to have so strong a fascination for his essentially pedantic mind; and, second, that there is really no difference between the Prime Minister and himself, that both agree that the interests of South Africa must be given preference by any South African Cabinet over the interests of the Empire, and that the real difference between them on this point is that he (General Hertzog) is accustomed to say plainly what he thinks, whereas General Botha prefers to postpone the issue by a ridiculous contention that the interests of South Africa can never conflict with those of the Empire.

The second reason which General Botha has given for his breach with General Hertzog is that the policy of conciliation between the English and the Dutch peoples of South Africa—a policy which had been adopted as the first principle of the South African National Party—was "in an unambiguous manner attacked or ridiculed" by General Hertzog. In support of this accusation General Botha referred to the notorious speech in which General Hertzog "spoke of 'foreign fortune-seekers, mostly English,' and applied this epithet, amongst others, to the leader of the Opposition." He also quoted a passage from a later speech in which General Hertzog had said that "conciliation and loyalty were idle words which deceived nobody. He had always said that he did not know what conciliation meant. He had done nothing towards any one about which it was necessary for him to be conciliated. The flag was there, and let it remain. People who spoke so much of loyalty usually knew least about it."

It is unnecessary to quote General Hertzog's reply to this accusation, because it is clear that the accusation itself turns, not on any question of principle, but on a difference of opinion as to the attitude which should be adopted by a Dutch-speaking Minister of South Africa towards his English-speaking fellow citizens. Nowhere, in fact, in the whole literature of the controversy between General Botha and General Hertzog is there anything to show that there is between them any radical divergence of principle on Imperial questions such as has been discovered by the English-speaking admirers of General Botha in

South Africa to be at the root of the quarrel between him and General Hertzog.

This conclusion might be supported by a number of references to the attitude of General Botha, as Prime Minister of the Union, during the Parliamentary Session which is now in progress. It is true that certain passages in the speech made by General Botha during the course of a debate on the share of South Africa in the burden of Imperial Naval Defence might be read as implying some glimmering of a real Imperial creed in the mind of the Prime Minister. But any such conclusion is unwarranted in view of the fact that Mr. Sauer, one of the most prominent of General Botha's present colleagues, went out of his way, in a speech made at a later stage of the same debate, to repudiate any idea that the Cabinet of which he is a member felt any enthusiasm towards the ideal of South African co-operation in the naval defence of the Empire. Similarly, on the question of the introduction of European immigrants into the Union, whereas certain speeches made by General Botha during his last visit to Great Britain might have been understood to express his anxiety to assist in the encouragement of immigration, a speech which he delivered during the current Session shows that that anxiety (if it was ever anything more than a desire to ingratiate himself with a British audience) has now been tempered to the traditional Boer policy of first settling on the land the "poor whites" who have drifted into the towns of South Africa.

But although those who have discovered in the quarrel between General Botha and General Hertzog a serious disagreement on questions involving the Imperial issue have gone far beyond the warrant of the evidence, the quarrel remains uncomposed; and the mere fact that this should be so, in spite of the influences which have been brought to bear by the peacemakers, is an indication of the deep-rooted differences—in temperament and method—to which the quarrel itself owes its vitality. It is, after all, only to be expected that, when the interests of the Dutch and the English in South Africa clash, General Botha should be found on the side of the former. If he was not, his influence with his own people would perish in a day. The whole strength of General Botha's position against the attacks of his rival lies in the inability of that rival to prove, in any single matter

of importance, that as Prime Minister of the Union he has played his own people—the Dutch-speaking people of South Africa—false. At the same time, it is essential to realise that in any matter which does not involve a conflict of interest between the two white races, General Botha's good intentions can be relied upon to secure justice for the section to which he himself does not belong. Whether this qualified sense of justice originates in a real desire to compose the differences between the two races, or whether it is merely the tact of a politician who knows the value of that amount of English support which is to be had for the whistling, matters very little. From General Hertzog, the English-speaking people of South Africa could not expect even a justice which becomes blind when impartiality would be inconvenient. And meanwhile the political solidarity of Dutch South Africa is broken. The traditions of John Hofmeyr are forgotten. If that breach is not healed, if that forgetfulness persists, then racial agreement will no longer be the binding force of the dominant political party in South Africa. Natural and legitimate political ties will take its place, and the subjection of that long-suffering race the British South African will come, after an eternity of twenty-five years, to an end long despaired of, and still almost beyond the belief of those who have endured that bondage.

TABLE MOUNTAIN.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

1

The news that the Duke of Connaught will not be compelled to resign the Governor-Generalship in the autumn (when his term of office would have normally expired) has been received with the keenest pleasure in every part of the Government Dominion. When the Duke announced, on the occasion of the Paardeberg dinner at Government House in March, that he would probably not be able to preside at that function next year, it was generally believed that the ill-health of the Duchess must inevitably prevent him from acting as the Sovereign's representative during an additional term. The announcement that he will, after all, be able to return to Canada at an early date has been enthusiastically welcomed—the more so because it can be taken as a proof that the health of the Duchess is completely e-established. Both the Duchess and "Princess Pat" (as she s called everywhere in Canada and also in the United States) ccompanied the Governor-General on his travels through the emoter parts of Canada, and their kindly simplicity and joyous ppreciation of all they saw have caused them to be regarded with a enuine feeling of personal affection by everybody who met them. ln unpopular Governor-General is, of course, unthinkable in hese latter days. Long experience has convinced the people f Canada that the highest position in Canadian life will always e filled by a personage who, even if he should lack the adenturous *joie-de-vivre* of a Dufferin or the enthusiastic curiosity f a Grey, would yet prove himself the possessor of some other ppropriate gift of personality. But the Duke of Connaught's erm of office will always remain unique, because, in the first place,

the appointment of King Edward's brother was in the nature of a declaration *urbi et orbi* that Canada could no longer be considered a "Colony" in any sense of the term (it was almost as if the status of a kingdom had been conferred), and, secondly, because the relations of the Duke and his family with the whole community of Canadians have been so frank and intimate that the simple secret of the popularity of our late King,

> . . . . whose utmost art
> Of kingship was a kindly heart,

has been explained and expounded to them all in countless object-lessons, which were never in any way stage-managed. Goldwin Smith's recently published correspondence contains several allusions to the possible establishment of a "Court" in Canada, which would lead, as he thought, to a sudden access of snobbishness and social intrigue—as if such evils did not exist in the worst form in the United States where a plutocracy is socially paramount. If he had studied the doings of the New York "Four Hundred" and other social oligarchies in the great American cities, the last of the philosophic Radicals would have admitted (as Walter Bagehot did) that a "dignified part" is necessary to every mechanism of governance, and that any form of social leadership would be preferable to that of multi-millionaires and their money-mad womenfolk. The influence of every Canadian Governor-General has always been quietly exerted against the social ascendancy of the plutocrat as such, and the result is that wealthy Canadians have never played the part of Lucullus or Sir George Midas, preferring to follow the example of Lord Strathcona and other statesman-capitalists who know that public munificence is a nobler thing than personal magnificence. Ottawa has never seen a Court in the old-fashioned sense of the term; the Sovereign's representative has never fenced himself about with flunkeys and formalities, but has been as accessible as the President of the United States without, however, abandoning the amenities of an older and more picturesque civilisation than that of Washington with its mock-marble capital. And it has been as easy (neither more nor less) to see the Duke of Connaught and shake hands with him as it was in the case of any of his predecessors in the Governor-Generalship. For the

rest the Duke has convinced Canada that he is her very good friend, is not given to talking down to the crowd, can get through a long day's work without turning a hair, rather likes roughing it, and knows what the constitutional limitations of his authority are to a nicety. Everybody in Canada will be glad to have him back again.

2

The tourist who hurries through Canada from coast to coast often persuades himself that the British element in the population no longer predominates. But recently issued census bulletins show that people of British origin are in the majority, not only in the country as a whole, but also in every Province with the exception of Quebec. It is true that the proportion of British Canadians fell from 57·03 per cent. in 1901 to 54·07 per cent. in 1911, though the actual number increased from 3,063,189 to 3,896,985. Yet the proportional falling-off need not alarm us seeing that (1) the immigration from Europe, especially from the regions that may be said to form the European East End, is obviously slackening, and (2) the influx of American settlers, who make excellent citizens as a rule, is the chief factor in the increase of the non-British element. Furthermore, the statistics of homestead entries suggest that the greater part of the land occupied of late years has been taken up by English-speaking settlers. Thus in the five months ending with last May, three-quarters of the 11,086 entries in the three prairie Provinces were by Canadians, Americans, and immigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland. And probably five-sixths of the lands sold during the last ten years by the great railway companies and other land-owning corporations are now effectively occupied by English-speaking farmers, the alien immigrants as a rule being content to form part of the floating labour-force of the cities and towns where they congregate in "ghettoes" or well-defined quarters—rather unpleasant features in the environs of Winnipeg and other important centres. In all probability the census of 1921 will show an increase in the percentage of British Canadians; and there can be no doubt whatever that their hold on the essential Canada—*i.e.* the agricultural principality—will have been strengthened.

Among the people of British origin the English element

shows the greatest increase during the decade in question—from 1,260,899 to 1,823,150, giving a gain of 44·5 per cent. The old warning: "No English need apply" (which never had all the contemptuous meaning imputed to it) need no longer form a theme for sermons on the Englishman's failure to "make good" in the transcontinental Dominion. To-day Englishmen are so numerous in Canada and so influential that nobody dare run the risk of offending them by the utterance of criticisms that were applicable only to a few wastrels who wasted themselves and their money in the days when "the Colonies" were looked upon by stay-at-home parents as merely a dumping-place for the failures of English public schools. The Englishman who now migrates to Canada is able-minded, as well as able-bodied, and is almost always a credit to his adopted country—for a slight lack of adaptability, due to the fact that English systems of education have lost touch with the realities of an age of commerce and industry, is outweighed by his civic virtues. The English settler is always a good neighbour; his contempt for the happy-go-lucky methods of the mere "wheat-gamblers" is seen to be justified now that it is no longer profitable, even along the front of Western settlement, to waste the land so that labour may be saved; and, politically and socially, his presence is an antidote to "Americanisation" in every form. There has also been a large increase between 1901 and 1911 in the population of Scottish origin (which now numbers close on a million), but the immigration from Ireland and Wales has been insignificant. The Irish increased by 61,663 to a total of 1,050,384, and the Welsh by 11,785 to a total of 24,848.

Next to the English the population of French origin shows the largest increase. In 1901 there were 1,649,371 French people in Canada, and in 1911 there were 2,054,890—an increase of 405,519 or 24·59 per cent. This increase was almost entirely the result of the high French-Canadian birth-rate; the French emigrant is not comfortable in Canada (least of all if he is not a devout Catholic), and much prefers South America as a field for investing himself and his capital. The Ultramontanism of Quebec, which regards "infidel France" and its people with grave suspicion, is unquestionably an obstacle to any increase in the slender trickle of immigration from the mother country of *Les*

Canadiens. The philoprogenitiveness of the latter cannot altogether compensate for the lack of French immigration, and it is not surprising to learn that the proportion of Canadians of French origin to the total population fell from 30·72 per cent. in 1901 to 28·52 per cent. in 1911. If it were possible to prevent the young *Canadien* from seeking his fortune in the New England States, Quebec might maintain or even increase its political influence (which is constitutionally based on the proportion of its population to that of the whole Dominion), but the priests cannot prevent Jean Ba'tiste Trudeau from becoming "John B. Waterhole" (with Yankee clothes and a wad of paper money), and the various attempts at repatriation have so far proved a failure. Of the other non-English elements the German is the most important. In the ten years the German Canadians increased from 310,501 to 392,320; the addition was largely due to the transference of German-American farmers across the International boundary-line, direct emigration from Germany being inconsiderable. There was a substantial increase in Austro-Hungarians, of whom Canada now possesses 129,103; and in Scandinavians, who now number 107,535.

As regards non-European elements in the Canadian population there is no cause for alarm. The aboriginal Indian stock is very slowly decreasing; to some extent it is being absorbed in the mass of the population, half-castes being fairly numerous in the regions beyond the agricultural settlements. The negro communities which were founded in Canada during the era of Southern slavery (when the terminus of the "underground railroad" of the practical Abolitionists was in British North America) have either disappeared or are rapidly dwindling in numerical strength. In British Columbia, despite the heavy poll-tax, the Chinese population increased from 14,885 in 1901 to 19,568 in 1911. But the white population of the Pacific Province has increased even more rapidly, and the presence of the Chinese labourer cannot be said to constitute an economic danger. On the whole the British and French elements in the Canadian population are not likely either to be overwhelmed by too rapid an increase of alien immigration from Europe, or to suffer any localised loss of *morale* by a dangerous influx of Oriental types.

E. B. O.

INDIA

THE INDIAN ARMY QUESTION

WRITING in this Review in June 1912, upon Lord Nicholson's Committee of Inquiry into various matters connected with the administration of the Army of India, I ventured to note three main points upon which public interest appeared to be concentrated. The first was that Lord Kitchener's work "should not be tinkered with, though it may require further development." The second was that the total strength of the Army of India, British and native, should not be reduced. "If any native regiments are inefficient and require to be disbanded, they should be recruited afresh from other sources." The third point (upon which public feeling was, however, more divided) was that the present number of British officers should remain unchanged. The Committee has now finished its work and formulated its conclusions. Although its views have not been published, it is understood that on all these three points it has gone astray. If this belief is correct, the outcome of the meetings at Simla is regrettable, and the rumour that another great controversy about the Army of India is impending can be well understood.

The only detailed information which has been published is from the pen of the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, who is generally first in the field upon such occasions. He says that there are, or will be, two reports instead of one. The Committee consisted of four members. Lord Nicholson had as his coadjutors Sir William Meyer, who was Lord Kitchener's financial adviser, and who has now become Finance Member of Council; Lieutenant-General Sir Percy Lake, Chief of the General Staff in India; and Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Scallon, a capable soldier who is now commanding an Indian Division. Lord Nicholson and Sir William Meyer are said to be ranged on one side, and the two generals on the other. Of the two reports which are expected, that of Lord Nicholson may take precedence, because as Chairman he has an additional casting vote. When the Government of India transmit these reports to the Secretary of State, they will be in a difficult position. They must make their choice between abandoning either a distinguished Field-Marshal or their own

Chief of Staff. Their only alternative course is to sit upon an extremely spiky fence.

The questions which came before the Committee were so numerous, and the information available is so deficient, that no attempt will be made here to deal with more than the three conspicuous points which have been already mentioned. The question of the total strength of the Indian forces may be considered first. The Committee had its origin in a well-meant but impracticable proposal to reduce the expenditure upon defence. When Lord Hardinge went to India, he had in view, or very quickly evolved, certain developments of policy which were likely to cost a good deal of money. He wanted, among other things, to enlarge the educational system, and to improve sanitation, and he soon became aware that the then secret project for changing the capital would involve a heavy outlay. Simultaneously he saw before himself the possibility of financial stringency. The ordinary heads of revenue were stable enough, and railways were increasingly prosperous, but though opium was producing huge surpluses the early extinction of the opium revenue was threatened. Was there any chance of economising upon military expenditure? Such was the direction in which enquiries are believed to have been instituted. Lord Hardinge had much to do with the formulation of the Anglo-Russian Convention, which has certainly tended to relieve the military authorities of India from their former state of incessant anxiety about external menace. It was natural to enquire whether the assurances derived from the Convention could be utilised for the relief of the Indian Budget. Stories gained currency that a reduction of the expensive British garrison was contemplated. They were promptly and explicitly denied in India and in Parliament. Then it was said that the Native Army was to be reduced in numbers. It was thereupon admitted that some inefficient regiments might be disbanded; but by that time it was realised that economies in Indian military expenditure could only be accomplished, if at all, after very careful expert investigation. Such was the genesis of the Nicholson Committee.

The suggestion that the British garrison should be reduced was always unthinkable. There are reasons for supposing that for several years, and until a comparatively recent period, various

schemes for an increase of the British garrison were tentatively under consideration. One variant of such schemes, which obtained full publicity, was that India should pay part of the cost of the British troops in South Africa and be at liberty to draw upon them at will. It is said that Lord Kitchener had in view a more direct form of increase. In any case, there can be no question now that neither Lord Hardinge nor anybody else ever proposed that the British garrison should be reduced. It is believed that the Nicholson Committee does not, moreover, go very far in its suggestions regarding the numbers of the Native Army. Certain Madras regiments, and possibly others which need not be specified, are said to be a source of weakness rather than strength, by reason of their inefficiency. The idea is that they should be disbanded. There seems little disposition in any quarter to question the wisdom of such a recommendation, if it is made. All that will be contended here is that disbanded native regiments should be replaced by new ones. Recruiting grows more difficult, but the fighting races of India can still supply more men. If the Russian menace has receded, other heavy demands may still be made upon the Indian Army, which is already too small for its responsibilities. The condition of Persia alone suffices to warrant strenuous resistance to any scheme which involves a reduction of total strength.

I pass to the question of the number of British officers with native regiments. It must be admitted at once that very great differences of opinion exist among experts upon this point. Some of the ablest soldiers in India, men who are neither devotees of Lord Kitchener nor of Lord Nicholson, sincerely take the view that the native regiments are now over-officered. The present allotment of British officers to native regiments was not, however, hastily decided upon. When the Boxer rebellion broke out in China, and an Indian expedition was sent to Peking, the native regiments dispatched were only furnished with the complement of British officers deemed necessary by dangerously depleting some of the regiments which were left behind. The military authorities grew alarmed at the position thus revealed. Sir Power Palmer, who was then Commander-in-Chief, pressed for more officers for native regiments. The average in his time was ten in some cases, and eleven in others, but sickness, leave, staff

appointments and other special demands, made the average actually on regimental duty very much less. With some difficulty he obtained an additional officer for every regiment, though he had asked for permission to bring the total to fifteen. Lord Kitchener eventually adopted and urged his predecessor's recommendation. He was instrumental in providing fourteen officers for every native regiment, and in some special cases fifteen. We are now invited to contemplate the prospect of a reduction of these totals, and are told that many of the officers have far too little to do. One recalls that Lord Kitchener never expected that they would continuously have heavy duties. "Work them hard in the cold weather, and let them go on leave if they like in the hot season," was his motto. The Indian Army is, or ought to be, always on a war footing. Its needs cannot be judged by peace conditions. Native regiments will always require British leaders. The casualties among such leaders on active service are generally heavy. The proportion of British officers should be decided not by the probable losses in a little "butcher and bolt" tribal campaign, but by the anticipated wastage in great operations extending over more than one season. The deficiency should not be made up when the troops are entraining for the front. British officers with native regiments ought to know, and be known by, their men. My opinion as a layman is worthless, but with all deference to the contrary view held by soldiers with great Indian experience, I venture to think that the present average proportion of British officers with native regiments is quite as low as is compatible with safety. It ought not to be reduced.

A far larger question, the question before all others in which the public is interested, is whether the work of the Nicholson Committee will result in any impairment of the labours of Lord Kitchener in India. The information available is still so indefinite that no verdict can yet be pronounced upon this point. One can only state what Lord Kitchener did, what he tried to do, and what the present position is. The issue is drifting into a curious and somewhat unpleasant form of controversy. All information points to the fact that in some respects, at any rate, the Army of India is in a very unsatisfactory condition. One side blames Lord Kitchener, and alleges that he left too much undone. The

other side vigorously assumes the offensive, and declares that Lord Kitchener's schemes were not carried to completion after his departure, as he had intended. Not Lord Kitchener, but his successors, are to blame for the defects now revealed. That the defects are there no one is inclined to deny.

It must be pointed out that Lord Kitchener never claimed that he left India with his reforms completed. The exact words on the point in his closing speech in Council were these:

I felt that the first essential step was to improve the organisation, training, and distribution of the army, and to provide for its thorough equipment for war; and I therefore put forward proposals to that end. These were approved in principle, and *considerable progress has been made in carrying them into effect.* We could now mobilise and place in the field an army consisting of nine infantry divisions and eight cavalry brigades. It is true that this could not yet be done for the whole force with the ease and absence of friction which, in an army run on business lines, should mark the transition from peace to war conditions; for we should still have to resort, to a certain extent in the later divisions, to *improvised arrangements.* But it is certain that the mobilisation could be carried out effectively, and with a degree of rapidity previously unattainable, and that, in addition, we should leave in India a sufficient force, suitably organised and staffed, to maintain public security in every part of the country.

The fact that has to be faced is that four years after Lord Kitchener's departure only five divisions are considered to be "completely ready," and even that assumption is probably sanguine. Two more are said to be "in a less advanced state of preparation," and two show "important deficiencies." The allegation is that this failure to complete Lord Kitchener's scheme is due to the shortcomings of those who have followed him. On the other hand, it is alleged that his scheme has proved impossible of complete fulfilment. I do not know the truth. Careful enquiries have failed to evoke sufficient evidence one way or the other. This is a matter which the military pundits must fight out among themselves. The point which concerns the public is that the whole of the nine divisions are not ready.

In other respects the Army of India appears at the present moment to be seriously deficient.* Here the Military Correspondent of the *Times* may be quoted. He says:

The reserve of rifles in India is inadequate. An army largely concerned with mountain warfare has a bad mountain gun with bad ammunition. The situation of the Medical Service is very unfavourable. It is short of many hundred officers and of many

thousand bearers required in war. The Indian Army is short of several hundred officers required on mobilisation. A full list of deficiencies would be a long one.

It would indeed, and there is every reason to fear that the list quoted is anything but exhaustive. The old Indian trouble about transport has only been partially overcome. Reserves of all kinds of munitions of war are insufficient, and if the only anxiety about rifles was that the reserves are small we might almost congratulate ourselves. The factories established for providing India with weapons and equipment are said to be starved. If a couple of divisions were ordered to Persia to-morrow, there would probably be some disagreeable revelations.

The mere onlooker may be pardoned for holding that it is upon these deficiencies that attention should now be concentrated. Unprofitable controversies about relative responsibility will not carry us very far. The discussion is concentrating far too much upon the question whether Lord Kitchener did or did not do certain things; and while we hear a great deal of new cantonments which are already mouldering, we hear far too little nowadays of the very great improvements which Lord Kitchener effected in the fighting efficiency of the troops under his command. Possibly he paid too little attention to the question of reserve supplies. If that was the case, the duty of his successors ought to have been to repair his omissions instead of dwelling upon them. We were often told after Lord Curzon left India that he was responsible for the unrest which afterwards made its appearance. That fable has been long since dissipated. In the same way, Lord Kitchener cannot be held responsible for the visible and invisible deficiencies in the Indian Army of to-day. The results of penurious maladministration lie, not at his door, but at the door of those who came after him. What remains to do is to put things right. It is a task which will not spell economy.

Lord Kitchener reorganised the Army of India upon certain lines, and in pursuance of certain principles. During his seven years tenure of the Indian Command, few people audibly questioned the general soundness of his proposals. Certainly neither Lord Curzon nor Lord Minto was ever heard to do so. There was often vigorous criticism of isolated features of his schemes, but their broad purpose was never in dispute. The great controversy which arose during his residence in India related to a

constitutional question which was entirely separate from the matters now under discussion. If, as was then generally agreed, Lord Kitchener's reorganisation scheme was worthy of support, the precise stage at which he left it becomes a minor consideration. The thing to do is to carry it to completion, and this has not been done. The scheme appears to remain very much where he left it, and in some respects it has been allowed to deteriorate. If the result of the recommendations of the artificial "majority" of the Committee will be to undo the scheme still further, then we may expect a battle royal at no distant date. We do not want to begin reorganising afresh, but rather to continue the scheme already adopted. Only in one respect do modifications appear permissible. It is said that present conditions seem to make it necessary that in the event of large operations beyond the frontier India should not be so greatly divested of troops as Lord Kitchener originally proposed. The necessity for such a modification can be well understood, and does not call for discussion. The wholesale mutilation of his scheme—if it is recommended—would be a very different matter.

One intention popularly ascribed to Lord Nicholson seems to require immediate condemnation, if the rumours now afloat are well founded. He is credited with a desire to advocate a very great enlargement of the number of Indian reservists. One need not be a soldier to realise that such a plan would be essentially mischievous, and might bring about the ruin of our rule. It is no secret that an Indian potentate was once found to be passing considerable numbers of men very rapidly through his Imperial Service Corps, so that the civil population of his State was beginning to contain a substantial admixture of trained soldiers. Not because his loyalty was in doubt, but because it was felt that such a practice could not be endorsed for obvious reasons, the Government of India intervened with a sharp admonition, and the system was modified. If we cannot permit Maharajahs to heap up reservists, most certainly we cannot permit ourselves to do so. Lord Kitchener never contemplated augmenting the reserves of the Indian Army beyond his prescribed limit of 50,000 men. In his opinion, that was the limit of safety. The Indian Army cannot be organised on Western lines. When the sepoy, under existing long-service conditions, passes into the reserve,

he has acquired a substantial interest in the preservation of th existing order of things. He knows that his pension, which h prizes, is dependent upon the continuance of British rule. I is not the old Indian soldier, with the maintenance for his declin ing years at stake, who listens to the insidious whisperings o revolutionaries, but the young and inexperienced man who ha not learned to look ahead. The experiment of flooding th bazaars of India with men in the prime of life trained in militar duties would be fraught with the utmost danger. It woul provide the agents of anarchy with a new field for their propa ganda. It is no answer to say that the men would not posses modern arms. That is an obstacle which might be overcome If any proposal is adumbrated for materially reducing the peac strength of the Native Army by creating large additional reserves it ought to be fought to the utmost. That way lies a new anc grave menace to the stability of our rule.

It must be understood that the views here expressed ar tentative, for the two conflicting reports are still under considera- tion, and their contents can only be surmised. It will be deplor- able if we are plunged into another Indian military controversy of a more vital kind than any which have gone before. It will be still more deplorable if official attention is concentrated upon schemes for curtailment of expenditure, and not upon the neces- sity for mending the weak joints in India's defensive armour.

ASIATICUS.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE RICHARDS MEMORIAL

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

SIR,—On September 28 of last year there passed away a man endowed with remarkable gifts of character, ability and resolution. Although his name was not prominently before the public, his work as a great naval administrator is none the less deserving of their recognition and enduring gratitude.

The title of "the Silent Worker," which was bestowed upon Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick William Richards, G.C.B., D.C.L., by the late Lord Goschen when First Lord of the Admiralty, gives a clear indication of his character, and all who were familiar with his personality and achievement will endorse the eloquent tribute paid to him by the same Statesman, when he affirmed that to Sir Frederick Richards the nation owed more than to any other man then living.

Apart from his services afloat, to Frederick Richards is in great measure attributable the clear and authoritative statement of the necessity of maintaining maritime supremacy and the means of securing it. Thus were founded the Naval Defence Act, introduced by Lord George Hamilton in 1889, and the comprehensive scheme of Naval Defence, including the provision of ships, of men, of naval bases throughout the Empire, instituted by Lord Spencer in 1893, and continued by Lord Goschen.

For a period of over fifty long and strenuous years Sir Frederick Richards served his country, afloat and ashore, in war and in peace, with an absolute disregard of self and a single-minded dedication of his great gifts to the maintenance of the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his Dominions. As First Sea Lord and chief representative of the Navy on the Board of Admiralty he kept watch and ward over the security of the Empire for six years (1893-99), and the results of his work, exemplified in the peaceful, because invincible, supremacy of the Royal Navy, were known throughout the world. It must be left to the historian owning a knowledge of the inner workings of events to do full justice to the share taken by Sir Frederick Richards, with his vigilant foresight and unbending resolution, in maintaining the peace and security of the Empire during a period of frequent anxiety and danger.

In 1899, upon the retirement of Sir Frederick Richards from the Admiralty, the Navy presented to the nation the portrait of this great naval administrator inscribed with the moving legend: "From the Navy to the Nation." This picture was hung in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital during his life-time, a departure from precedent in itself constituting a unique distinction. The Navy knew his worth, and gave the nation of its best.

At the death of Sir Frederick, it was felt that his national services should be fittingly commemorated; and his name, his character, and the record of his work preserved as examples and incentives to future generations. A meeting under the Presidency of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Gerard Noel was accordingly held at the Royal United Service Institution on November 23 last. It was attended by a large number of officers and civilians of distinction; and an Executive Committee, whose signatures appear hereunder, was appointed to carry into effect the purpose of the meeting.

His Majesty the King graciously signified his hearty sympathy with the project.

A copy of the report of the meeting, containing the speeches of the Chairman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Earl Brassey, Lord Charles Beresford, the late Sir William White, and others, will be forwarded, on application, by Admiral Sir John Durnford, Catisfield, Fareham, Hants.

The invitation to subscribe has hitherto been limited in scope; but the object in view will appeal to all, and, therefore, the Committee now desire to afford to all those who appreciate the work of the late Admiral an opportunity of contributing to the Fund.

The Committee hope to be placed in a position to recommend that a public memorial should be erected, and that a trust fund should be created, the interest on which should be applied to some beneficent object connected with the Royal Navy. Donations amounting to a little over £1000 have been received. It is estimated that, at least, an additional sum of £500 is needed. When the total amount available is known and the matter has been considered by the Committee, their proposals will be submitted more precisely to a general meeting of the subscribers, of which notice will be given in the Press.

Donations, which will be duly acknowledged, may be sent to the following:—The Right Hon. the Viscount Goschen, 21, Lombard Street, London, E.C.; Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Charles Beresford, G.C.B., M.P., 1, Great Cumberland Place, Marble Arch, London, W.; Admiral Sir John Durnford, G.C.B., D.S.O., Catisfield, Fareham, Hants; Paymaster-in-Chief F. Harrison-Smith, C.B., R.N., Admiralty House, Portsmouth (Hon. Secretary to the Fund).

Cheques, postal orders, etc., should be drawn in favour of "Richards Memorial Fund," and crossed "London County and Westminster Bank, 21, Lombard Street."

We are, &c.,

G. H. Noel (*Chairman*).
W. G. Ellison-Macartney (*V.-Chairman*).
Goschen (*Hon. Treas.*).
G. L. Atkinson-Willes.
Charles Beresford.
William Campbell.
John Carlisle.
A. S. Cope.
J. C. Cox-Edwards.
James N. Dick.
J. Durnford.
A. J. Dunston.
Hedworth Meux.
A. W. Moore.
C. H. R. Stansfeld.
Sydenham.
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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

Logic of Stricken Field

On the failure of the so-called Great Powers to prevent the Balkan War last autumn, in spite of a shower of diplomatic documents "as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa," it was obvious to every intelligent onlooker that the main issues would be decided by the logic of the stricken field, and that, though European diplomacy might endeavour to salve its *amour propre* by the possible coercion of say Montenegro, the little peoples risking their lives and that of their nations would be the effective arbiters of the situation should they win, just as the Turk would be the dominant factor should they lose. That was generally understood and recognised, and there was hardly a murmur from professional Pacifists, whose cause has been buried for all time in the Balkans. From the beginning to the end of the actual fighting the diplomats would take a back seat, though doubtless on the exhaustion of the combatants they would have something to say upon the settlement, but as their say would be governed by the mutual dread of the Great Powers it would not amount to very much in the face of local tenacity. These elementary general considerations which regulated the attitude of the chief capitals of Europe from the outset told heavily against Turkey. Europe was amazed at the deplorable political and military collapse of the Ottoman Empire, as the "well-informed," from the German General Staff downwards—and it was not only Germany who was wrong but, so far

as we know, all the leading experts of Europe—were convinced that the ill-compacted Balkan Federation were biting off more than it could chew in assuming the offensive against the dormant but terrible military might of Turkey, and that, though initial successes might be achieved by Montenegro, Servia, and Bulgaria —Greece appears to have been regarded as a negligible quantity— through the paucity of Turkish troops in the chosen theatres of war, and though the Bulgarian army was expected to prove a tough morsel, little doubt was entertained as to the crumpling up of the aggressors when the terrible Turk had once deployed his full fighting power.

Great Powers and Little Powers

WE are aware, of course, that in this world every one is omniscient after the event, and that no one will own to having been wrong, but this was nevertheless the pre-war judgment of those whose opinion was most entitled to respect in every country. It was likewise the opinion of those members of our own profession who had had most experience of war and the best opportunities of studying the Balkan peoples in their homes and the Turk in his home, and if it is necessary *pour encourager les autres* we don't mind admitting that had some one put a pistol to our head on the outbreak of the war and demanded a prophecy as to the probable course of events we should without any claim to expert knowledge have been as completely astray as the experts. It is an open secret that some of our greatest soldiers were anticipating the date at which the Turkish army would march into Sofia and dictate terms to Bulgaria, while the other Balkan armies were regarded as so much food for Turkish powder. Had Turkey not had the advantage of German inspiration, German training and German guns, to say nothing of the moral support of the German Emperor? It is desirable to recall and emphasise the general misjudgment at the time, without which we cannot appreciate the subsequent or the present situation. When the Great Powers resolved to let the little Powers fight it out, the latter must necessarily abide by the consequences, and it was universally agreed in every capital, from St. Petersburg to London, that Turkey must pay the penalty for her military fiasco—the penalty growing with every defeat. The sword had been appealed to and by the sword they

must abide, and though Turkey was not without powerful friends in Europe, her patrons did not show any symptom of moving a man or a ship to save her from the consequences of the Young Turkish regime, which seems to have many of the failings of the old Turkish regime plus some of its own. So matters stood when, after their fill of fighting, during which victory had shone almost consistently on the standards of all the Allies, Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins and even Greeks, who, though misjudged and despised, had gained astonishing successes, peace negotiations were opened in London in the winter, where a conference of Ambassadors kept the Great Powers in touch with one another and in a position to advise the little Powers. Montenegro was heroically coerced into surrendering Scutari in order that an autonomous Albania might be created. Servian ambitions on the Adriatic were curbed as a concession to Austria-Hungary, who had suffered severely in prestige and prospects by the surprising course of events which pointed to the evolution of a solid Balkan federation.

Present Imbroglio

OTHERWISE the "Treaty of London," which was supposed to terminate the Near Eastern struggle, followed the logic of the stricken field and awarded the victors the spoils, the Turkish frontier being re-drawn along the Enos-Midia Line, to the great advantage of Bulgaria and Co. But unfortunately the elated victors lost their heads, and those who had bled in a common cause were physically incapable of making the moderate revision of the distribution of Turkish territory agreed upon among the belligerents before a war in which they had been successful beyond their wildest dreams. All the old hatreds flared up, and in a trice Bulgaria was at the throat of Servia, Greece and Montenegro, and vice versa, Turkey remaining an interested spectator while these Christians showed the world how they loved one another. Sofia felt that as Bulgaria had borne the brunt of the great conflict, in which she had made unspeakable sacrifices, it was monstrous to be asked to yield an inch of coveted territory to compensate Servia for the interference of European diplomacy. Tsar Ferdinand and his ill-starred advisers—the local Asquiths and Lloyd Georges—rashly anticipated an easy and conclusive

settlement over their quondam Allies taken unawares, which would make Bulgaria the Prussia of the Balkans in fact as well as in name. Servians, Greeks, and Montenegrins were only too ready to respond to the challenge in their detestation of the threatened supremacy of Sofia. All were suffering from swollen heads. Bulgaria was most to blame because, having achieved so much, she stood to lose most, being encompassed by countless enemies, including Rumania, to whom a golden opportunity was offered of acquiring the hegemony of the Near East without losing a man. Why Rumania had been slighted by Bulgaria during the past year, when it was vital to her ambitions to remain on the best possible terms with her formidable northern neighbour, is one of the many mysteries of Near Eastern politics. The astute politicians of Bucharest had patiently bided their time, and under the incitement of one or more Great Powers the Rumanian army was suddenly mobilised and invaded helpless Bulgaria, who was unable to offer any resistance, and on a threat from the Hohenzollern Sovereign of Rumania to occupy Sofia Bulgaria found itself constrained to throw up the sponge and capitulate to her enemies, the humiliation being embodied in the Treaty of Bucharest, depriving her of practically everything she had hoped to get in Macedonia, giving Greece almost everything she wanted at the expense of Bulgaria, but leaving the Treaty of London intact as regards the Enos-Midia frontier in Thrace, by which Bulgaria acquired, *inter alia*, Adrianople. Meanwhile Turkey, not unnaturally provoked by the "unnatural war" among her aggressors, thought that she might safely take the field again, and a large army under Enver Bey has recaptured Adrianople from the Bulgarians, and European diplomatists are asking one another, "Who will turn out the Turks?" Turkey's attitude so far is, "J'y suis j'y reste." As it is clearly not our business to go beyond speech-making, we are under no temptation to urge other Powers to undertake responsibilities and risks we do not propose to share. If the Turks can keep their heads they can probably keep Adrianople.

READERS of our esteemed and usually amiable contemporary, the *Spectator*, must have been somewhat startled by the indignation, not to say fury, with which it recently (August 9) fell upon Mr. Arnold White, who was treated as a dangerous specimen of the criminal lunatic throughout four columns of an article entitled "The King and the Constitution." What had Mr. White done to provoke this unwonted outburst of celestial wrath? He was accused of "promoting a mischievous movement for putting pressure upon the King to commit a revolutionary act and withhold his assent to a Bill (*passed according to the law of the land*—our italics) because that Bill is, as we fully admit, a bad Bill," &c. &c. Other persons are alleged to be involved in this same dire conspiracy, which has "at last come into the open" and "shown how utterly fallacious are the grounds upon which their demand rests." At the same time "they reveal how great a godsend their scheme would prove to the distracted Liberals were it to obtain the sanction of the majority of the Unionist Party. Happily, we do not see the slightest sign of Unionists in general adopting it. Nothing could have been more frigid than the reception accorded to the *ballon d'essai* sent up in the *Daily Express* by Mr. Arnold White." Indeed the *Spectator* is careful to point out that "the *Daily Express* takes no responsibility for his proposals, and no editorial article backs them up. Indeed, as far as we know, there has been no endorsement of his article in any Unionist newspaper." Poor Mr. White! He is alone in his glory, or must we say in his crime?—though not quite alone, because, according to his executioner, "there has undoubtedly been a good deal of private talk of a similar nature to that indulged in by Mr. Arnold White, and there is always the danger that in moments of great excitement and exasperation stupid things will be done by accident, and contrary to the wishes of the wiser minds in the Party."

The Spectator on the war-path

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IT is on these grounds that the *Spectator* justifies taking note of the despicable suggestion of Mr. Arnold White. "If an early protest is not made, and if bad arguments are merely treated with silent contempt, we may get into trouble later. On the whole, then, though we are not really afraid that Mr. Arnold White and those who

Appeal to the King

are behind him will convert the Unionist Party, we think it as well to state the overwhelming case against his proposal." Let us hasten to say that we entirely agree with the *Spectator* as to the desirability of discussing this all-important question now while there is leisure rather than await the moment of crisis, when "clear thinking" will be at a discount. For this reason we raised this issue in the last number of the *National Review*, and though we did not state the case so fully as Mr. Arnold White, we cannot help feeling that if he is to be pilloried by the "great wise and eminent members" of our profession we deserve the same fate, as we are substantially in agreement with his wicked attitude in spite of "the overwhelming" he has received from the *Spectator*. Mr. Arnold White crystallised his vigorous articles in the *Daily Express*, which is one of the very few Unionist newspapers with the courage of its opinions or indeed of any opinions, into the proposal that as large a number of people as possible should sign the following petition to his Majesty: "I respectfully ask Your Majesty to withhold your Royal assent to the Bill to amend the provision for the government of Ireland, until after the electors of the United Kingdom have been consulted." We stated our own view as clearly as we could last month, and, so that there may be no misunderstanding, we reproduce the appended passage before referring to the arguments of the *Spectator* directed to the address of the unconscionable Mr. Arnold White, who, like ourselves, has the effrontery to refuse to regard the Crown as the marionette of the Molly Maguires.

It is somewhat remarkable that so far no one has ventured to raise the problem of the duty of a Constitutional Sovereign in the absence of a Constitution, though it is becoming plain to the plain man that events are so shaping themselves as to cast as grave responsibility upon the King next year as has fallen to the lot of any of his Majesty's predecessors. Is anything gained by ignoring facts which stare us in the face? What is the present position and what is the outlook? A detested because detestable and despicable gang of political adventurers, whose true character at last stands revealed, have momentarily succeeded in capturing the government of the country, which they are transforming into a Single Chamber autocracy. In a constitutional sense Great Britain is a Costa Rica. Morally we are becoming a Panama. To a vast and ever-increasing number of his Majesty's subjects the objects, the methods, the persons of these Tammany Hall politicians are all equally odious. But they happen to be in possession, and the people have no peaceable means of ejecting them. Every time a constituency is consulted it registers its hatred of the Coalition in no uncertain fashion, in spite of all the dirty tricks practised for the purpose of falsifying public opinion. At

such a crisis the thoughts of serious people automatically turn towards the Throne as standing outside and above the strife of party and as being the one great Imperial factor in this part of the British Dominions. The position of a constitutional King would be difficult enough in all conscience, but what of a King whose Constitution has been violated and destroyed by the demagogues? The next item on their preposterous programme is a civil war in Ireland without a General Election in England. Those are the orders of the Molly Maguires, and "toe the line" Asquith has no option but to obey them. It is surely not asking too much of the Throne to throw on the people the responsibility of this civil war by granting a General Election before this impossible measure is placed on the Statute Book and the accursed dual system planted in the heart of the kingdom. King George and Queen Mary have recently had exceptional opportunities of realising the profound and abiding attachment of the British people towards the Monarchy. Politicians may be interested in discounting these impressive demonstrations, but the permanent interests of the nation and the Empire demand that they shall be interpreted in the proper quarter at their true value. They are eloquent signs of the times. Never can the Crown risk becoming the creature of the disorganised hypocrisy of detected frauds which bullies, humiliates and afflicts this unfortunate community.*

The "Overwhelming Case"

WHAT, then, is the "overwhelming case" of the *Spectator?* We are naturally interested because if Mr. Arnold White is overwhelmed we share the same fate. Those who respectfully invite the Sovereign to withhold his assent to the Home Rule Bill are accused of assuming that the Sovereign possesses the Right of Veto and that the Royal Assent is still a personal and not a merely formal act, "and that therefore the King, by signing a Bill like the Home Rule Bill, upon which the electors of the United Kingdom have not been consulted, would be acknowledging a personal responsibility for that Bill." There could be no more "wrong-headed and dangerous view of the Constitution" or "one more unfair and prejudicial to the Sovereign." Again, "no responsibility whatever can rest upon the King for assenting to an Act of Parliament. When he gives such assent, the Sovereign acts automatically and not personally and accepts no responsibility whatever for the contents of the Bill or for the conditions upon which they are passed. For the contents of Bills the Ministers, who under the theory of the Constitution have advised the King to sign, are wholly responsible. The King's acts are the acts of his Ministers." This is very ancient history, almost too ancient history. No one will be found to dispute the theory

* See Episodes of the Month, *National Review*, August 1913.

of Ministerial responsibility or to deny that under the British Constitution the King acted in the name of his Ministers, and under normal conditions has no personal responsibility for the measures to which he gives the Royal assent. But we are not living under normal conditions. With the acquiescence of the *Spectator*, the British Constitution was abrogated two years ago on the passing of the Parliament Bill through the House of Lords largely owing to an illegitimate exercise of Royal influence, of which the Crown was probably quite unconscious—the King's name being taken in vain by unfaithful and disloyal servants with a view of persuading the peers to pass a measure of which the vast majority were known to disapprove. We are, of course, fully aware that other political responsibilities were involved, but it can never be forgotten that the Radical Press openly boasted of the exercise of Court pressure in the House of Lords through the instrumentality of Lord Knollys, and without any protest from those who now tell us that the Crown is a political cypher.

The Putney Parliament

SINCE the passing of the Parliament Act matters have pursued the course anticipated by those who fought that measure to the last, and whose strenuousness was stimulated by the knowledge that the Crown could not avoid being brought into party strife once that preposterous measure found its way on to the Statute Book with the connivance of the official Opposition. We have since seen a procession of measures passed automatically under the gag and guillotine in the so-called popular Chamber, which is probably at the present moment the most unpopular assembly in the world, in the interests of a discredited cabal of the Tammany Hall type who aim at establishing absolutist government in this country with themselves as autocrats. We are now approaching the last stage of the tragedy. By capitulating to the demagogues the year before last the House of Lords sank practically to the level of the Putney Parliament, possessing very few more powers than the Putney Parliament, though admittedly it is able to delay the undiscussed measures seeking their way to the Statute Book for a slightly longer period than they could be delayed by the Putney Parliament. Nothing now stands between the country and catastrophe except the Crown, and the issue

between ourselves and the *Spectator* is as to whether the Crown should consent during a period of *interim* revolutionary government to cast its influence on the side of the revolutionaries and against what there is every reason to believe are the wishes of the people. It is as irrelevant of the *Spectator* as of any Coalition organ, such as the *Westminster Gazette*, which is naturally enchanted with the attitude of the *Spectator*, to recite the fact of which we are all aware, that British Sovereigns have assented to measures of which they personally disapproved. That is perfectly true, and they had no alternative. It was the condition under which a constitutional monarchy operated; but the conditions are fundamentally altered by the conduct of the cabal in tricking the Crown in November 1910 and in perverting a mandate secured for such constructive purposes as the reform of the House of Lords to such destructive purposes as the abolition of the suspensive veto, which means robbing the people of their control of Parliament.

Exit "Tags"

THE *Spectator* invites us, or rather Mr. Arnold White, to use his imagination, as we should soon see "what an appalling mess and muddle the Constitution would get into if it were to be allowed even for a moment that the King is responsible for legislation, and that before he signs Bills he has to consider whether they are good *per se* or whether the principle of them has been endorsed by the people." This is surely beside the mark, for no one, so far as we know, has made any such suggestion. What is urged, and we urge it with all the force at our command, is that in these abnormal times amid abnormal circumstances, with a Government that makes no pretence of carrying out the will of the people, but is merely "toeing the line" to John Redmond and Patrick Ford, the ordinary governing considerations no longer govern. That the Crown, being a human institution, is constrained to take a human view of the facts. The outstanding fact confronting us all from the King downwards is not merely that the Home Rule Bill, as automatically passed by a mechanical majority, is an odious and impossible Bill, of which the people show their dislike at every available opportunity, but unless all the signs of the times are misleading—and Sir Edward Carson's recent campaign in

Ulster and the present outbreak at Londonderry are sufficiently convincing—directly any attempt is made to set up a Nationalist Parliament in Dublin there will be civil war in the United Kingdom for the first time for 250 years. In the face of such a catastrophe the ordinary constitutional "tag" goes by the board, and no King worthy to be a King can consent to act as an automaton *coûte que coûte*. It is not a question of approving or disapproving particular measures, of wondering whether the Insurance Bill, for example, is popular or unpopular, of questioning the wisdom of the Meanest Bill, or to take the illustration dear to the *Spectator* of listening to anybody who might urge that the King should not sign a Tariff Reform Bill "on the ground that the people had never been consulted upon it, and that though a tariff might have been mentioned at the election the proposal was something perfectly different from the actual Bill, and so on, and so on. What would be the King's position then? Under the existing practice of the constitution he would, of course, take no notice of any petition, for the considerations urged could not affect the automatic action of the Sovereign in the least. If, however, he had already, in the case of the Home Rule Bill, taken action, such as Mr. Arnold White demands, he would find himself in a most difficult and dangerous predicament." We venture to say that the Sovereign would find nothing of the kind, as there is no conceivable analogy between the two issues. Tariff Reform does not mean Civil War. The Home Rule Bill does.

Blue-Eyed Babies

No one dreams of suggesting that the King should interfere with legislation, or adopt a different attitude from that of his predecessors. The same appeal would have been made to them that is made to him, namely, that in the face of the ever-growing discredit and detestation aroused by the Coalition, he shall not allow an impudent gang of Stock Exchange gamblers to place a measure on the Statute Book behind the back of the people and against the wishes of the people which must plunge the country into civil war. So far from the *Spectator* doctrine of treating the Crown as a mere cypher being calculated to save the Sovereign from "difficult and dangerous predicaments," it would have precisely the opposite effect, because if under no conceivable circumstances the Sovereign is to

exercise any initiative whatsoever, but is blindly to accept any infamies commending themselves to infamous Ministers, who by fair means or foul have momentarily seized the Government, the Crown would sustain irretrievable injury. Amid the prevailing demoralisation, the one institution which remains untarnished and inspires any confidence now that parliamentary government has gone by the board, and Panama is established in our midst, is the Monarchy, and in the days of storm and stress ahead of us it is towards the Sovereign that every good patriot instinctively turns. Much is therefore expected, though little is asked, and people will not be deterred from asking that little because they are denounced as mad dogs by the *Spectator*. The precise form of appeal is secondary, but we feel convinced that ninety-nine of our readers out of every hundred do most heartily assent to the substance of the prayer published in the *Daily Express*, and agree with us that it is not extravagant to ask King George, before assenting to a Bill which must inevitably light the fires of civil war, to make sure that his people want it. It is no question of restoring the Royal Veto but of reviving government of the people by the people for the people which has been destroyed by Panama politicians. The petition proposed by Mr. Arnold White as printed on a previous page runs as follows: "I respectfully ask Your Majesty to withhold your Royal assent to the Bill to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland until after the electors of the United Kingdom have been consulted." Supposing for a second we adopted the opposite view and treated the Crown as the creature of the Coalition. Then on *Spectator* doctrines, if the Coalition brought in a Bill—of which it is quite capable—to put all blue-eyed babies in Ulster to the sword, which would undoubtedly be carried by the usual majority in the present House of Commons, after the few months' delay imposed by the House of Lords the King would have no option but to say "Le Roi le veult." Constitutional purists would console themselves for the slaughter of the blue-eyed babies on the ground that Ministers were responsible and that the measure could always be repealed in the event of a change of Government, and would exhaust themselves denouncing the Arnold Whites and other lunatics, who besought his Majesty to prevent the catastrophe by refusing the Royal Assent. We are up against

one of those big facts for which there is no room in the pigeonholes of pedantry.

Prorogation of Parliament

OUR Weary and Wearisome Parliament was ultimately prorogued on August 15 after an exceptionally ignominious Session, of which the outstanding feature was the acceptance of the Unlimited Right of Ministers to Speculate as a cardinal tenet of the Coalition creed. The closing Speech from the Throne naturally made no reference to this episode. Ministers did not even dare to convey formal official congratulations to their egregious colleague at the Post Office, Mr. Herbert Samuel, on his *chef-d'œuvre* the Marconi Contract, nor so far as we can detect did the Royal speech contain the faintest allusion to Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment or the Gerrymandering Bill, all of which are dear to the heart of the Panama Party. The recent visit of President Poincaré to London was described in no conventional terms as "a source of great gratification to me, and the manifestations of goodwill to which it gave rise afford a fresh guarantee for the continuance of the cordial friendship which unites the two countries." After a cordial reference to the special mission sent by the Argentine Republic to convey the thanks of the Argentine people and Government for the warm interest manifested by King Edward in the recent commemoration of the first centenary of that State, which could not fail to strengthen the good relations so long subsisting between the two countries, the situation in the Near East was thus described. "The Conference of Delegates of the States at war in the Balkan Peninsula resumed its sittings in London earlier in the year, and agreed upon the terms of a Treaty of Peace. I much regret that hostilities between different nationalities again created a state of war accompanied by many deplorable incidents. It is satisfactory that the Conference of belligerents at Bucharest has led to a cessation of hostilities which I hope will be permanent." Satisfaction was likewise expressed "that the Great Powers have kept constantly in touch with each other, and my Government has done all in its power to facilitate the interchange of views and co-operation in action through the Ambassadors in London."

THE "gentlemen of the House of Commons" were thanked in terms which almost sound ironical considering the present plight of our national defences by sea, by land, and overhead, "for the liberal supplies which you have granted in order to maintain the full efficiency of the public service in its various branches." That is the verdict passed by Ministers on themselves, but the verdict of the public is that wherever there is an opportunity of squandering money by the creation of billets for needy greedy supporters of the Government, Mr. Lloyd George will vie with the best of them, while the extravagant tenderness to the Marconi Company is everything but surprising. Wherever, on the other hand, expenditure is demanded by public interests he resolutely buttons up his pocket. The two Houses of Parliament were congratulated on passing "by agreement" a Scottish Temperance Act, "which will, I sincerely hope, advance the cause of temperance in that country, and thereby conduce to the general welfare of the community." Similar satisfaction was expressed at the passing of the Feeble-Minded Bill, though we suspect it will be allowed to remain a dead letter, because if it were effectually put in operation it would cause a considerable gap in both Houses of Parliament, especially on the Government Bench in the House of Lords, which, judging by their utterances, contains a striking proportion of Mentally Deficient Persons. The National Insurance Act had been amended and supplemented where experience showed that alterations were desirable, while a loan had been guaranteed to the Government of the Soudan, which would not only add "to the prosperity of that territory, but also afford increased sources of supply to the cotton industry of this country." This measure is of peculiar interest as it marks a breach in the Free Trade citadel. Cobdenites were agreed that there was nothing more objectionable both in theory and in practice than the nursing of infant industries—the thin end of the wedge of Protection. If it is right to nurse an industry because it is young and sickly and would perish if left to struggle unaided, it must be equally right to nurse industries which would suffer if subjected to unrestricted foreign competition, as also to prop up aged and ailing industries providing employment for our own people who would be thrown out of work without State protection.

Irony

Exit Cobdenism

The general law of supply and demand and no Government interference is good enough for other people, but it is not good enough for Lancashire Free Traders, anxious for the future of the raw material of their business, so where their own affairs are concerned they wisely recognise that man is not made for Free Trade but Free Trade for man. They have consequently insisted on Government assistance in "developing" cotton, of which they are threatened with a shortage. The Manchester school, which has in many respects gone by the board, receives its quietus from this paragraph in the King's Speech, for which Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, who is nothing if not a Cobdenite, is responsible. It should be made the starting-point for an illuminating propaganda in North-West Manchester, where we are promised a lively contest whenever there is a General Election, owing to the provident scuttle of Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, from Walthamstow, which is one of the many seats about which the Radical Party are "jumpy," to Manchester, ostensibly as a standard-bearer of Free Trade in Lancashire, but really to save his own bacon in Essex. Much rubbish is talked about North-West Manchester by whichever Party happens to hold it. As a matter of fact the balance of electoral power in that particular division is in the hands not of English Free Traders but of Foreign Jews, who are doubtless encouraged to believe as Simon is a Jewish name that Sir John Simon is a Jew, like the Attorney-General, which as a matter of fact he is not, though doubtless the truth will be concealed by the local wire-pullers from the decisive element in the constituency who are already hailing him as one of themselves.

The "Marconi Atmosphere"

The House of Commons ended as it began in a "Marconi atmosphere." Its futile and pitiful labours opened last March under the shadow of the *Matin* case, when our Marconi Ministers found themselves constrained at the twelfth hour to reveal a percentage of the truth to a foreign newspaper which they had so jealously guarded from their colleagues in the House of Commons. This was followed by a series of dental operations postponed from one sitting to another in the hope that some of the teeth might be saved. These tactics secured some success. Experts estimate

that so far we have only extracted about 10 per cent. of the truth concerning Ministerial Marconi speculations. This we can well believe. It was only through a happy fluke that the secret and independent operation in American Marconis of the far-flung Master of Oilybank, Trustee of the Party of Progress, at the expense of the Party funds was disclosed to an astonished world. Nor must we forget that the Master of Oilybank, created a peer by Mr. Asquith on his precipitate retirement from progressive politics last autumn under circumstances constituting a mystery, was as careful in concealing this additional speculation with the Party funds from his bosom associates and intimate confidants, Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs, as these eminent statesmen had been in concealing their transactions from the House of Commons, which was given to understand, and which undoubtedly understood last October, that no Minister had trafficked in any Marconi shares during the negotiation of the first contract between the Company and the Government, which was only laid on the Table of the House of Commons in July of last year. The successive disclosures in Court and before the Marconi Select Committee dominated by Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth, so alarmed the Coalition that it was resolved to close the Committee, which docilely decided by the usual "majority" abruptly to terminate its labours without fulfilling either of its duties, namely, of probing rumours concerning Ministerial speculations to the bottom, and of passing judgment on the Marconi contract. We have devoted a great deal of space to Marconi matters in recent numbers and we have reason to know that in spite of the desperate efforts of the "hush-up" Press to prevent the public from appreciating the facts, that the subject arouses immense interest, but as the fight for Clean Government will necessitate the opening of a new chapter in the autumn we do not propose to dilate upon it at any great length in the present number.

A Significant Silence

We would however ask our readers to bear in mind the circumstances attending the dissolution of the Marconi Select Committee despite the wishes of the Unionist minority. So long as that Committee sat there was a place where Ministers could be summarily summoned to testify on oath. However ready the members of

the great Ministry of Mendacity may be to feed the Hou
Commons with falsehoods to which no penalties attach, be
in these days a large section of the community admi
politician in proportion as he lies, several of them would d
less hesitate to commit perjury when there was a prospe
being found out. Only four Cabinet Ministers gave evi
before the Marconi Select Committee, and of these four,
had figured in the *Matin* case, two as plaintiffs, namel
Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Herbert Samuel, whose testimony
not be evaded even by a Falconer-Handel Booth "major
any more than that of Mr. Lloyd George, who had been defi
accused by his own colleague and friend, Sir Rufus Isaa
the course of his evidence in the *Matin* case, of having specu
to the tune of £2000 in American Marconi shares. These
the only Ministers whom the Committee desired to hear, fo
simple reason that when the cat was once out of the bag
could not refuse to do so. In spite of a feeble effort to
suade the Master of Oilybank to return and give his ve
of these extraordinary transactions his friends were pai
anxious that he should remain at Bogota until the Ma
scandal had blown over, or, in his own expressive phrase,
"cleaned r- ." Apart from the Postmaster-General, the C
cellor of the Exchequer, and the Attorney-General the
Minister heard by the Committee was Mr. Winston Chur
who made a highly theatrical and most unimpressive de
stration, under cover of which he managed at once to de
a series of devilish backhanders at his Marconi colleague
treating the imputation that he might have done what
had done as the vilest of imputations, and to escape all c
examination at the hands of the petrified Committee.
another Minister testified, which was all the more striking
suggestive because last October the Postmaster-General
interpreted as declaring that no Minister had speculated in
shares in any Marconi Company. When it appeared from
Matin case that the popular interpretation of this comprehe
disclaimer was illusory, people naturally imagined that
entire Cabinet would desire to put themselves right by a
claration of disinterestedness on oath.

THERE was, as we all know, a sensational boom in American Marconis a few weeks after the "announcement" of the Contract, which was not a contract nor an agreement (*vide* Mr. Herbert Samuel) between the Company and the Government on March 7, 1912. At about the same time there was likewise a tremendous boom in the shares of the parent Company, which, according to the *Westminster Gazette*, had no connection to speak of with subsidiary Marconi Companies beyond the common name. There were also minor booms in the Canadian Marconi Company and the Spanish Marconi Company at or about the same time, and presumably produced by the same causes whatever they may have been. The Coalition creed is revised so frequently to keep pace with leakages of the truth that one cannot guess how it *stands* at any given moment, but so far as we can judge it would still be regarded as a wicked and even a corrupt act on the part of his Majesty's Ministers to gamble or invest in British Marconi shares, while as we know from Mr. Lloyd George's speeches and from the attitude of progressive organs and the Coalition majority in the House of Commons, it is an act of conspicuous virtue to invest in the shares of associated Marconi companies, and that virtue is heightened by the prolonged concealment of such transactions. What the public want to know and are entitled to know, what we want to know and shall continue to press for, is, how many other Ministers besides the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and the late Chief Whip of the Party invested their savings or their loans in Mr. Godfrey Isaacs' companies. After Mr. Samuel's misleading disclaimer of last October the country should be told the whole truth. With any luck we hope to discover some further fragments of it. On the collapse of the conspiracy the Prime Minister was specifically asked in Parliament whether he had any further statement to make as regards Marconi transactions by other colleagues, which he met with his usual evasiveness. The Select Committee made no attempt to summon Mr. Asquith or his colleagues, though they were continually pressed to do so by those whose instincts have led them aright throughout this question. We warned Ministers after the revelations of the *Matin* case and the subsequent admissions in cross-examination that the [illegible]

A Choice of Booms

pretation would naturally be put on their failure to insist on appearing before the Select Committee.

"In the Soup"

WHY did Mr. Asquith, who was a party to deceiving the House of Commons concerning the American speculations of Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. of which he had known something since last July or August, flatly refuse to enquire as to further speculations by other Ministers unless he dreaded further damaging discoveries. The matter cannot rest where it is, nor will it do so. If it be a virtuous act to buy American Marconi shares on a tip from the contractor negotiating with the Government, why should Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Master of Elibank monopolise this virtue? If, on the other hand, it was a *grossly improper* act, why should these same Ministers have a monopoly of the odium? Then again, if in accordance with the Ministerial right to speculate as now endorsed by Parliament it was right to invest in American Marconi shares, surely it could not have been wrong to do the same as regards Spanish or Canadian shares? What Ministers, whether inside or outside the Cabinet, were tempted to "flutter" in these associated Companies with or without the tip of the Managing Director of the contracting Company? We have no idea how many Ministers may be involved in such transactions, and we shrewdly suspect that the Committee committed suicide for fear of further revelations. The Prime Minister would surely have asked leave to appear before the Committee and to make a statement exonerating the Cabinet had he been in a position to do so. There is also the question of the British Marconi Company. We refuse to draw any serious distinction between that Company and its prolific offspring, and whereas ordinary people are perfectly entitled to gamble in any Marconi Company, Ministers who receive enormous salaries in order to keep them out of financial mischief should avoid Marconi shares in view of the relations between the Company and the Government. But if the Coalition creed permits them to buy Americans or Spanish or Canadians, there is no reason why they should not buy British, unless it be the insuperable objection of the Cobdenite to support a home industry. We are inclined to think that at some time or another, either in their own names or in the names of their

relations, or through the instrumentality of nominees, some of his Majesty's Ministers were interested in the shares of the British Marconi Company, and that the true explanation of the servility of the Government to the Company arises from the dangerous knowledge possessed by men, Irishmen and otherwise, largely interested in Marconi shares concerning hitherto undisclosed gambles which would bring the Government to the ground if they became public property. Our readers may rest assured that we shall pursue our investigations, and we confidently anticipate that, with the assistance of those who have aided us in the past—who are aware that their confidences will be scrupulously observed—we shall be able before many months are passed to show that the disease of Marconitis spreads beyond the group who are, so to speak, already "in the soup."

Where is Oilybank?

LORD MURRAY of Oilybank labours under a strange delusion in imagining that he can remain indefinitely in far Bogota—fourteen days' hard mule-riding from the nearest wireless office. Mr. Illingworth, his eminent "co-trustee" of the Party funds, who is now understood to have retired to some ducal stronghold in Scotland in pursuit of "Blood not Bloom"—to borrow one of the best of the Lloyd Georgics—to slake his thirst for the slaughter of the graceful grouse or the harmless stag, labours under a similar delusion should he imagine that the last has been heard of the maladministration of the Radical Party funds, of which a glimpse was afforded the Marconi Select Committee. We are airily told this is a purely domestic concern in which Unionists have no *locus standi*. This won't do. The Radical Party are for the time being the *de facto* Government of the country. The public have a right to know how and when they raised the vast sums of money of which the exile from Elibank appears to have had control, all the more as the investments were usually made in the joint names of the Master and his lieutenant, Mr. Illingworth, the present Chief Whip of the Coalition Government. These secret party funds, collected from aspirants to titles, invested on inside knowledge on the strength of valuable tips from Government contractors whose contracts awaited ratification, squandered at the discretion of a flat who apparently had no auditor to keep him straight,

who did not even take the trouble to see that the scrip was delivered by the Party brokers to the Party bankers, open a door to gross abuses and require searching investigation. If you find great accretions to the Radical coffers on the eve of the Coronation in 1911, when honours would be distributed with a lavish hand; if you find Cobdenite Party funds invested in every country except Cobden's country; if you find active speculation with Party Funds in Home Railway stocks during a coal strike which the Government were engaged in settling—you are naturally disposed to ask awkward questions. These are delicate topics. In justice to himself Lord Murray of Oilybank should return from Bogota. This is for the second time of asking.

The Last Marconi Debate

THE ratification of some contract, of any contract, with the Marconi Company was a foregone conclusion. In the first place it was necessary for the maintenance of the Marconi boom and for the development of a world-wide monopoly. It was vital to the existence of a stricken Government; it offered the only hope of momentarily stemming the tide of revelations. Even those "responsible organs" of the Opposition over which Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. are slobbering for services rendered, which will doubtless be paid for in pudding as well as in praise, could not save his Majesty's Ministers in the event of further disclosures. The official Whips were put on when the new contract came before the House on August 8, and in spite of some Ministerial absentees who cannot stomach this Marconi business, the Company secured a majority of 72 votes (210 to 138). Let us reiterate that the House was never allowed to know how many Ministers had been or still were financially interested in Marconi companies, just as it has not been allowed to know what Ministers are financially interested in oil, which was so precipitately, and as it proved prematurely, adopted by Mr. Churchill for the propulsion of British battleships. After what has happened we are entitled to suspect the worst. The one conspicuous feature of the Marconi Debate was the absence of all articulate unofficial approval of the contract, which Mr. Samuel boasted was a "hard bargain" for the Company—a view which is reflected neither in the Annual

Report of the Company nor the subsequent boom in Marconi shares, which, like former booms, is plainly due to the capitulation of the British Post Office. Three political hacks upheld the "hard bargain," Mr. Masterman, the financial Secretary of the Treasury, who is reported to have earned his promotion to the Cabinet—a statement we should be the last to deny—our hopelessly discredited Postmaster-General, and Panama Premier Asquith, both of whom played the common parlour trick of "strategic urgency" in the House of Commons, suggesting that our military and naval authorities believed that the security of the British Empire depended on our entering into wireless partnership with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. But, as we know, the so-called "Admiralty" merely means Mr. Churchill, who is Marconi mad, like the Postmaster-General; the War Office is content to say ditto to Colonel Seely; and what, after all, is the Defence Committee except a public disaster? It simply consists of the Prime Minister and such colleagues or "tame" experts as he may choose to summon.

Radical Critics

WIRELESS telegraphy is no party question, though the exigencies of Ministers have compelled them to treat it as such. The performance of the Post Office in saddling the country with this deplorable arrangement was riddled by Radical members, Sir Henry Norman and Sir George Croydon Marks, two of the few members whose opinion is of any value on this question. Sir Henry Norman opposed the new contract not from any prejudice against the Postmaster-General or Mr. Marconi, whom he immensely admired, or the Marconi Company, whose commercial qualifications he acknowledged, or from any preference for other companies. He was "frankly opposed" to all companies or syndicates "on the terms of a contract like this. My attitude is simply that of an advocate of State ownership, and of that complete liberty on the part of the Government which was so strongly recommended by Lord Parker's Committee." The speaker denied the existence of extreme urgency, of which so much was heard nowadays, and thought it would be far wiser to take advantage of impending developments rather than rush into the proposed arrangement. We feel even more strongly than Sir Henry Norman without laying any claim to his practical knowledge. We distrust every-

thing which has been said or done during the last two years by the Postmaster-General in connection with this subject. He has proved himself to be one of the most disingenuous members of the present Cabinet, which is saying a great deal. We are opposed to any and every arrangement, good, bad or indifferent, with the Marconi Company. We dislike what we know of its methods and we predict that the Government will find itself in great difficulties owing to this partnership, though it may offer a momentary escape from greater difficulties. Government Departments should have no dealings whatsoever with companies whose managing directors give valuable tips to Cabinet Ministers during confidential negotiations. We realise, however, that if for undisclosed reasons the Ministers who accept the tips are whitewashed, it is impossible for the Government to take a strong line with the Company even if it wished to do so.

Sir G. Croydon Marks

Sir George Croydon Marks, who complained of the scandalous treatment he had received from his party owing to his critical attitude on this question, which was abundantly justified by the difference between the new contract and the old contract, stood pluckily to his guns and criticised the present Agreement

because I think it is a mistake. I criticise it because I think the resources of this State are not exhausted. We can carry this out ourselves quite easily. You might just as well say to the people at Woolwich Arsenal that they must not cast steel because at one time they could not cast it—that therefore they must buy it from Sheffield. You might just as well tell the War Office that they must not have a separate department to make their own torpedoes to-day because at one time when they tried to make them they failed. You might just as well say to the Admiralty that they must not make submarines because one or two experiments have been bad. You might as well tell the War Office that they shall have nothing to do with aeroplanes, and that they must get them from outside because of similar reasons. All this is to suggest that to-day we are in this impoverished condition; to suggest that Government Departments cannot do what private firms can do; that private firms possess information that Government Departments do not, and that private firms can design what Government Departments cannot design.

The speaker, having been brought up in the Government Service, added:

I stand here to demand that which appears to be a libel on Government engineers should be removed—should be taken right away! We can construct these things

We not only can construct them, but we are constructing them as far as the Admiralty is concerned. I ask this House whether we are to be dictated to by a body of officials of one department because they do not appear to work well with a body of officials of another department, because the one will not help the other, and because the one say that their department is concerned with the sea, and the department of the other is concerned with the land? We have to tell these officials to do our bidding; not we theirs.

We sympathise with the natural indignation of the speaker; at the same time we cannot help thinking that he is unjust to the official world, of which we believe the vast majority dislike the whole Marconi business quite as much as we do and are no less interested in the fight for Clean Government, upon the maintenance of which the reputation of our Civil Service depends. We must, however, make allowances for the dilemma of a parliamentary member of the Coalition who cannot stomach their Marconi mania but deems himself debarred from attacking Ministers who are wholly and solely responsible for the present scandal, so he falls foul of minor officials—who, after all, have no option but to carry out the policy of their political chiefs.

Lord Robert Cecil's Amendment

LORD ROBERT CECIL, in an admirable speech, moved an amendment refusing to ratify the agreement with the Marconi Company "in the absence of a report by any body independent of the Government on the desirability of any agreement with contractors for the erection of a wireless chain or on the terms of the proposed agreement." This was supported by the entire Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law contributing one of his trenchant and lucid speeches demolishing the case attempted to be set up by the Postmaster-General, who was evidently very uncomfortable and in his distress, as we have noted, fell back on opinions collected from "the Admiralty" and "the Army Council," though this trick has been played too often to take in a child. It is something that the Opposition—which, taking it as a whole, has been too tired to press home the main counts in the indictment against our Marconi Ministry—should be committed to a sound policy as regards the future, though our Marconi Ministry has taken good care to tie us up with Messrs. Godfrey Isaacs and Co. for many years to come—how many we don't know. One fact emerges from the contro-

versy—apart from the revelation of character of the governing cabal—of primary public importance, viz. the need of establishing a Department of Wireless Telegraphy which shall have no connection with the Post Office, and which will be able to make use on rational terms of whatever may be the best systems of the day without being at the mercy of one particular company. This is, of course, entirely independent of the great fight for clean government, which will be fought to a finish. Despite the mugwumpery of some Unionist Leaders, the attitude of the hush-up press, and the extreme Trade Unionism of the law, there is sufficient healthy activity in this country to prevent the permanent victory of Panama Government. Lord Robert Cecil, whose amendment was, needless to say, rejected by the Coalition, made two points against the new contract—which some regard as a worse contract than its predecessor and some as a better one—to which officialism had no answer. "You must," he said, "look at this matter from the strategic point of view. You must, if you have a contract with a company, allow them not only to erect the station but to work it. They would therefore know every detail of the working. Is it a desirable thing from a strategic point of view?—is it right that a station of strategic importance for military communication should be absolutely in every detail known to a private company?" This is the crux of the question: either these stations are of strategic importance, in which case we don't want the Marconi Company poking their nose into them, or they are of comparatively little strategic importance and the Government case on urgency collapses.

THE speaker thus answered his own question:

Undesirable Associations

> I cannot think it is desirable. It seems to me an undesirable state of things, and I am very much confirmed in that by what occurs in regard to the Navy. The Navy observe the greatest secrecy in regard to their wireless stations. No one knows exactly what the Navy are doing in reference to those stations. There is even a great dispute whether they are using the Marconi system or not, or some modification of it. No one knows. Even the Parker Committee were not told exactly what the Navy were doing. They have considered it of very great importance to keep their stations absolutely secret, and I presume they have done so for strategic reasons.

Lord Robert Cecil added: "If that is so, is it not equally import-

ant that these stations should, at any rate as far as they can be, be secret and not common knowledge to a private company, so that that knowledge may be conveyed to any of our military or naval rivals? That seems to me a matter which ought to be very carefully considered." Needless to say, it receives no consideration whatsoever from the Marconi maniacs of the Post Office and other departments. What does it matter to them whether the Marconi Company has some working agreement with the German Telefunken Company or has equipped one of the navies of the Triple Alliance? Their sole duty is to employ the resource of the Coalition to push any Marconi Agreement through Parliament. Lord Robert Cecil adduced another cogent and conclusive argument against this deplorable transaction:

I am bound to add something, which I do with great reluctance, but it moves me very much, and I should not be candid with the House if I did not add it. I do not think it is possible to disregard some of the circumstances which have come out in reference to the merits of the Marconi Company. I confess I am very much of the opinion of my right hon. friend the member for East Worcestershire (Mr. Austen Chamberlain), who said he did not like the management of the Marconi Company. Neither do I. I do not wish to make any attack on the present occasion against any member of the Government. That is not my purpose at all. But it does appear to me, and I have so stated in print and in this House, that the manager of the Marconi Company, when he offered to a member of the Government 100,000 shares in the American Company did take action which was, at any rate, susceptible of a very sinister interpretation. I do not put it higher than that. It may be that any such suspicion or any such suggestion is unjust to the gentleman in question. I must fairly say —it would not be fair for me not to say it—that I did not form a very favourable opinion of this gentleman from what I saw of him in the box when questions were asked and answered, and I gather from the Chairman's report that he did not form a very favourable opinion either.

Apt Quotation

LORD ROBERT CECIL appositely quoted the passage from the evidence of Sir Alexander King—Permanent Head of the Post Office—in which he told the Select Committee: "*We have had cases where a contractor has offered money to our men. We have had more than one. We have at once struck that man from our list, and I think it is very well known that will happen if ever money is offered as a consideration.*" We can hardly do better than leave the matter there, though we should like to have quoted from Mr. Henry Terrell's merciless dissection of the new Contract and Mr. Bonar Law's

exposure of Mr. Herbert Samuel, "the hard bargainer." We must get rid of him and his handiwork as soon as possible.

Mr. Bryan's Method

MR. W. J. BRYAN, the United States Secretary of State (Minister for Foreign Affairs), has incurred some abuse and much ridicule in his own country because, finding his salary inadequate to cover the heavy expense of official life in Washington, he is endeavouring to make both ends meet by continuing his journalistic work and by lecturing. So far the British Press has abstained from repeating the futile criticisms of its American confrères, possibly because we are nowadays conscious of being on somewhat delicate ground in discussing topics upon which in happier times we should have come out in our best "heavy father" style. Mr. Bryan's salary, as our Washington correspondent reminds us, is £2400 a year—less than half the princely emoluments "pouched" by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, "our Mr. Lloyd George." Out of this sum, as Foreign Minister, Mr. Bryan necessarily has to do a considerable amount of entertaining—unlike our Mr. Lloyd George, who is always whining about his poverty, though he is provided with a magnificent official mansion and perquisites and has been able to build himself one country seat in Wales, while he has had another built for him in the home counties at Walton Heath, where, according to the unprejudiced testimony of a Radical newspaper, the *Daily Chronicle*, there is a positive famine in cottages for less favoured mortals. Mr. Bryan has felt constrained to make a public explanation of his unusual conduct in adding other tasks to his exhaustive official work. We only wish that British Cabinet Ministers could give as satisfactory an explanation of the strange shifts to "raise the wind" to which they have resorted during the past year. "My obligations," he writes, "to the Church, charity, education, and my insurance (presumably life insurance) cannot be discontinued. They amount to more than £1800 a year, and these, though the largest, are by no means all, and will absorb more than half the salary I receive." We are not responsible for the arithmetic, which apparently leaves something to be desired. We quote a cablegram from the New York correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. Mr. Bryan con-

tinues: "I have not complained of the salaries of the Cabinet officers, neither would I advocate an increase, although the position of Secretary of State carries with it more entertainment than any other position in the Cabinet, because of its relations to the outside world; and my acceptance of hospitality throughout the country and throughout the world has increased the amount of entertaining expected of me."

Mr. Lloyd George

THIS is a manly and straightforward explanation; but the only way out of the impasse is surely an increase in the salary of the American Foreign Minister, who receives but a quarter of the salaries of some of the Foreign Ambassadors in Washington. Mr. Bryan not being a member of our own Coalition, one of whose first actions was to raise the salaries of more than one Cabinet Minister, cannot decently advocate an increase of his own, but the richest country in the world ought not to place its most prominent public men in such an invidious position, and we should have thought that it might have been a good investment to secure the exclusive services of the Foreign Minister by enabling him to abandon journalism and lecturing. At the same time, as Englishmen, we cannot help wishing that those of our own Ministers who find it wholly impossible to accommodate their lives to salaries of £5000 a year, and even £15,000 a year, would follow Mr. Bryan's example as editors and lecturers rather than allow themselves to be tempted into "punting" on the Stock Exchange. The United States, as we know, being a Protectionist country, is *ex hypothesi* a cesspool of corruption. That is the dogma of the Cobden Club. On the other hand, Great Britain, as the home, the only home, of Free Trade, is a paradise of purity. And yet we find an American Cabinet Minister violently denounced by his countrymen for openly writing paid articles and delivering paid lectures in order to eke out an exiguous income on which there are innumerable calls, while British Cabinet Ministers in receipt of enormous salaries upon whom there are practically no demands in the shape of entertainment—though we believe Mr. Lloyd George occasionally provides a poached egg for some of his friends at breakfast—are lauded sky high by their partisans for accepting

valuable tips from Government contractors, by the aid of which they could pocket many thousands of pounds, and for their frantic exertions in concealing the truth from the public. What does it all mean? Perhaps, on reflection, the Americans may "conclude," to use their own expression, that Mr. Bryan has chosen a better path than Mr. Lloyd George, and that their Foreign Minister is worth at least as much per annum as the British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cottage Famine

If we stated that "the neighbourhood of Walton Heath has been 'developed' by the erection of beautiful residences for rich and leisured golfers, but no provision is made for the working classes," some of our readers might conceivably attribute the observation to political prejudice against the Radical Plutocracy, of which Mr. Lloyd George is such a brilliant ornament. If we added that "within a few hundred yards of Mr. Lloyd George's new house and of the golf course . . . there are overcrowded, insanitary hovels, which are undermining the health of working men and blighting the lives of their children," the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself would burst with excitement, and we should have a repetition of his pathetic demonstrations before the Marconi Select Committee and elsewhere. Unfortunately for him and his admirers, the two statements in inverted commas are not our statements. They are quotations from a leading Coalition organ, the *Daily Chronicle*, which from time to time gives indications that it is rather "fed up" with the hypocrisies of Mr. Lloyd George and his continuous Limehouse campaign, though, doubtless, when it comes to the point, like all good Radicals, our contemporary will toe the line with the best of them and beat the party drum. Nevertheless the *Daily Chronicle* published these statements under the suggestive headings

CHANCELLOR AND HOUSING

STRIKING EXAMPLE AT HIS OWN DOORS

HOVELS OF WALTON HEATH

So it is not only "the Dukes" who are responsible for the deficient

housing of the people. The Demagogues are also to blame. We should not dare to make the assertion of our own prejudiced knowledge. Here are some of the instances quoted by the *Daily Chronicle* on the authority of Mr. Wethered, Vicar of Kingswood, at a recent meeting held to discuss the problem:

(1) That of a family of twelve inhabiting a two-roomed cottage in the most deplorable state of disrepair. The rent is 5s. a week. The head of the family is in the employ of the Rural District Council. Three of the family sleep out, but nine sleep in this miserable, insanitary hovel every night, and all twelve take their meals there. One doorpost was found to be detached from the ground, and there were open spaces between the brickwork and the woodwork.

(2) That of a porter at Tadworth Station, a married man with five children. The only accommodation he could find in Tadworth was a stable; in which to lodge his furniture, for which he was required to pay 3s. a week. The family lodged for several weeks with relations in Kingswood, after which they succeeded in finding a house at Margery, Lower Kingswood, three miles from the man's work. This cottage the family have shortly to quit, and they had, when I was last informed, failed to find any other lodging of any kind.

(3) That of a local postman—married nearly a year ago—who has hitherto failed to secure a house of any kind.

The *Daily Chronicle* reports the vicar as adding, "these are examples out of many known to me." We are likewise told:

All round the neighbourhood of Walton-on-the-Hill, Tadworth and Kingswood—all within easy distance of the golf course, houses have been springing up which are let from £100 to £300 a year. Some of them are empty for the greater part of the year, and are only used as week-end residences. Their existence means that more workmen are required as gardeners, labourers, artisans, chauffeurs and servants, but no houses have been built for them. We cannot expect the land speculators who build for the rich to recognise their moral obligations towards the workers brought to the neighbourhood by their enterprise. The workmen and caddies unable to find accommodation near their work walk from three to seven miles to their work—from Epsom, Sutton, Reigate, Redhill and Ewell, and in those places the housing problem is growing acute. The effect of this one-sided "development" of a nearby district like Walton Heath is to enhance the value of land so much that cheap houses for the workers become impossible. The Chancellor has a fine object-lesson at Walton Heath for the justification of his increment tax. Land which less than twenty years ago was valued at £50 an acre now sells at £800. Some sites have brought over £1000 per acre. Values have doubled within the last few years. Builders of houses expect 8 per cent. on their capital, but working-class dwellings in a district like Walton Heath cannot be built to let at a rental within the means of working men and at the same time to pay the interest which the private builder expects.

A Chance for St. Sebastian

The plutocratic descent upon Walton Heath, where it was stated some months ago that Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Masterman contemplated following the example of Mr. Lloyd George by constructing the fashionable week-end "cottage"—each of which would accommodate several working-class families—has accentuated the housing problem to such a point that, according to the *Daily Chronicle*:

> A movement has therefore been started to urge the Rural District Council to take action and build cottages with public money. A petition to the Local Government Board is also contemplated, asking for an enquiry and the application of the Town Planning Act. Walton Heath provides a striking illustration of the difficulty of housing the labouring classes owing to the rapid increase in the value of land and the obsolete housing laws. Cottages cannot be built in such a neighbourhood which will return 3½ per cent. interest on a loan and let at less than 7s. per week, which is more than many labouring men could afford to pay. There is therefore the alternative of bad housing at a low rent or good housing at a prohibitive rent. All this is only one further illustration of the urgent need for a national campaign, leading to a national solution of the housing problem.

Unless our memory serves us false, when the bomb outrage at Walton Heath revealed to a startled democracy that Mr. Lloyd George was acquiring a second country house unbeknown to his Welsh friends, who fondly imagined that the doctrine of one man one house would confine him to the sacred soil of Criccieth, where the *palazzo* Lloyd George dominates the landscape, it was indignantly explained on behalf of the aggrieved statesman that this second country house was not his own property, and the *Daily Chronicle*, which unsuccessfully challenged the *National Review* as to whether it could be accurately described as a "pleasure house," made the interesting statement that "the house, which was almost ready for occupation (*i.e.* at the time of the bomb outrage), stands on an estate which is the property of Sir George Riddell, who has done much for the development of Walton Heath district." We have made no independent investigations of the Walton Heath problem, and know nothing of the property of Sir George Riddell, one of Mr. Lloyd George's multi-millionaire friends who is understood to be the principal proprietor of the *News of the World*. But, judging from the latest investigations of the *Daily Chronicle*, which cannot be accused of hostility towards the Radical Plutocracy, this "development" of Walton

Heath, however profitable to the developer, is of somewhat dubious advantage to the poorer people of the district. Messrs. Lloyd George, Masterman, and Churchill's advent is anything but a boon, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer cared one brass farthing about the housing of the people his forthcoming "land-bursting campaign" would begin at Walton Heath. But charity does not begin at home with the Charlatan of the Exchequer.

Perpetual Postponements

HOWEVER, the "land-burster" is billed to open the ball at Bedford on October 11, under the auspices of Lord Beauchamp, presumably a model landlord. How many small holdings has Lord Beauchamp created on his vast properties since he became a colleague of Mr. Lloyd George? How many cottages has he built? What facilities has he given public bodies to acquire his own land for the people at popular prices? Does he pay the minimum wage? The reason that Bedford is selected for another orgy of Limehousing which is to efface the Marconi speculations is obviously because the Duke of Bedford, who is among the best landlords this country has ever known, is a large proprietor in that county. It is a new chapter in the campaign of virtuous Demagogues *versus* wicked Dukes. The right way to fight a blasphemous mountebank who has lately compared himself to "the Man of Nazareth" is not merely to prove that his facts and figures are falsehoods, and his suggestions grotesque, but to put forward an intelligent and intelligible alternative policy, and to retaliate upon him by telling the truth about his own "unearned increment," besides exposing the record of Radical landlords in the Asquith Government, some of whom consistently sacrifice the peasant to the pheasant. That Mr. Lloyd George should be screwing up his courage to the sticking point is almost too good to be true. The *Daily Express* (August 18) recalls preceding disappointments. It is more than a year since the Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to begin, but Marconi preoccupations kept him quiet. On May 13, 1912, between his two famous "flutters," Mr. Lloyd George announced, "It is the agricultural labourer on whom we should concentrate." But

instead of concentrating on the agricultural labourer he concentrated on American Marconis, of which he bought another 3000 on joint account of himself and the Master of Oilybank, then Chief Whip of the Party of Progress. Some months later came the secret Land Conference at Gaddesby Hall under the auspices of that pre-eminent patriot Baron de Forest, and the "area sneaks" were set to work to make or fake a case against English landlords, while it was proclaimed from the housetops that the great campaign which would finish Feudalism would open at Swindon in October. But in October we had the Marconi Debate in the House of Commons, signalised by Mr. Lloyd George's historic interjection about "foul lips" which had dared to suggest that Ministers might have speculated in Marconi shares. The Swindon meeting was accordingly postponed. In November, as the *Daily Express* reminds us, came the "Let's burst it" speech at Aberdeen, but once more Swindon was disappointed owing to the war in the Balkans. Then "the campaign" was announced for the middle of January at Reading under the appropriate auspices of Sir Rufus Isaacs, jointly suffering with Mr. Lloyd George through the failure of the Marconi Select Committee to summon Ministerial speculators to make a clean breast of their discreditable transactions. Marconi prevented them from thinking of anything else—it was a moment of peril. Reading went the way of Swindon; Swindon was once more mooted, May or June being the appointed months. On February 3 came the picturesque announcement of the "labourer's quid," which Mr. Lloyd George subsequently described as unauthorised and inaccurate. Marconi sorrows crowded thick and fast upon injured innocents, and on April 24 the land campaign was postponed afresh, though in May it was positively fixed for Mountain Ash, and now in the middle of August we are told that Bedford is to be the happy spot where the "stormy petrel" will at last take flight. We incline to believe that the atmosphere of October will be peculiarly unfavourable to Radical swank. Bedford must not count on a visit from Lord George Limehouse until he is seen in the flesh.

MR. ROBERT DONALD, the Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, delivered an interesting address as President of the Institute of Journalists at York on August 18, which had the merit of being free from the conventional and insincere clap-trap with which journalists and politicians think it necessary to discuss "the Influence of the Press." The *Times* describes Mr. Donald's pronouncement as "a vision of progress," though others might regard his forecast of the future as an appalling nightmare. From the professional point of view the prospect is decidedly disquieting, while it is doubtful whether the public stand to gain from recent and threatened developments. That the British Press is being steadily mopped up by powerful syndicates which, in the words of Mr. Donald, have "neither bodies to be kicked nor souls to be damned" goes without saying. He quoted the prediction of Dr. Charles Russell twenty years ago: "The newspaper will more and more become the daily magazine, in which all news capable of such treatment will be presented in a brighter and more attractive form, and in which many subjects of public interest, formerly never touched, will engage the attention of the more capable journalists. In other words, the level of newspaper work as a whole will be raised, and that, of course, implies that the culture of journalists must be raised to satisfy the new conditions." The author of this somewhat hazardous optimism was alleged to have secured "a place among the prophets," though we should imagine that every one—with the doubtful exception of the editors and owners of what for want of a better name must be called the Cinematograph Press, whose single dominating idea is to feed the public with successive cheap sensations—is agreed that the Americanisation of our newspapers is an unmitigated disaster. Some material facts are fairly set forth by Mr. Donald. During the past twenty years the British Press has tended to fall into fewer hands. The private proprietor has been replaced by the limited company. Twenty years ago the List of the London Stock Exchange did not contain a single newspaper corporation; now there are twenty-six newspaper limited liability companies, of which all except one have been registered during the last twenty years, and the majority of the remaining newspaper properties are held by private companies controlled by Boards of Directors.

"A Vision of Progress"

In other words, we have a "commercialised" press:

A "Commercialised" Press

Under corporate ownership the main concern of shareholders, who are investors and not journalists, is their dividends, and dividends must be earned even if *principle has to suffer in the process* [our italics]. Along with the growth of the corporate-owned Press has come, as an inevitable part of the movement, multiple ownership. Combination has been the chief characteristic of industry all over the world, and the Press could not remain outside this tendency. One company sometimes owns or controls a series of newspapers. There have been absorptions, amalgamations, alliances, with the result that vast aggregations of capital have been built up in which thousands of shareholders are interested. These agglomerations, piling up power and wealth, are controlled by the same forces which operate in other fields of industrial activity.

Mr. Donald dwelt on another notable phase, namely, the nationalisation of London newspapers which now overrun the provinces thanks to going to press earlier and the revolution in distribution by special trains and motor-cars, all of which had had serious effect on provincial morning newspapers, accentuated by the simultaneous publication of several newspapers in two centres. These big combinations by their superior organisation and power were making it impossible for papers run on old-fashioned lines to survive or to permit new ones to be established unless supported by immense wealth. The halfpenny paper with its new method of catering for readers, presenting news and pictures, and its machinery for pushing its circulation was responsible for the great change in morning journalism, and there was no prospect of its increasing its price or losing its influence. The rivalry for circulation, on which they depended for their prosperity, was fierce and was likely to increase in intensity, and papers in the same combination fought for ascendancy with one another. Mr. Donald was not concerned for the moment "with the effect of concentrated ownership on the politics, morals, or the well-being of the nation so much as with its effect on our profession, which has been affected as well as the character of the newspapers":

The new system is doing away with many of the great personal forces in journalism. The writing editor, as the centre from whom the life blood of the newspaper flowed, is becoming extinct. I remember the time when almost every London paper had a forceful personality behind it—a writing editor who dominated the whole newspaper with the strength of his personality, and whose influence permeated among his readers

He is rapidly disappearing. In his place we have several editors and many writers, with one chief or managing editor. The administrator is becoming the dominant power. The importance of the news department is magnified at the expense of the purely editorial. The man of ideas, in the news sense, is ousting the man of opinions in the political sense. In a few cases he may be one and the same individual, carrying on a perpetual struggle for supremacy with his own dual personality.

Prospects of Working Journalists

THE editor of the *Daily Chronicle* would not suggest that the brain power of the Press to-day had diminished or that the quality of the writing had deteriorated. On the contrary, the organisers and controllers of the big combinations were men of exceptional capacity and brought well-trained minds to their business. "The result is that the modern widely circulated newspaper is run by an organisation which is a superb piece of mechanism with every department playing its own part in harmony with the others." He hazarded the opinion that the newer journalism was preferable to the old from the standpoint of the reading public as there had been a general improvement in the daily press in the last twenty years and an all-round "speeding up," with the result that the newspapers of to-day were better written, more readable, more entertaining and more attractive than ever before, besides being quite as well-informed. "Even the greatest of them all, the *Times*, has been touched with the spirit of modern enterprise at every point, and never reached a higher level of journalistic excellence. The coming of the corporation and the nationalisation of newspapers place enormous power to sway public opinion in the hands of a few people. They can influence public opinion by what is published, and mislead it by what is omitted. Greater power over the public mind should always be accompanied by a greater sense of responsibility." Working journalists did not stand to gain by this concentration of ownership because, though their salaries were better, the field was narrower, as employers were fewer. There were more opportunities of becoming heads of departments but fewer chances of becoming Chief, and there was the unending call for new blood, for administrative capacity and creative ability.

Besides opening the door for more rapid promotion, the corporation has given the successful journalists an opportunity of becoming shareholders, thus enabling them to reap a small part in the harvest of dividends which their energies help to produce.

In a material sense, therefore, the position of the journalist has improved. The quality of the work is also better. We are dealing with a much more highly educated reading public—a public impatient of dulness, and critical, and also with many readers who insist on being entertained rather than instructed. There is a greater demand for original writing. The modern reporter must be more of a writer than a recorder. Work is much more strenuous; the pressure and the strain are greater, as the time during which reports have to be written and sub-edited is shortened. More work has to be done in less time. Rates of pay for contributions have increased, as well as salaries.

Gas and Water News

In other words, the Press as a purely commercial institution is becoming a purely material institution, and it is the very last profession on which one would encourage any young man with political convictions, or with convictions of any kind, to embark, as he would find himself in one or other syndicate completely at the mercy of men without ideals or enthusiasm except enthusiasm for collecting more advertisements and more coppers. If any one is satisfied with the results so far he must be easily pleased, because the suppression of the editorial department by the managerial and advertising department is equally a calamity to the profession, which is thereby placed on a lower grade, and to the public, which is necessarily supplied with an inferior article through the disappearance of the great editors to whom the British Press owed the prestige it once enjoyed. Nor are we allowed to cheer ourselves by contemplating the future, as Mr. Donald foresees a time when no paper with less than half a million readers will be taken seriously, and those organs which cannot "spend huge sums on news, on features, and on circulation will, of course, be squeezed out, and the paper run as a luxury or for a mission, and not as a business enterprise, will become too expensive except for millionaire idealists. There will, therefore, be fewer newspapers, but the total circulation will be greater. The power of these national journalistic 'Dreadnoughts' in moulding and influencing public opinion will not be less, in whatever direction their influence is exercised." However, these "national newspapers," as the speaker prefers to describe the great advertising medium, are to be smaller in size, which is something. They will be better printed and more neatly stitched but will, horror of horrors, "include pictures in colour," while we are promised yet further revolutions in distribution so that the area of circulation may be increased. It takes one's breath away.

Airships and aeroplanes will be used for the most distant centres; electric trains and motorplanes, running in special tracks, will also be used. In all the chief centres of population papers will be distributed by electric or pneumatic tubes. The morning and evening newspapers will be merged, and editions will come out almost every hour, day and night. News will be collected by wireless telephones, and the reporter will always have a portable telephone with him, with which he can communicate with his paper without the trouble of going to a telephone office, or writing out a message. At the other end the wireless telephone message will be delivered to the sub-editor printed in column form.

But these national newspapers will not be without competitors in the shape of cinematographs and gramophones, which will give out "all the news of the day . . . hot from its source. People may become too lazy to read, and news will be laid on to the house or office just as gas and water are now. The occupiers will listen to an account of the news of the day, read to them by much-improved phonographs, while sitting in their garden, or a householder will have his daily newspaper printed in column form by a printing machine in his hall, just as we have tape-machines in offices now." But there is no hope of escaping from the tyranny of the syndicated press. "Every one hopes that the next generation will see the millions now wasted on wars and armaments let loose, and part of these colossal sums devoted to the promotion of science, the endowment of research, the spread of education, and the increase of social amenities." In other words, all the money to be saved on wars is to be spent on a ceaseless stream of so-called "news." Will the world be a brighter or a better place when we have ten telegrams instead of one about the fashionable topic of the day—say the escape of an American lunatic?

It is almost a relief to turn from Mr. Donald's dizzy flight of imagination to the phantasia of an eminent French Pacifist, M. Ernest Archdeacon, who, it must be admitted, has gone one better than his English confrère.

One Better

According to the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* (see *Daily News and Leader*, August 19), this fanciful Frenchman already foresees the time when flying-machines will be out of date, as they cannot travel more than 125 miles an hour, which would take them 200 hours, or rather more than eight days, to make a circuit of the earth. M. Archdeacon declares that "we shall soon discover something infinitely better than the aeroplane." Our children

would girdle the earth—25,000 miles—in a time of which we at present can have no idea, and all the peoples of the earth would form one sole and single nation. Moreover, "our planet will have become much too small for the mobility and activity of its inhabitants, who will evidently be bored to see ever the same little landscape with which their eyes are satiated," and "we shall be fain to go and visit the other planets unless the inhabitants of one of the planets in question are beforehand with us and come and pay us a surprise visit one of these days." According to M. Esnault Peltrie, the new means of interplanetary transport will take the form of a continuously self-propelling rocket. But the problem is to give this rocket a self-contained velocity of eleven kilometres (nearly seven miles) a second, which would be sufficient for it to leave the circle of terrestrial attraction. At this velocity our planet could be girdled in sixty-six minutes, and the journey from Paris to Nice would only take two minutes. There won't be much time for reading halfpenny newspapers in those happy days, but a world of new readers is opened up by the development of inter-planetary transportation, and we can imagine special editions of the *Daily Chronicle* appearing in Saturn, Neptune, Venus, and Mars.

The Inter-Planetary Congress

ACCORDING to M. Archdeacon, whose prognostications are suitable reading for this season of the year, "with 27 kilogrammes (about 60 lb.) of radium, a projectile of one ton could be shot from the earth to the moon in about forty-nine hours. The molecular projections of radium would be made to work by reaction. The difficulty is to find how to release in forty-nine hours all the energy contained in the radium, which in the present state of science it would take 2800 years to set free." Happily "the difficulty is not insuperable, when we think what has already been achieved. With 400 kilogrammes, that is to say three-fifths of a ton, on board, a visit might be made to Venus and back to earth again." In fact, it would seem to be within the bounds of possibility that Mr. Lloyd George may open his "land-bursting" campaign, not at Bedford, but in Venus herself, and return in time for the opening of the next Session. According to the *Daily News and Leader*, which is responsible for reproducing the lucubrations of M. Archdeacon, whom we are told is an

"incurable Pacifist"—which we can well imagine—this eminent authority is of opinion that "there will be no more wars for our needs will be reduced to a minimum. Esperanto will have become useless, for we shall communicate by the transmission of thought through space. To terminate my anticipation, I am convinced that in a certain number of centuries the inhabitants of all the planets will have made acquaintance with one another, and I foresee the day when a world's interplanetary congress will be held." Coming from an enthusiastic Pacifist this is somewhat discouraging, as hitherto we had been told that peace would reign on earth as soon as the inhabitants of the different countries knew and understood one another. Now apparently we have to wait until the peoples of the various planets are acquainted before the "great illusion" is realised. But supposing these peoples should happen to hate one another, like the Balkan peoples, who are intimately acquainted with the lamentable results now before us. Would not a war between, say, Neptune and Mars conducted by such appalling instruments as M. Archdeacon foreshadows be infinitely more destructive than anything hitherto known in our commonplace mundane history? In fact, are we not tempting Providence by launching out on all these mechanical appliances by which this material age appears to be obsessed? It is doubtful whether even the motor-car has added to the happiness of the generation which has invented it, while it is certain that flying has so far done infinitely more harm than good. Will the planets be happier when intercommunication has been established and the dream of news being laid on in every household—in the Solar System—like gas and water is realised?

Lord Chief Justice Isaacs

THERE is widespread alarm lest our Panama Premier should perpetrate the scandal of making Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Attorney-General, Lord Chief Justice, an office which is now the centre of intrigue. This alarm came to a head last month when it was positively stated by organs professing to know that Lord Alverstone had actually resigned, though some of us continued to cherish the hope that Lord Alverstone was constitutionally incapable of such a grave dereliction of duty as the abandonment of his exalted office at the present juncture would undoubtedly be. It was feared, however, that he might

have acted in complete ignorance of the facts or on misinformation supplied by mendacious Ministers. The anxiety was not unnatural when the *Daily Chronicle*, which is understood to represent the Asquith section of the Cabinet as opposed to the Lloyd George section of which the *Daily News* is the mellow mouthpiece, declared in terms on August 15 "the resignation of the Lord Chief Justice is in the hands of the Prime Minister, but it is not probable that Lord Alverstone's successor will be appointed until after the long vacation." Why should there be any delay in appointing a successor? The cat was let out of the bag in the following sentence: "The appointment will undoubtedly be offered to Sir Rufus Isaacs, who, in the event of his acceptance of it, would be succeeded as Attorney-General by Sir John Simon, Mr. Buckmaster following the latter as Solicitor-General." As these changes would involve two by-elections, namely Reading and Mr. Buckmaster's seat in the Keighley Division of Yorkshire, there remained room for scepticism. However, the *ballon d'essai*, if it was a *ballon d'essai*, in the *Daily Chronicle*, afforded a timely opportunity for those organs which have fought the good fight for Clean Government to demonstrate, and the *Globe*, which has been foremost in the fray, expressed the views of the self-respecting part of the community in uncompromising fashion. "If the *Chronicle's* statement is inspired, it follows that the Premier has definitely committed himself to the crowning scandal of the Marconi affair. In view of the revelations attending the Ministerial deals and other disclosures, the *Globe* has consistently taken the view that the appointment of Sir R. Isaacs to the highest judicial position on the Common Law side would be an outrage of a kind unprecedented in our history. In that view we have been supported by our readers and by those of our contemporaries anxious to preserve the purity of public life and the maintenance of its traditions."

Mr. Asquith's Démenti

THE nervousness of Radicals over this appointment, which many of them hate, but against which very few have the courage to protest, may be indicated by the attitude of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, which, as we have frequently pointed out, is under the control of a distinguished member of the Privy Council, the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry

Dalziel. Before the publication of the *Daily Chronicle's* statement that Lord Alverstone had resigned and that Sir Rufus Isaacs would succeed him, *Reynolds's Newspaper* made the following prediction: "In regard to the rumours as to pending legal changes, it may turn out that all the prognostications that have been made will prove very wide of the mark. As a matter of fact there is a growing belief that the position of Lord Chief Justice, should Lord Alverstone retire, will be offered to Lord Justice Hamilton." Whether this was a "straight tip" or an impudent effort to throw dust in the eyes of the public, which when lulled into a state of false security might the more easily be confronted with the *fait accompli* of Sir Rufus Isaacs' appointment, we cannot say, but it was anyhow significant of nervousness among Radical stalwarts concerning a selection which ninety-nine men out of a hundred, to whatever party they may belong, regard as improper if not impossible. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law, on the eve of the prorogation on August 15 questioned the Prime Minister: "I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether it is true, as reported in to-day's Press, that the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone) has resigned, or has tendered his resignation; and, if so, when such resignation was tendered and when accepted; also whether the right hon. gentleman has advised the appointment of any successor, and, if not, when does he intend to do so?" To this Mr. Asquith replied—and every word uttered by a past master in the art of mental reservation concerning a matter of fact on which he may be interested in suppressing or evading the truth requires to be scanned with a microscope—"So far as I am aware the Lord Chief Justice has not resigned. The last communication I had from him, I am glad to say, led me to entertain the hope that he would in course of time be able to resume his active duties."

"A Mare's Nest"

THE general cheering provoked by this observation should assist the Prime Minister to realise Parliamentary opinion on this question, and if the House of Commons resents the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs he can readily imagine what the feelings of the general public are. A Nationalist member, Mr. Macveagh, interjected the remark, "Another mare's nest," which was doubtless intended

to be offensive to Mr. Bonar Law; but it was surely far more offensive to Mr. Asquith and Sir Rufus Isaacs, as Mr. Asquith's own organ, the *Daily Chronicle*, had stated that Lord Alverstone had resigned and that Sir Rufus Isaacs would fill the vacancy, and to describe this as a "mare's nest" is scarcely polite, either to the Premier, accused from his own side of contemplating the deed, or the gentleman for whose benefit it was to be done. From the public point of view we trust that this rumoured appointment may remain a "mare's nest" for reasons we have given over and over again and which have been admirably set forth in the *Morning Post*, the *Globe*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Spectator*, the *Outlook* and other organs, but we confess to being alarmed. For one thing Mr. Asquith's reputation on the Marconi controversy is so bad that one can never again believe anything he says in his place in Parliament or indeed anywhere else, unless he be speaking on oath or is corroborated by reliable testimony. If his reply to Mr. Bonar Law be scrutinised sentence by sentence by any conscientious student of Asquithese it will be found to contain nothing inconsistent with the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs before the end of the long vacation. We strongly advise our readers to remain on the *qui vive*. The Prime Minister tells us, "So far as I am aware the Lord Chief Justice has not resigned." On the principles of construction governing the historic disclaimers of his colleagues of speculation in Marconi shares last October, of which be it remembered Mr. Asquith entirely approved, knowing them to be misleading, this statement may simply signify that Mr. Asquith has received a letter from the Lord Chief Justice which he has not taken the trouble to read, or which he has "mislaid," like Sir Rufus Isaacs' famous letter of last August consulting his chief as to whether he should sue the *Eye Witness*. Then again, "the last communication I had from him, I am glad to say, led me to entertain the hope that he would in course of time be able to resume his active duties" may mean what it is intended to convey or, like the Marconi speeches, may contain some hidden meaning. The "last communication" possibly took place many months ago. Mr. Asquith may have carefully avoided making recent enquiries as to the intentions of Lord Alverstone, and there is nothing in his expression of "hope" that the present Lord Chief Justice would be able to "resume

his active duties" to deter the Prime Minister from appointing the present Attorney-General. If subsequently tackled on the subject, this casuist would be ready with some sophistical answer, truthful in the letter, lying in the spirit. He is a callous cynic without a conscience who is not to be trusted a yard. Moreover he is not in a position to hold out against importunate colleagues on account of his own mean record as Prime Minister. Though invariably speaking educated English, no man has done more to lower the standards of British public life.

As we know, Mr. Asquith is only tolerated in his present position because he obsequiously "toes the line" to the Molly Maguires.

The Molly Maguire View

It is noteworthy that since our Panama Premier endeavoured to convince the House of Commons that there was no serious risk of the Isaacs appointment, one of his masters, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., has politely given him the lie in the congenial columns of *Reynolds's*. If his Majesty's Ministers were not habituated to a diet of dirt, which makes them incapable of resenting anything, it would be impossible after Mr. Asquith's answer in the House for such a paragraph to appear in the Press over the name of a Coalition Member of Parliament. At any rate Mr. T. P. O'Connor robs us of the right to hug illusions on this question.

I regret to believe that Sir Rufus Isaacs will take the Lord Chief Justiceship. From his own point of view I believe he is making a mistake. After all, there is no particular attractiveness even in so lofty a position to a man of his extraordinary gifts and enviable position. He has wealth; he makes a sacrifice of income in taking even so highly remunerative a position; above all, he leaves the robust activities of political warfare, in which he rejoices, for the Elysian Fields of the Bench, where his tongue has to be tied with regard to the things he feels most deeply about; it is as bad, it is even worse, than going to the House of Lords, for in the House of Lords, after all, there is an opportunity now and again of saying something and doing something for the Democratic cause. But, all the same, I am afraid the fighting ranks of the Liberal Party are going to lose Sir Rufus Isaacs.

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WELT POLITIK

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THE deep significance of this comprehensive term as interpret
by all Germans is one that vitally concerns the British Empi
in its maritime power and world-wide prestige, as well as in
industries and commerce. It is, therefore, a phase of forei
policy which is deserving of close attention and study by all wl
regard the influence and prosperity of Britain as essential to t
welfare of humanity and the progress of the world.

A recent work entitled *Modern Germany* * by Mr. Ellis Bark
describes and examines the whole subject in a masterly and co
vincing manner. Its seven hundred pages are replete with fac
and figures and quotations which are not only clearly an
lucidly arranged, but bring home with logical force those lesso
in world policy which it was Mr. Ellis Barker's object
expound, but seven hundred pages of stiff reading howev
instructive and important, even when admirably present
and expressed, are perhaps somewhat repellent to a publ
which is either too busy or too indolent to apply its
to serious reading. Many of our politicians and our busine
men are so profoundly immersed in their own particular duti
or business that they have not time to pay much attention
questions outside those special occupations, while among o
leisured classes it is to be feared that the great majority are
engrossed by the pursuit of pleasure that they will not affo
either the time or the mental effort to master even the simp
elements of a subject which is too serious for their attenti
or consideration, though vital to their own interests. I hav
therefore, deemed it both opportune and desirable to compre

* *Modern Germany*, 4th ed., 1912. London: Smith Elder & Co.

so far as is possible, some of the teachings recently conveyed in this and other publications into the restricted limits of a magazine article by employing condensed paraphrases from the works quoted.

Mr. Ellis Barker introduces the subject with a chapter in which he endeavours to analyse the fundamental differences which constitute the motive forces governing British and German action in the field of statecraft, and I cannot do better than put some of his axioms and deductions in précis form before the reader.

"Germany, before the war of 1870, was a poor and backward country; it is now our most dangerous rival by sea and land." What are the causes of this stupendous and menacing change? "In Great Britain both the State and Local Authorities are subservient to society. They are deliberately subordinated to the individual whose rights and privileges are jealously guarded against official interference or coercion, and if private and public rights come into collision the former are apt to prove the stronger. In Germany, on the contrary, the will of the individual is designedly subordinated to the will of the State. Therefore, in matters political and economical the whole act together, so that in the absence of combined or organised opposition progress in Germany, comparatively speaking, is easily and rapidly achieved." We, on the other hand, "have crippled the national executive and have substituted Party government, caucus government, mass government, carried on by endless disputes for power, miscalled discussion, for truly National government." In Germany national and local authorities consider it their duty to lead, to initiate, to sow, to plant, to foster, to support, to regulate, to instruct. In Great Britain nearly all progress and all great reforms have been achieved by individual effort fighting against "the inertia, indifference, ill-will and even the opposition of the Government, whereas in Germany it is the officials who have to overcome the inertia and the indifference of the people."

England is individualistic in its temperament, Germany socialistic. The one develops personal enterprise, the other collective action. The net result of these marked characteristics is that German policy is considered, planned, organised and directed by Germany's leaders, whereas English policy is haphazard and opportunist, dictated largely by party predilections. Germany treats "Welt Politik" as a science of statecraft fraught with the

vital interests of the German people, to which their attention should be directed; while we, if we consider it at all, regard it as a burdensome obligation imposed by our imperial position, an obligation involving irksome responsibilities and complications which should be shunned or obscured as far as possible. If, therefore, we want to understand the German view of "Welt Politik" we must endeavour to approach it from a German standpoint or we shall fail to grasp its vital importance. Germany has to consider her place in the world from a point of view totally different from ours. She is a State surrounded by other nations and races, some friendly, others hostile or unsympathetic. She can be assailed by land or sea from all sides. She has no very marked natural frontiers to protect her. She has a rapidly growing population, for which both colonies and commercial expansion are essential. She *must* expand. She *must* have her place in the sun—or she must abandon her national aspiration to become a great world Power.

It will be convenient if in our examination of the subject we first of all consider the relations of Germany to the various States which encompass her by land: Austria, Russia, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, France and Switzerland. We shall then be in a position to appreciate and weigh the motives of German policy in its relation to Great Britain, and we shall then, perhaps, also be able to take a sounder and therefore safer view of German ambitions.

Germany and Austria-Hungary.—The intimate relations of these two allied empires are dominated and threatened by racial questions. In Germany there are to-day 66,000,000 Germans, whereas in Austria-Hungary there are only 11,500,000, and even that relatively small proportion is rapidly decreasing and being absorbed into the Slavonic and Magyar elements of the dual empire. In Bohemia two-thirds of the population is Czech, while in Prague, though the seat of an ancient and famous German University, less than 10 per cent. of the inhabitants are Germans, so that the once dominant German language and influence are being replaced by the Czech tongue and Czech ideals. In Moravia the same tendency is observable, only one quarter of the population is now German. In Silesia and Galicia a like process is going on, German children by force of propinquity and education are

becoming Czechs or Poles or Ruthenians. Even in Conservative Tyrol German children in the southern districts are being Italianised. In Buda-Pesth half a century ago half the inhabitants were Germans; to-day only about one tenth can be justly so described, as the Germans are being steadily Magyarised. Taking the population of the Empire as a whole at least 60 per cent. are Magyars, Slavs and Italians, and in a few decades at most Austria-Hungary will be essentially a Slav and not a German State. To what does all this point? To the absolute certainty that as time goes on, Austria, however loyal to-day to the German Alliance, must sooner or later be governed by Slav ideals and become an unreliable factor in that alliance. The predominance of those alien elements in the Dual Monarchy must inexorably tend to the weakening, if not the absolute dissolution, of the Teutonic bond between the two empires, but apart from this manifest racial fact due weight must even now be given to the relations of Austria-Hungary to Italy and the Balkan States, for those relations have been of late profoundly affected by the phenomenal growth of Italy and by the recent cataclysm in the Balkan Peninsula.

No one who has lived in German Tyrol or in northern Italy can help being aware of the strong antipathy which prevails there between Austrians and Italians, and that sentiment extends in varying degrees to other regions of the two countries. Italy has never forgotten her historical association in Roman and Venetian days with the domination of the Adriatic, nor has she ever forgiven the crushing despotism of Austrian rule in the centuries before Solferino and Italian liberation. *Italia irredenta* is still a burning question and a bitter cry with Italian patriots, and nothing but the *force majeure* of temporary interests has in the past kept Italy within the orbit of the Triple Alliance. That alliance she only entered in the days of her weakness as a counterpoise to French aggression in Tunis. The Austrian Alliance was then an act of self preservation. It is to-day almost an anachronism. Italian interests are no longer served or protected by the Alliance. Italy can very well hold her own and could, moreover, doubtless count on the interested support of other Powers. She is, therefore, in a strong position and can take her own line. Whenever she may consider the Austrian understanding as worthless she will follow her traditional inclinations and dissolve the Triple Alliance.

She may even become a hostile element to Austria in the groupin of the Powers, as "in case of a reconciliation with France sh might resume her Irredentist policy and renew her claims upo Austrian territory." * The Austrian territories which the Irre dentists claim most persistently are the Southern Tyrol an parts of Austria and Dalmatia with the towns of Trieste, Pol and Fiume. Of the 900,000 inhabitants of the Tyrol abou 400,000 are Italians, Trieste is as Italian as is Genoa, nine tenths of its inhabitants being Italians.

Let us now glance at the relations of Austria to the Balka States, for on these relations largely depend the extent to whic Austria can be regarded as a powerful or even a useful elemen in the Triple Alliance. The events of the past year in the Balkan have clearly demonstrated the antagonism between Austria an Servia, not to mention other Balkan States, and it is obvious tha in any future struggle between Slav and Teuton, Austria will hav to reckon with Servia and with Servian intrigues in her ow Slavonic provinces. We must remember that Bosnia, Herzegovin and Dalmatia are inhabited principally by Servians, and tha consequently such a contingency would compel her to tak military measures to counteract the menace brooding over th south-eastern frontier of the empire. The probable rise o Greece as a maritime Power in the Eastern Mediterranean ma also compromise her naval position in those waters, for it is onl reasonable to suppose that the sympathies of a renascent Greec will for traditional and dynastic reasons be with the Triple Entent rather than with the Triple Alliance.

An unbiased consideration of the several factors in thi problem on which I have touched above cannot but lead to th conclusion that Austria-Hungary is no longer, or at all event will soon cease to be, a brilliant second to Germany in the thrillin political drama of European rivalry. Germany will then ceas to find a counterpoise to Russia in Austria-Hungary. This dis turbance of the existing Balance of Power is not altogether in th interests of peace.

Germany and Russia.—"Germany's restlessness springs fron her need of expansion and from a vague sense of future danger.' In this pithy sentence Mr. Ellis Barker has epitomised the rela

* Opinion expressed in 1888 by Bismarck.

tions of Germany to the great Slav Empire on her eastern frontier. The need of expansion is a yearly increasing need, while the sparsely populated Baltic provinces of Russia, with their Germanic traditions and German nucleus, are a constant allurement to the wistful gaze of Pan-German enthusiasts. "Germany's greatest needs are elbow-room and territorial security." There is the elbow-room, and there, perhaps, may territorial security be found! The danger which most immediately menaces Germany would appear to be the rapidly growing strength of Russia, for if the present rate of increase continues Russia, in less than fifty years, will have 300,000,000 inhabitants, while Germany can hardly hope to have one third of that number within her present borders. Thus Russia becomes every day a more stupendous danger to Germany. Indeed, the Russian menace has been a nightmare to Germany ever since the days of Bismarck. In his time German policy aimed at the maintenance of friendship with Russia and of discord between Russia and England. That policy has faded away and in its place has arisen one of seeking to distract and weaken Russia. The results of the Russo-Japanese War and the internal situation of Russia seemed for a time to justify that policy, but it, too, has ceased to be effective, and Germany is now compelled to reconsider her position. In that necessity lies a great danger to the peace of Europe.

The Pan-German expansionists can easily demonstrate that success in a war with Russia is more likely now than hereafter, that St. Petersburg is now a better objective than Moscow ever was, and that its situation renders it peculiarly open to attack by a Power commanding the Baltic, as in such a case an army could advance on the capital either via Esthonia or via Finland without much risk to its communications. They can point out that the Baltic provinces are sparsely populated by non-Muscovites, that they could easily provide for two or three more million inhabitants, and that they therefore offer a suitable field for colonisation by Germans amongst a people who would welcome German rule, and, moreover, that the Baltic provinces are easily defended owing to the strategical barrier afforded by Lake Peipus and Lake Pskoff, while, to adapt a Napoleonic simile, the possession of Esthonia would be a pistol held to the head of Russia.

There is much that is captivating to a Pan-German strategist

in these arguments, for it must be remembered that in the Baltic provinces there are more Germans than Russians, and that in the large towns the proportion of Germans varies from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the whole. The Germans, moreover, represent the aristocracy and the intelligence of the country; the landowners, merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers are all Germans. In Riga alone there are published twenty German newspapers and periodicals. Most of the Letts and Esthonians belong to the Lutheran church. Less than 2 per cent. of the whole population is Muscovite, the rest are Esthonians, Letts, Germans and Jews. Where else in Europe could Germany find so suitable a field for German expansion?

Finland is another region open to attack by a naval Power commanding the Baltic. Of its 3,000,000 inhabitants only 6000 are Russians and of the 2,500,000 Finns 98 per cent. are Lutherans, as also are the Swedes who number 400,000. If Germany should defeat Russia she might restore to Finland her freedom and guarantee her independence. Finland would then become virtually a German protectorate, while as a sure ally of Germany her harbours would prove a constant menace to the Russian capital and to its sea-borne commerce, which, however, would be equally annihilated by the passing of Riga and the other Baltic ports into German hands.

This policy, however, presupposes the unqualified command of the Baltic, assuring and facilitating the operations of German armies in Esthonia or Finland; and as such a naval domination can only be obtained by precluding the intervention of a third naval Power, it follows that the closing of the Baltic in war-time becomes a *sine quâ non* for German strategy in these regions. That subject will be more fitly dealt with when considering the case of Denmark. Finally, there is the eternal question of Poland. The reconstitution of the Grand Duchy as an autonomous nationality combined perhaps with Posen and under the protection of Germany might provide a buffer State which would thrust Russia still further back towards Asia and constitute a useful and reliable protection to Germany's eastern frontier, while at the same time relieving her of some domestic anxieties. It must, however, be here observed that it is not to the interest of England that an Asiatic direction should again be given to Russian policy.

Germany and Denmark.—Denmark holds the keys of the Baltic! "She can always close the Sound and the two Belts against a purely naval attack, but she cannot close the Baltic against a combined naval and military attack." This broad fact is the crux of the whole strategical situation in the Baltic. A glance at the map of Europe shows the great similarity in a naval and strategical sense between the Black Sea and the Baltic. As Constantinople dominates the entrance to the former so Copenhagen closes the main channel to the latter. "Both seas are practically inland lakes, which are almost unapproachable to a hostile fleet except by permission of the State holding the straits which lead to it." It is true there are other passages besides the Sound, but both the Great Belt and the Little Belt are difficult to navigate, and consequently the passage by the Sound has always been the favourite route. On the other hand, though the easiest it is barely deep enough for the larger warships of the present day, and these have to pass through the more tortuous and difficult Belts, but they too can be easily closed by heavy guns, submarine mines and torpedo-boats, so that it is indisputable that Denmark holds the keys of the Baltic, and that against a purely naval Power she can close it at will and so indirectly protect Kiel from a naval bombardment by a Western Power and also guarantee the Baltic coast of Prussia against threats of attack or blockade. The importance of Denmark to German naval strategy is also emphasised by the fact that for the next two or three years the North Sea Canal will not be fit for the passage of German Super-Dreadnoughts, an important factor in the problem, and particularly so as Wilhelmshaven is by no means an ideal port for big ships. Anyhow, Nature has placed Germany's principal war harbour in the Baltic, and Denmark holds the keys of that sea. If those keys were to pass into hostile hands Kiel could be easily watched and the German fleet shut up in the Baltic. Can Germany afford to take the risk involved by this fact! History shows that twice in the Napoleonic wars England was compelled by force of circumstances to wrest those keys from Denmark, although at the time a neutral State. The same thing might conceivably happen again; therefore Germany, in case of war with England, would be sorely tempted to forestall any such action by seizing the Danish islands herself, as "from the German point

of view the possession of the entrances to the Baltic is absolutely necessary." If she holds the Danish islands she is quite secure at Kiel and Stettin and Danzig, while operations by sea and land against Russia in the Gulf of Finland will become practically safe and easy. Moreover, for Germany there is little difficulty in acquiring the mastery over all the openings of the Baltic "as in a few hours she could throw a very large number of troops from Kiel and other Baltic harbours into the islands of Funen and Zealand, and in a few days even the whole Danish Peninsula might be occupied." The possession of the Danish islands would confer still another advantage to Germany after the North Sea Canal has been rendered navigable for her largest battleships. She would then possess what is termed in strategy *the advantage of interior lines.* For whilst her opponents would have to watch both the Kattegat and the North Sea ports, she could mass her fleet at will in either direction without the certain knowledge of her opponents.

Germany and Holland.—The importance of Holland to Germany is incalculable whether regarded from a commercial, a colonial or a naval point of view.

"Holland lies right across Germany's greatest trade-route. By far the most important of the German coal and iron fields and by far the larger part of her more important industries lie on or near the Rhine and its tributaries." While the English coal fields and English industrial centres enjoy the advantage of proximity to the sea, German coalfields and industrial centres lie from 150 to 350 miles away. Therefore, Germany would be quite incapable of competing with Great Britain but for the cheap water carriage afforded by the Rhine and the canals. Germany's export trade is chiefly oversea trade: the preservation of her oversea trade is therefore of vital importance to Germany and cheap water carriage is an essential condition. Not only does the bulk of her exports flow down the Rhine valley, but also by it enter her most valuable and necessary imports. Hence Antwerp * and Rotterdam are more important seaports for Germany than are even Hamburg and Bremen. In fact, the shipping business of the former ports combined is double that of the latter. It may be noted that nearly 25,000,000 tons of goods cross the German

* Of course Antwerp is in Belgium, but the same arguments apply.

Dutch frontier at Emmerich, of which nearly 15,000,000 are imports. "The great prosperity of Holland is largely derived from the German through traffic." "The bulk of the German-Dutch Rhine trade consists of imports of grain and Swedish iron ore and of exports of German coal and German manufactured goods, chiefly ironware."

All this shows the necessity for German policy to obtain the command of the mouths of the Rhine. Indeed, "an economic union of Holland and Germany is an absolute necessity."

Germany's attitude towards Holland may be summed up in the words, "peaceful penetration and gradually increasing economic pressure." Such pressure she can exert by means of the Dortmund-Ems Canal. This canal system will eventually link the Rhine with the North Sea, and Germany will then be able, by simple fiscal manipulation, to draw the bulk of the Rhine traffic away from the Netherlands towards Emden. Such a diversion would cripple Dutch commerce. Consequently, "Holland is economically dependent on Germany, and her economical incorporation with Germany becomes an unavoidable necessity for the Dutch." Indeed, "many Dutch and Belgian merchants are of opinion that their business would wonderfully benefit by joining the German Customs Union, and they view with serious apprehension Germany's exertions to divert her enormous oversea trade from Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Antwerp to Emden."

From the commercial let us turn to the naval point of view. "The mouths of the Rhine together with the mouths of the Meuse and Scheldt would be exceedingly precious to Germany, not only for economic purposes, but for naval and military purposes as well."

In an article written twelve years ago which has been attributed to Prince Bulow it was said, "The naval expansion of Germany will not end until a German navy floats on the sea that can compete with that of Great Britain. Equally strong on sea and land the world may choose our friendship or our enmity. The strong can make that choice, but Holland will do well to stand by us, not so much for our sake as for her own existence." "If Germany possessed the mouths of the Rhine she would be able to create there a number of excellent naval bases which owing to the Dutch islands lying in front of them would be safe from attack."

"The absorption of Holland by Germany would not only seriously compromise our trade with the former country but would permanently threaten the naval and military security of England, therefore Germany could not expect to acquire Holland forcibly without a life-and-death struggle with England," and therefore her object would seem to be to absorb Holland economically and gradually by such measures as a Customs Union, a Railway Union, and her secret inclusion in the circle of the Triple Alliance. The point for us to remember is, that if Germany possessed the control of the Dutch and Belgian ports, not only would she be nearer her objective, but we should have two fronts to watch, for we could not simultaneously blockade the mouths of the Scheldt, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, not to mention Kiel and the Baltic.

It is sometimes asserted that Holland can always defy a German invasion by flooding her military frontier, and it is quite true that in twenty-four hours the north-west corner of Holland may be converted into an impregnable island fortress, but apart from the wish to take so drastic a course, the Dutch may not be given the time necessary for flooding their country. Only fifty miles separate Muiden, where are the most important sluices, from the German frontier, and a *coup de main* by means of German motor-cars may forestall the Dutch engineers.

Finally, we have to consider the colonial aspect of the subject. The Dutch colonies are not ideal ones from a climatic standpoint, but they offer immense opportunities for the trader, the planter, and the administrator. The potentialities of those Eastern colonies in tea, rubber, spices, coffee, oil, rice, tobacco, sugar and copra are enormous, and Germany in weighing the advantages of the incorporation of Holland within her system cannot fail to be powerfully influenced by such considerations.

Germany and Belgium.—As in dealing with the case of Holland we have already alluded to the great importance of Antwerp to the sea-borne commerce of Germany, we need not consider further that aspect of the case, but the military aspect of Antwerp is of supreme importance to Great Britain as well as to Belgium. The great Napoleon regarded its possession as a loaded pistol held to the head of England, and indeed its principal *raison d'être* as a fortified place is to serve as a *tête de pont* to a British army landed

for the protection of Belgian neutrality. Its value as such is likely to be greatly diminished by the projected fortification of Flushing on the Dutch island of Walcheren, which completely commands the approaches to Antwerp from the sea. It is, in fact, commonly supposed that the Dutch have been induced to fortify Flushing under pressure from Germany, or at least at her instigation. If Holland should fall into German hands Antwerp would soon suffer a like fate, which would not only add enormously to the naval power of Germany, but would permanently chain the British Fleet to the Channel.

The military importance of Belgium, great as it is to us, is greater still to France, for by the valley of the Meuse the great fortified line of defence which stretches from Verdun to Epinal and Belfort can be turned. That the Germans are fully alive to the advantages of adopting this course is clearly shown by the lavish expenditure which Germany has incurred of late years in the construction and perfecting of strategical railways leading to the front Aix-la-Chapelle, Malmedy, St. Vith. Indeed, it seems certain that a great turning movement through the Ardennes must form part of the German plan of invasion.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that the absorption of Belgium would not only enhance enormously her military position *vis-à-vis* Anglo-French military co-operation, but would add to the German Empire the great potential resources of the Congo, and give her a great West African dominion stretching from Nigeria to the Great Lakes.

Germany and France.—Strategically speaking France is most unfortunately situated compared with Germany. To begin with, Berlin is 400 miles from the frontier, while Paris is only 170 miles. Moreover, Berlin is protected by a triple line of strong natural defences, namely: (1) The Vosges and the Rhine; (2) The Weser and the Thuringer Wald; (3) The Elbe. While France on the other hand has no natural line of defence, but depends on the artificial barrier of fortified positions which extends from Belfast through Epinal to Verdun. That line can be turned either through Belgium or through Switzerland. We have already referred to the Belgian problem, and we shall allude later on to that of Switzerland. It suffices to say here that incontestably the better line is the one through Belgium and

the Ardennes, and herein lies the vital importance to France of the *entente* with England, with its hope and prospect of British assistance in the direction from which the French line of defence is most dangerously exposed to attack. There is still another, though a more remote, advantage in British co-operation. The German fleet is now so vastly superior to that of France that without English support France would be exposed to a landing in force on the Channel coast which might seriously compromise her plan of defence.

So much for the strategical situation! The amiable sentimentalist may say, "Why discuss it?" France no longer talks of "*la Revanche*," Germany cannot afford to go to war, and does not want to. Has not Mr. Norman Angell clearly demonstrated the futility of war! This may be all true in theory. France does not talk of revenge, but it never forgets the dictum of Gambetta with its deep and sombre menace, "*ne parlez jamais de la guerre mais pensez y toujours.*"

Germany naturally does not want any more French Departments and is fully aware of the risks and cost of war, but Germany *must* expand. Every year an extra million babies are crying out for more room, and as the expansion of Germany by peaceful means seems impossible Germany can only provide for those babies at the cost of potential foes, and France is one of them.

A vanquished France might give Germany all she wants. The immense colonial possessions of France present a tantalising and provoking temptation to German cupidity which, it cannot be too often repeated, is not mere envious greed but stern necessity. The same struggle for life and space which more than a thousand years ago drove one Teutonic wave after another across the Rhine and the Alps is now once more a great compelling force. Colonies fit to receive the German surplus population are the greatest need of Germany. This aspect of the case may be all very sad and very wicked, but it is true. We may judge the Germans out of their own mouths. Here are a few pertinent quotations * given by Mr. Ellis Barker from German sources in connection with the Morocco incident.

* Vide pages 231, 236 and 268 of *Modern Germany*. Professor Fischer is the greatest German authority on Morocco. Von Kiderlen-Wächter was, of course, the Foreign Secretary and Zimmermann his deputy.

Morocco occupies to-day a position of the very greatest importance. The most important trade-routes pass by its coast . . . . The importance of the Moroccan harbours lies in their position, for thence many a vital nerve of the nations of Europe may be cut through. . . . In the hands of a European Power able to develop its rich resources, Morocco may become a source of strength of the first importance, able to cause a change in the Balance of Power in Europe. (Professor Fischer.)

I support the policy of partitioning Morocco. The pan-Germanic idea is absolutely justified. You can rely upon it that we shall stick to Morocco. (Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter.)

We do not want compensations. We want Morocco. (Herr Zimmermann.)

But Morocco is not the only valuable acquisition which the French colonies can offer. Madagascar, Saigon, and New Caledonia are all desirable acquisitions from one point of view or another, while a West Indian island would be very useful in connection with the Panama Canal. So it seems and is absurd to accept the theory of Mr. Norman Angell that even a successful war is profitless and futile. France has much to lose by war and Germany has much to gain. Herein lies the temptation and the danger. Herein, too, lies the ceaseless and ruinous struggle of armaments, and herein for France lies the dire necessity of linking her foreign policy with that of powerful allies.

Switzerland.—The last foreign country bordering on the German Empire with which we have to deal is Switzerland. Happily for her she seems the least involved of all European nations in the Maelstrom of German "Welt Politik." I have already referred to the possibility of the French line of defence being turned by way of Switzerland, but that possibility is a very remote one and hardly comes within the field of practical consideration. Strategically speaking, it would be an eccentric movement with reference to Paris, and would expose the German line of communications to a formidable and perhaps fatal counterstroke, so that it is scarcely conceivable that this line of attack would be adopted by any but a lunatic marching madly to destruction. Moreover, the Swiss Army is efficient, well organised, patriotic and thoroughly adapted to its rôle and the *terrain*, so that I think we may accept as a foregone conclusion that Switzerland will not become a theatre of war in the titanic struggle of the future.

I have now reviewed in succession the relations of Germany to the Continental nations surrounding her, and before proceeding

to discuss the bearing of those relations on our own position and the application of "Welt Politik" to ourselves it may be as well if I summarise, in a few concise paragraphs, what has been already said above.

Germany is a great naval and military Power which, owing to the ever-increasing pressure of population, must expand. She is governed by far-seeing statesmen who conceive it to be their duty to develop commerce and industry and so to shape the national policy that it shall conform to that supreme need of expansion which presses on Germany. She is ringed round by foreign countries, some of which are friendly, some neutral, and some more or less hostile. To the south she sees her partners in the Triple Alliance being gradually divorced from her by the remorseless logic of events; Austria-Hungary losing the force of German sentiment and threatened with the disruptive action of Slavonic ideals; Italy drifting away on the tide of self-interest and reawakened ambitions; Roumania absorbed in Balkan entanglements, Turkey—a once prospective ally—hopelessly crippled for a generation.

On the east there is the great Muscovite empire, growing rapidly in population and in power. Yet Russia presents in her Baltic provinces the only possible field for German expansion in Europe, while a successful war might convert Poland and Finland into useful buffer States.

On the north there is Denmark holding the key of the situation in the Baltic and yet too weak to retain it in a crisis. To the west there is Holland, through whose low-lying plains ebbs and flows the commerce of Western Germany, and the possession of whose ports seems almost a vital necessity if Germany is ever to become a great world Power. There, too, is Belgium, destined perhaps to become again the cockpit of Europe, the base of a strategic offensive against France or possibly for a counter attack from Antwerp on the German flank.

South and west again is France, the traditional enemy, the objective and pivot of all German policy in Europe. A country compelled by the weakness of her strategical position and the attraction of her great possessions to gird herself for a life-and-death struggle, as well as to seek for allies.

Finally, there is Switzerland, securely sheltered from the

tornado of war by the mountainous character of her topography as well as by the patriotic devotion of her sons.

How will all these conflicting interests and conditions group themselves and interact on each other, when the latent forces of "Welt Politik" are stirred into motion by the inexorable pressure of race evolution and international rivalries? The solution of this absorbing problem depends, perhaps, more on the relation of Great Britain to German "Welt Politik" than on any other factor. The study of that aspect of the problem must, owing to its importance and complexity, be left to another article, for which the ground will have been prepared by what has been said in the preceding pages.

WATCHMAN.

August 1913

ARMAMENT AND POLICY

THE question of National Service appears to be approaching the area of practical politics. It is no longer pooh-poohed as the dream of irresponsible faddists, nor is it laughed out of Court as inconsistent with the temper and traditions of the British public. Even the *Westminster Gazette* devotes almost daily articles to prove the advantages of the voluntary system, and the satisfactory condition of our military defences, and in its vigorous denunciation of all who disagree with its conclusions sometimes appears to protest too much. It almost seems as if a doubt had arisen as to the soundness of its arguments, and, as if it were trying to keep up its own courage and that of its Liberal readers, by the strenuousness with which it shouts its shibboleths to the world. The refrain that we are an island kingdom and have no interest in happenings on the Continent of Europe has done service for many a long day, and is dished up from time to time as if knowledge of our geographical position were a monopoly of the opponents of compulsory service. Of course we are essentially a sea Power. So is Japan. Yet without her army she could never have driven the Russians from Manchuria and so laid the foundations of her freedom and independence. If we are ever called upon to employ troops on the Continent of Europe it will be in the vital interests of the Empire and in no spirit of adventure or vainglorious militarism.

All the talk about foreign aggression and a desire to take part in an adventurous policy in Europe, which is hurled against those who presume to criticise the voluntary system or who refuse to accept the dictum of the authorities that the state of our military preparedness is in every way satisfactory, is singularly inept and beside the question. Without doubt armaments must be subservient to policy, but surely the European policy of

this country is perfectly clear to the ordinary man. There is nothing obscure about it. There is nothing which is not straightforward and above board. We are bound by treaty to maintain the neutrality of Belgium, and we are bound in honour to help France if attacked by Germany. This is the situation in a nutshell. Nothing can be simpler. Nothing can be more likely than that we may be called upon at short notice to fulfil these obligations, and the question arises, are we in a position to do so? It will make no difference whether we have a Unionist or a Liberal Government in power at the moment: the obligation will be there, and will have to be met.

Leaving patriotism entirely out of the question these are considerations of vital importance to ourselves. They are, indeed, to put it at its lowest, matters which are dictated by motives of absolute self-interest. Belgium in the hands of a strong Power, with its fine harbours in close proximity to our shores, would be a standing menace to this country, and it would be suicidal for us to submit to its occupation by Germany without a fight. The Belgians themselves have begun to realise the meaning of Germany's strategic railways which run right up to their frontier, and have decided to double the strength of their army. They recognise that a war between France and Germany would mean the immediate violation of their territory, since the frontiers of these countries are so strong as to render a direct attack extremely hazardous. Our statesmen are of course aware that the occupation of, say, Antwerp by Germany would be as great a menace to this country as was the occupation of Port Arthur by the Russians to Japan. Whether the contingency has percolated through to the public intelligence is doubtful, but I maintain that the possibility is always present, and may at no distant date render action by this country on the Continent imperative in its own interests. For similar reasons it would be impossible for us to stand by and see France crushed by her powerful neighbour. Should we be called upon to fight on the side of France it will be just as much a fight for the liberty of Europe as it was in the old days when we fought against her. The problem remains the same, though the centre of gravity has changed. I have no wish to labour these points. They are, or ought to be, patent to all students of European history, but what I wish to emphasise

is that the Army, which advocates of compulsory service want, is not destined for purposes of aggression but is merely necessary for the prudent guarding of our interests as a world Power. All the talk of disarmament or the restriction of armaments has been shown by the action of Germany and other European States to have been absolute twaddle. It has never deceived any but a few faddists whose aim seems to be to encourage the apathy and want of patriotism of the youth of the country and to gain a few votes by wilfully misleading the electorate. The pitiable speech of the Chief Ministerial Whip at Manchester last March proved the hopelessness of getting the professional politician to regard the question from anything but a Party point of view and the attempt to score by imputing the worst motives to his opponents only showed the difficulty of getting the question discussed on its merits.

To describe Lord Roberts' campaign as "infamous" showed a want of taste which is happily rare even in our parliamentary struggles, and the assertion that the "Tories sneer at the efforts and deride the usefulness of those who sacrifice their time and leisure to the patriotic duty of serving in the Territorials" is a perversion of the truth in glaring contrast with the facts. Those who are criticised on the contrary are not the men who are serving in the Territorials but those who refuse to make any sacrifice to patriotic duty. Over and over again the patriotism of the Territorials has been praised and their devotion to duty eulogised, and the fact that, *under present conditions*, it is impossible for them to become efficient is the bed-rock of the present agitation. The advocates of compulsion maintain that the safety of the country is not assured under the present system, and that without some drastic change it is impossible to provide a force adequate in numbers and training to the task it may, in the absence of the expeditionary force, have to undertake, and that, however willing and anxious the Territorials may be, the conditions under which they serve render it impossible for them to attain the necessary standard. It is not denied, even in the most optimistic of official quarters, that the training of the force is insufficient for war, nor is it denied that to increase that training to any appreciable extent would be to destroy the force altogether. That is the price which the country has to pay for the voluntary

system. You must either have a poorly trained force, or you must go without one altogether. The moment you attempt to give your men an adequate training the force will, *ipso facto*, disappear, not from any indisposition on the part of the men to face their responsibilities, but from the obvious fact that their competitors in civil life, having undertaken no such responsibilities, are free to oust them from the employment which for the moment they are bound to neglect. In a compulsory system this unfair competition is entirely absent. All start fair and none are handicapped in the race, and the argument applies with even greater force to the employers than it does to the men themselves. At present the patriotic suffer and those who make no sacrifice at all positively benefit by their want of patriotism and the shirking of their responsibilities. We are sometimes told that the very idea of compulsion is foreign to the nature of the free-born Briton; that it is his privilege to let others fight for him; that as long as he can put the burthen of defending his country on the shoulders of some one else he would be a fool to undertake the task himself; that the defence of his women and children is no affair of his, and that his duty to his country is fulfilled by paying his taxes for the support of a small professional Army. It is not a high ideal. It is hardly a state of mind to be proud of, yet we hear it proclaimed with much insistence by the supporters of the voluntary system.

It is true that in the past many of the victories won by this country were achieved by armies in which the proportion of Britons to other nationalities was very small. It was the habit in days gone by to hire Swiss or Hessians or Brunswickers to do our fighting, and even in the Peninsular War the Duke of Wellington had a large proportion of aliens under his command. But these days are over. Modern Empires no longer let out their professional soldiers on hire, and the Briton must make up his mind to face the music himself; and I am convinced that in case of emergency he would come forward and do his best. The greatest lesson, however, that we have learned in recent wars, in the Russo-Japanese War, and more recently in the Turko-Bulgarian War is that troops without adequate training are at the mercy of highly trained and disciplined opponents. For instance, the Turkish artillery was rarely able to come into action against the Bulgarians because the well-trained gunners of the Allies

knocked out their opponents' batteries before they had fired a shot. In this connection we are told the Territorials want six months training to become efficient, or nearly twice as long as it took the Bulgarians to drive the Turks behind the lines of Chatalja.

I shall no doubt be told that all this is true, but that in the past we have always muddled through somehow and that we probably shall again. I think those who comfort themselves in this way forget that since Waterloo we have never run up against a first-class Power thoroughly prepared for war. In the Crimea no doubt our organisation was deplorable, but luckily so was that of the Russians; and since that time all our campaigns have been carried on against Natives, or, as in the case of the Boers, against those who were not highly organised or up to date. They forget that relatively the nations of Europe have advanced out of all proportion to the progress we have made. They have become veritable nations in arms, and their training and organisation, to say nothing of their vast reserves, have entirely altered our relative positions the one to the other. In saying this I am not for one moment forgetting our Fleet, but a fleet can never end a war, nor can it march across mountains. Prince Louis of Battenberg and Sir John French have uncompromisingly endorsed this view. It will be remembered that Waterloo was not fought till ten years after Trafalgar, and that the interval after the destruction of the French fleet was occupied with incessant fighting on land. To my mind the question is not are the Territorials better than the Volunteers, but are they adequate in numbers and training for the work they may be called upon to carry out? We all admit their superiority in organisation to the Volunteers, just as we admit that the Regular Army for its size is more efficient than it was a few years ago. This, however, is begging the question and does not prove that we have advanced in efficiency and in preparation for war in the same ratio as our potential enemies. It is the relative values that are so vitally altered.

Towards the end of the Boer War this country was denuded of troops, and had not our Navy been supreme we should have been an easy prey to invasion. Since that time the relative strength of our Fleet has been reduced, and it would not now be safe to send so many troops out of the country, and, if it were, I doubt whether public opinion would let them go, at any rate until

the Territorials had had enough training to take their place. All this, no doubt, has been said many times before. The country has been warned again and again, and those who have dared to suggest that our state of preparedness is not perfect have been jeered at and scoffed at as pessimists and alarmists. And who are these pessimists and alarmists? Why, the very men who, from practical experience in the field, know what they are talking about. Men like Lord Roberts, who have nothing to gain by advocating an unpopular course, men who having no axes to grind and, having reached the highest steps of the ladder of military ambition, have no reason to speak except from the point of view of their country's weal. There are signs, I think, that they are no longer speaking to deaf ears. That the Chair has been taken at Wolverhampton and Leeds by two Radical Mayors at meetings in support of compulsory training is a welcome sign that this question may yet be raised above the strife of Party warfare, and the enthusiasm which the propaganda has aroused in the country shows that public opinion no longer regards some form of compulsion for home service as outside the range of practical politics and is ready to approach the question with an open and unbiased mind.

ERROLL.

THYRSIS DE NOS JOURS

WITH PROFOUND APOLOGIES TO THE SHADE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD

THYRSIS, on that tempestuous morn in June,
When your brief bright financial bloom seemed o'er,
You filled the welkin with your bootless pleas
And stamped and raved, and all your chamber floor
With bills unpaid and envious summonses
And worthless scrip was strewn.
Friend, I remember yet your parting cry
From the wet platform as you caught your train,
En route for easier lands beyond the main,
The game is up and with the game go I.

Too quick despairer, wherefore didst thou go?
Soon did the high financial pomps come on,
Soon did the pools and corners ripe and swell
To monster gambles in gold-dusted con-
tango, and Oil with homely cottage smell
Made stocks a fragrant show.
Noses that down the alleys curve afar
Flock to the spoil, and every week-end sees
Statesmen beneath the dreaming garden trees
Begging their friends to let them in at par.

Alack for B-tt-ml-y! Three rivals now!
First comes Apella, guardian of the laws;
Next Cleon from the hills, the shepherd-swain
Who pleads with silver tongue the people's cause;
And last fair Daphnis, to whose soothing strain
The nymphs of Progress bow.

They were the first Occasion's hand to seize,
They knew the fruit the earliest tip can yield,
The golden harvest of the chequered field,
And what strange crooks are Mammon's tributaries.

Ah! easy access to the hearers' grace
When to the trio Hebrew shepherds sing!
Yet much I fear that envious tales are rife,
True tales that need no fancy's heightening.
Dim is the goal of sad Apella's life,
And Cleon veils his face.—
Cleon, ah never more the world will see
Thy Dorian fury on the rich man's scent,
Thy god-like scorn of unearned increment,
For Fate, not Pr-tym-n, hath conquered thee.

But Daphnis of his own will went away.
It irked him to be here, he could not rest.
To a boon western country he hath fled,
Daphnis, the well-beloved, the bland, the blest.
Where doubtless now, with flowers engarlanded
In Bacchic holiday,
Thou liest reclined, a Caledonian Shah,
(And purer or more subtle soul than thee
I trow the casual Dago doth not see)
Among the septic shades of Bogotá.

*   *   *   *   *

Too long, too long grows now thy absence hence.
Return, my Thyrsis, from thy alien den.
England for thee is now the only home.
And if thou dreadest aught from tongue or pen,
Let in thine ear a whisper often come
To banish all suspense.—
What fearest thou? Resume thine ancient game.
New codes, new ethics rule this happier hour.
Dost thou seek proof? Asquith is still in power,
The "Daily News" still swears by Cleon's fame.

MENANDER.

THE RISE OF EAST AFRICA

It is barely a quarter of a century ago that the British Government decided that East Africa was a country in which it had no interest, whose utility could best be realised as a make-weight in future territorial exchanges elsewhere, or possibly as a factor in frontier rectifications of adjacent and more valuable territories. Fortunately for East Africa and the Empire this view was not to prevail. The Government had the prudence to make sure before they took their final decision. Sir Gerard Portal was sent out to visit the country and invited to make a report upon its possibilities; with the result that all ideas of its abandonment or exchange were given up, and a new policy adopted for penetrating into and developing the future Protectorate.

The briefest visit to East Africa and Uganda will convince the traveller of the wisdom of that policy. Nor can he fail to admire the shrewd foresight of Sir Gerard Portal, or the bold enterprise of the Government who acted upon his advice. In face of the keen opposition and ridicule of many in England, reminiscent of the ridicule heaped upon the authors of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Uganda line was begun and completed from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza, and a main transport artery thus established through which now flows in ever-increasing quantities the long-stored wealth of the African highlands and plains. It is scarcely less remarkable and less satisfactory to note that those who criticised most keenly the inception of the scheme are those who are destined to be most enriched by the products of the country opened up by the Uganda Railway.

The wealth and progress of East Africa and Uganda are only just beginning to be realised and appreciated in England. A variety of causes, perhaps, accounts for the apathy shown towards East African affairs by the public at large: the lack of a direct

service of British steamers, which has only recently been satisfied; the disturbing echoes of disputes between Government and settlers; mistaken ideas as to climate; and, more than all, the rapid development of Canada, which has concentrated the attention of so many upon that particular field. All these causes have contributed to leave most business men totally ignorant of the opportunities lying latent in the two Protectorates. But if the progress has gone on unheeded, it has also gone on unchecked, and there can be no possible doubt that with wise and sympathetic government that progress will rapidly and largely increase.

It may well be asked what warranty there is for such an assurance of progress; for East Africa, like other new countries, has its difficulties and problems to be faced and to be solved—problems of no mean order and impatient of an early solution. But in one respect at least East Africa may claim to be almost unique, namely, in its variety of climate and of natural resources. It would indeed be difficult to find elsewhere a territory at once so broad and so compact containing so complete a gradation of climates, or capable of producing in their best qualities and in such generous growth so wide a range of natural products. Within the space of twenty-four hours you may pass from the full heat of a tropical coast to the gentle warmth and cold nights of a northern summer, or from districts of cloud and mist to upland pastures that vie with Swiss Alps. Not much farther distant again you may come to deep forests crowned with the snows and glaciers of more than one great mountain. Each of these climates is capable of producing its special riches: the tropical coast a wealthy yield of copra, sisal, cotton, ground-nuts, and rubber; at higher altitudes coffee, grain, millet, maize, potatoes, wattle, and other crops, whilst the highlands themselves produce cattle, sheep, hides, timber, and their allied industries.

Behind British East Africa itself comes Uganda, whence the exports of coffee and cotton have already assumed some size and are destined to be doubled and trebled in the almost immediate future. It is scarcely surprising, then, that both the imports and the exports of the country have rapidly increased in the last five years, and that the railway returns for the last year alone show an increase of 20 per cent. and more over the year preceding!

In barely eight years since the completion of the railway the Protectorate has been able to abandon its grant-in-aid from the Home Government and has taken its place amongst the self-supporting Colonies of the Crown.

But it is at this point that the problems of East Africa begin to present themselves. The withdrawal of the grant-in-aid by the Home Government has come at a period in the development of the country when its very success and expansion make imperative demands for more money. The total revenue of the colony is well under a million pounds a year, and in a new country the surface of whose production has been barely scratched, roads, railways, telegraphs, Government buildings, harbour works, sanitation, and housing schemes are urgently needed if the moneys already spent by the British taxpayer are not to remain sterile. It is indeed unthinkable that any Government which has made so bold and potentially profitable an investment of money should hesitate to find those further sums which, well used, would at this juncture make profitable for all time the capital that has been sunk in the country.

The most urgent and pressing need at the present moment lies in the early provision of greater transport facilities. Even at the present moment, even if we take no thought for future demand, the Uganda Railway administration is utterly unable to handle the large quantities of traffic offering. Imports from Europe are constantly kept waiting for several weeks at the coast, where storage sheds are deficient; with the inevitable result that building, agricultural, and other industries are dislocated and embarrassed. So far the handicap of this import congestion has not, so great is the natural wealth of the country, succeeded in choking down the export production of East Africa and Uganda. If the congestion for import traffic is great, it bears even more hardly upon the exports, which are mostly of a perishable character and over whose delay in transport serious losses must increasingly be incurred unless something is done to relieve the deadlock. In Uganda alone last year large quantities of cotton bales awaited transport for many months in vain and were afterwards burnt. We are thus the witnesses of the bitter absurdity of a system whereby the British Cotton Growers' Association spend large sums in

subventioning the growth of cotton within the Empire, while the resultant cotton ready to feed the mills is left rotting by road or lakeside for lack of the means of transport! Instance after instance of the same kind could be given of business, profitable alike for the Protectorate and the British trader, wasted and lost for this one reason. It is natural enough that such a situation should cause a considerable amount of discontent amongst the settlers in East Africa, and bitter words and sharp criticism of the local Government are not lacking. Much of this negative criticism would, perhaps, be better employed if those concerned would make it their business constantly to urge and to demonstrate to the public and the Government in England the solidarity of their case and the urgent necessity of the immediate provision of funds for the supply of transport needs.

We have mentioned the congestion of traffic that is actually occurring at the present moment, but if we take a glance at the situation in which the Uganda Railway will find itself in the space of another three years, we shall find an even more serious condition of affairs. During the last two or three years settlers have been pouring into the Protectorate, most of them men who have brought in two or three thousand pounds' worth of capital or more. Coffee, sisal, wattle, or cattle farms have been purchased, planted, or stocked. In nearly every case the first harvest after planting is delayed for at least three years. None of these numerous industries have as yet made appreciable demands upon the carrying capacity of the railway; but in the next two years each of these will be offering a large tonnage for export and demanding haulage. If the railway is already hopelessly congested, if traffic is already far beyond its carrying capacity, what will be the conditions in three years' time? Most railways look upon a large freight-giver as a man to be courted and encouraged; in East Africa alone he is, perforce of present circumstances, a natural enemy, as one who can only add to the already extreme embarrassment of the system.

So much for the goods traffic: what of the native passenger traffic? It may be described broadly as being almost non-existent. That is to say the Administration, for lack of rolling-stock and locomotives, has admittedly done nothing to encourage it. Two or three compartments may be found on a

train into which are crammed more than double the number the carriage is intended to hold: seats, floor, and even rack accommodate such determined native passengers as have succeeded by main force in getting in; the others stay behind. Yet here again there is every sign that the native is increasingly anxious to travel about and to make use of the railway, and that highly profitable traffic is being turned away and neglected—for lack of money for providing the facilities! This in itself re-acts seriously upon the labour problem, of which we shall speak later. It should be clearly understood that this situation is not due mainly or in any large degree to any faults of local administration. It is true, of course, that the old policy of attempting to make the Uganda Railway pay a dividend at the earliest possible moment, with no regard to the future and with no regard to the development that was going on in the country; of buying obsolete rolling-stock in insufficient quantities, and of allocating all net receipts of the railway to the general revenue fund of the Protectorate, was an entirely foolish and shortsighted policy. So far as we can ascertain, there is almost universal agreement to-day that in the early years of such a concern, a better policy, both for the railway itself and the country at large, would have been to re-invest all net earnings at once in the purchase of increased rolling-stock, in the reduction of its steeper grades, and in the provision, where necessary, of other general facilities. But the needs of a rapidly growing community and the demands of an unusually rapid increase of freightage cannot be satisfied by the best administration without the money to supply them. If the whole system is not to collapse, if actual settlers are not to be hopelessly discouraged or ruined, if intending settlers and willing capital are not prevented ingress, it is instantly necessary that the Imperial Government should face the situation boldly.

For the moment there need be no question of double-tracking the line. Something like twice the number of crossing-places will serve the purpose of uninterrupted haulage. Congestion of traffic must be met by the provision of more rolling-stock, heavier engines, &c., and consequently by the replacement throughout of 80-lb. rails in place of the light 56-lb. rails existing to-day.

It is only fair to say that a considerable portion of last year's Treasury Grant, or, more accurately speaking, Treasury Loan,

is being devoted to some of these belated improvements. The large tonnage of soda which the Magadi Company are now on the point of exporting has forced the need of more crossing-places upon the attention of the Administration so as to enable the latter to fulfil their haulage obligations towards the Magadi Company. Some further disadvantages of allowing railway power to fall short of producing power become evident in contrasting the condition of the permanent way with the rolling-stock that must travel over it.

The development of traffic on the railway is not a sudden one. It was foreseen by all and pointed out by many interested in the country fully five years ago. Critics have constantly urged the Government at home to allow the Railway Administration in East Africa to devote some of their yearly earnings to the improvement of the permanent way in the reduction of its steeper grades and in the substitution of 80-lb. rails for 50-lb. rails on the trunk line. It has constantly been pointed out that unless the steeper grades were reduced heavier locomotives would have to be used, and that these heavier locomotives in their turn could not properly be used unless re-railing of the line were previously carried out.

The present position of affairs fully bears out past criticism. To-day, East Africa provides the rare and perhaps unique spectacle of a railway whose feeder line is laid with 80-lb. rails and its main trunk line with 50-lb. rails. The new traffic has come, and has to be dealt with on unreduced gradients and hauled by locomotives too heavy for the line on which they travel. This will not only add considerably to the cost of the upkeep of the permanent way, but prevent full value being got out of the new engines. Most business men would agree that all this could have been avoided by a little more forethought on the part of the Home Government. If the Railway Administration, who throughout have worked marvels under most adverse conditions, had been allowed to improve the line year by year a little ahead of the demands to be made upon it, the present situation could not possibly have occurred and much of the taxpayers' money would have been saved to a jealous Exchequer. But the re-equipment of the railway cannot come alone; it must be undertaken as part and parcel of one complete and comprehensive transport scheme whose units are three—railways, harbour

works, and roads. The two former need to be dealt with at once; the road question may follow later and will probably be of gradual growth, making no sudden or extraordinary demands upon the Treasury.

There are two harbours to Mombasa Island, the smaller harbour of Mombasa itself being used for small steamers and for the dhows that trade in large numbers between Muscat, Mombasa, and Zanzibar. But the main port is the harbour of Kilindini, and in natural features is perhaps unequalled for its size. Stand on the deck of an incoming Union-Castle liner and you may watch in vain for any opening in the low-lying coast in front of you except the little bay with its cluster of houses above it, which you are told is Mombasa town. The ship holds her course until two hundred yards from land, shifts south for a quarter of a mile, then sharp landwards again through a narrow, narrow channel that unfolds to your eyes a vast creek that is Kilindini Harbour. Large enough to hold a fleet of battleships, deep enough to float a *Lusitania*, it is not the contribution of nature that is lacking to make Kilindini a perfect port. But the trade of the harbour has completely outgrown the few facilities that ever existed. Only five years ago the harbour exports were valued at £515,000. The figures for 1911–12 totalled up to well over one million sterling, whilst within the same period the imports have risen from £1,251,000 to £2,070,000. Under the one heading alone of cotton goods an increase from £261,000 to £394,000, or 51 per cent. for the year, must be recorded. The significance of these figures from the point of view of traffic management and port facilities becomes still greater when it is borne in mind that, although quinquennial figures are quoted, the bulk of the increases have really taken place only in the last three years.

Let us assume to the full the difficulties and set-backs common to the expansion of all new countries: there is yet, we believe, ample reason to anticipate fully as great an increase in trade in the next as in the last five years. In spite of the fact that the port returns show an entry of at least one steamer *per diem*, loading and discharge facilities are meagre. Lighterage, lifting, and storage difficulties abound, and for no reason at all except that harbour works on an adequate scale cannot be built out of the scanty revenue of a country that has only just lost its grant-

in-aid, and that the Imperial Government has not seen its way to putting adequate sums into an investment, sound alike for itself and for the trade of the Protectorate. Happily, a properly thought-out and comprehensive scheme of harbour works for the berthing of several ships is completed, and has, it is generally believed, the sympathetic attention of the Government. A round sum of three million pounds, one million to be spent on harbour works at Kilindini and two millions for the re-equipment of the railway, is the amount which is really urgently and immediately required for handling the traffic that has developed in Uganda and British East Africa.

We have quoted briefly the special needs of the Protectorate in regard to harbour and railway facilities, and in view of the pressing claims upon the Treasury from all sides, we have made no mention of many other features of the transport question which might be urged with almost equal force. Native production on a large scale in many districts remote from the line, to say nothing of white settlements, has reached a point fully warranting the construction of branch lines in more than one locality. And the inadequacy of roads is also a matter which demands far greater expenditure than can be contemplated for some time to come. But from the point of view of actual practicability attention must for the moment be fixed on the main transport problem, and we cannot resist repeating how urgent is the matter, how much the future of the Protectorate depends upon its early solution, or how grave will be the situation in which the Government will find itself in another two years if the matter be trifled with or delayed. Utterly unable, as in such circumstances it would be, to make up for lost time, it would be driven by the pressure of local opinion and the urgency of local demand into an even heavier expenditure than that which is called for to-day. More than this, a policy of delay will involve the Government in grave labour difficulties. When the supply of labour is unlimited, a Government may meet the needs of a country by periodical large outlays almost as well as by gradual and regular expenditure, if so be that such a system suits the Central Exchequer. But in East Africa this would be impossible in view of the labour conditions existing.

To say that the labour problem is a very serious one seems

to us to be exaggerated—to ignore it is impossible—for it is a fact that a shortage of labour often does exist and is likely to exist for some time to come. It would be little short of a miracle if the labour supply of the country had been able to meet the sudden and substantial demands made upon it. A visitor to the country sees this question in better perspective probably than a resident. The contractor, or the railway official, harnessed to the production of some great scheme, the settler counting on the harvest of his enterprise, scarcely pauses to look back on the conditions of ten years ago. Their eyes strain forwards and the needs of the moment are naturally uppermost. But it is yet a fact that ten years ago the natives of East Africa had never seen a railway or a steamship, a motor, or a steam plough—whereas to-day they apply themselves not altogether unsuccessfully to the running of a sisal or timber mill, to the laying of a railway, to methods of modern agriculture, and to the improved but still altered conditions of their daily duties. Vastly richer than they were, they are still to a large extent content with the most primitive conditions of African life. Where the wife or wives grow the food and where the annual outlay on rent, firing, subscriptions, and clothes is nil, the acquisition of a few rupees in a few weeks is sufficient to keep the native in his standard of luxury for some considerable time, during which his disinclination for work is remarkable and unshakable. The hoarding of rupees is large and will probably increase until the native mind wakes up to a higher idea of civilised life: till some dawning sense of the requirement of clothes and soap, some wish for the primitive luxuries of civilised conditions, increases his outlay and forces him for the sake of wealth into the labour market. For the more rapid solution of the labour difficulty, however, various remedies are proposed. A Labour Commission appointed by the Government has sat, and is still sitting, inquiring into the potential supply in the Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and Ukamba districts; and whilst it is scarcely to be expected that their report will provide any definite solution of the difficulty—if indeed there be a definite solution—it may hope to furnish such data, statistical and otherwise, as may make possible the better organisation of the existing supply.

Some addition to the paltry hut-tax now imposed has been

suggested, alike as a more equitable contribution from those landlords who are disinclined to work, or to develop their property, as well as an incentive to come more often into the labour market. Whilst a policy of this kind should find much favour with the present Home Government, and whilst it is probable that the time has arrived when the native should pay a somewhat larger subscription to the upkeep of the country, it is somewhat doubtful whether an increased hut- or poll-tax will really effect the desired result in regard to labour, especially when similar experiments in other parts of Africa are borne in mind. A more hopeful scheme would seem to be found in putting the labour supply in the hands of the chiefs, and through them in the hands of the Government, who, by means of local bureaux or exchanges for labour, could be the agents for the provision and organisation of the labour market. All desiring labour would thus apply to the Government, in shape of the district officer, and obtain it at rates fair alike to employer and employed. It is probable that, outside these suggestions, freely discussed though they have been, no single remedy is to be found for the present stringency in the labour supply. The situation is one not uncommon in the rapid development of a new country, and one which demands above all things patience and just treatment of the native at the hands of all employers. Happily, the type of British settler in East Africa is exceptionally good, and his treatment of the native almost invariably fair: the supply of labour at the moment cannot keep pace with the demand, but it is steadily increasing, and once the native realises more fully the value of money, his ambitions and his ideals will tend to induce him to regular work and to the acquisition of that increased wealth which awaits him at every turn if he will take the trouble to seek it.

Into this problem, as into every other, the transport question obtrudes itself. So long as the chief motor transport of goods in East Africa is man, so long as it takes forty men to move every ton of raw material produced, so long will labour be wasted and its supply restricted. Build railways, and immediately there is released for production instead of agency trade a large supply of labour. A train-load of one hundred tons, that would have required in human energy four thousand men, is moved at the direction of three, to the gain of the labour market, to the

instruct them in there duty to God, & the principles of there Religion, for they that don't know that, I am sure, can never be good men, either to there parents, or of service to their country. Pray my tendrest Blessing & love to them, & I do assure you that if you do your duty to them, you shall never want a friend to do you all the service that lies in the power of, Sr,

your Servant,

ELIZ. PORTLAND.

This letter is directed: "To Mr. Achard, at Eton, Windsor."

On December 30 in the same year, the duke wrote in French to say that it was with sensible pleasure that he had learned that the education of his sons had been entrusted to a man of Mr. Achard's merit:

What has been written to me about you, about your good qualities, about your virtues, and at the same time about the way in which you have acted in undertaking this charge, prevents me from feeling the least uneasiness on their account, and convinces me that I shall have every reason to be satisfied with the choice that has been made. After what I have just said, and the assurances which you have given, it would be useless for me to recommend any particular course, as I rely entirely upon your judgement and your prudence. From the bottom of my heart I wish you every kind of success in this undertaking, and I hope at the same time that you may find no matter for complaint. I shall impatiently await news of the progress of my children, as well as of the state of their health, as to which I pray you (as you shall have occasion) to inform me, and to believe that I am very sincerely, Sir, Your very humble servant,

PORTLAND.

Everything went well with tutor and taught, as we learn from another letter written by the duchess, May 26, 1725, and sent to Mr. Achard at Eton:

SR—I can assure you it is a very great pleasure & satisfaction to me to hear the caracter you give of my sons, and hope they will improve more & more every day in their Studies. By this time I don't doubt but that you are intirely acquanted both with there tempers & inclinations (& hope the last is not bad). I do entirely agree with you that those that are not good Christians can't be good men, & am sorry they have neglect'd to instruct them so much as they ought to have done; but flatter myself you will rectifie it as much as lies in your power. It is no small joy to me to hear that my [elder] son has the Strength to go throw so many diffirent excersicess at a time, & I do injoin you never to lett him go to Mr. Fobert's without you, & desire you never to be from him while he is there, for I have heard there is severall youths there that I should not like my children to be acquaigted with. You must excuse these little trifling things, for you must consider it comes from a tender Mother. I was very glad to see by Mr. Smith's letter that Lord Titchfeild is so well recover'd of the Chickin pox, & hope they will continue to do so with everything else. *He writes me word that George is got into the Second form, which I hear he is very much pleas'd at, & don't doubt but he will make a learned man in time. I am very much oblig'd to all my friends for the kindness they show to my children, & hope they will never do anything to make them

neglect them. I must desire you still to use your best indevours to instruct them in all that is proper to make them good men, which will be for your own creditt, & which will make me do all that lies in my power to serve you, both now & hearafter, from, Sr

Your humble Servt,

E. PORTLAND.

Some months later she writes again :

December ye 10th, 1725.

'Twas a great pleasure to me to hear by Capt. Barham that my dear sons were well, & that George had so entirely lost his feavour. I do assure you, Mr. Achard, I was very well pleas'd with the account you gave me in your letter of George's illness, & am much better pleas'd to hear whatever happen[s] to them then I should be not to do so ; & since you lett me know sincerely & truly whatever happens to them, it makes me much easier then otherways I should. Pray, Sr, continue to have a watchful eye on George for by what I hear from everybody, he is so very wild that he wants more care than usuall, & suppose he got this disorder by over-heating himself. 'Tis a great satisfaction to me that my sons improves in there learning so well, & hope you will instruct them in what they can't learn at school, for there is nothing but Greek and Latin to be learnt there. 'Twas indeed very oblidging in poor Mr. Moreau to remember my children so kindly, & desire you will not faill to carry them to condole with her on her lost [*sic*], & pray do so to her in my name. I own I am surpris'd to hear that he died worth no more then four thousand pounds, for I knew he was worth as much as that severall years ago, but I suppose he lost as well as other people did in the S[outh] Sea, & approve very much that Mr. Smith has put it out to enterest for the children, for they have no want of it yet. Thank God, wee are all very well, & the place agrees extreamly well with us all, but for all that, it does not hinder me wishing to be in dear England again. I have nothing more to add, but onely to desire you will still continue the same care of the children as you hitherto have done, & in doing so you will very much oblige her who is, Sr,

Yr humble servant,

E. PORTLAND.

The wish of the duchess to see England again was soon to be gratified, for despite her notion that Jamaica agreed with them, the effect of the climate was such that, some six months later, her husband died. The next of her letters to Mr. Achard is addressed to him at Leyden, where he was staying with the elder son, who had now become Duke of Portland, and who was there completing his education, George remaining at Eton.

Augt. the 1st, 1727.

I do assure you, Sr, 'tis a very great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to hear that my son is so well in health, & that he seems to take so well to his studies, & don't doubt but with God's blessing he will make both a good & great man. My prayers & wishes are not wanting to implore the divine providence to prosper all his undertakings both for his soul & body. I am very glad to find that both my son & you approves so well of Mr. Schravenhande, indeed by what my sister told me of him, I did not doubt but that he must be liked by those that understand learning. As much as I know of the

bussiness that my son is to go through, I aprove very well of the plan that you writ me word of, and am of the oppinion 'tis not best to croud the head with to[o] many different things at a time, but to do it with leasure & patience, for my son has time enough for that. I am glad he goes to the manage,* for I beleive 'tis good for his health, & am glad you like the master so well. Tho he is not so good as the Major, 'tis better then none. You are in the right not to lett him learn to dance, for he knows that well enought, & he may soon recover it again when 'tis wanted. My son writ me word he was got into mourning; † 'twas very right done, & would always have him do what is proper on all occasions, but with the best management that is possible. Indeed I think the washing is very cheap, but doubt the rest is not so. I am extreamly oblid[g]ed to Mr. Catwyk for the kindness he shews to my son; when you see him next, pray make him my acknowledgments for it in the best manner you can, & the same to my sister. Sence there is a vacancy,‡ & but little to be learnt now, would itt not be a good time for my son to go see some of the fine towns that are near, but leave itt entirely to you to do what is most proper. George has been here, & is very well. He is grown tall, but as thin & as wild as ever; he went away yesterday. The candlesticks are sent by Capt. Conway who will deliver them himself. I have writ to my sister to buy me a pound of the best Green tea, & desire you will ask her for it, & gett the Capt. to bring it over for me. My tender & most kind blessing to my son; his sisters & brother assures him of there kind & tender compliments, & I can assure you that if you behave yourself so as I expect you will to my son, you will always find me ready to serve you with the best of my power, who am, Sr, your humble sert.

E. Portland.

In the next letter the duchess dwells on the necessity for frugal management, in explanation of which it may be stated that her husband's speculations in South Sea stock had resulted in heavy loss:

Acton, Sepber. the 12th, 1727.

Sr,—I receiv'd your letter with the Account, & am glad to see 'tis no higher, & can't well give a judgment as yett what the expense will be, till the next quarter is come for the winter, & then one may see in all probability what itt will come to a year. I am sure I would never have my son want for anything that is proper he should have. All that I desire is that you would take care that 'tis done with the best management that is possible, for you know as well as I do that his affairs att present won't admitt of a great deall to spend now. I can't express the joy itt has been to me to see the good resolutions of my dear son's in perferring to go on with his studies, rather then to see the coronation [of King George II], which I think shows so good an inclination that I trust in God he will live to be a good & great man, & be a comfort to me & his familly, & an honour to you, which will I hope encourage you to take all the care you possible can of him, which will, I am sure, redound to your creditt as well as my satisfaction. I do assure you, 'tis a very great pleasure to me to hear how well you do with my son, & do assure you, you may depend I shall always be your friend as long as you behave

* Manage = manège, riding-school.

† Mourning, i.e. for King George I.

‡ Vacancy = vacation.

yourself well towards my son. Lady Portland has been in a sad way for poor Lady Sophia,* who has been in extream danger with a violent feavour. She had four Drs., Sr H. Sloan, Friend, Hollings & Tessey. She had ten blisters on togather, & one of them on her head, so you may guess how ill she has been. I saw her yesterday; she is better then she has been, but is still very weak & faint, & risees every day, so that I hope all danger is over now. Mr. Smith has sent you a bill, but att present can't gett a bill of Creditt; don't leave yourself so bare the next time. I have not yet receiv'd the tea you sent. I don't know how, whether you are more healthy in Holland then wee are hear, for it has not been known for these many years so sickly a time as 'tis now; they say 'tis the hott weather wee have had, & the great quantity of fruit has been the cause of itt. Severall of my servants has had itt, but, thank God, none has died of itt. Pray my tenderest blessing to my son, & tell him I aprove extreamly well of his good resolutions to mind his learning, & will take care to send him what he desires. Nany† makes her kind compliments to him, & will write very soon. I have no news, therefore will conclude, I assuring you that I shall always be your friend to serve you.

E. PORTLAND.

Several other letters evince the mother's tender concern for her son's welfare:

July the 23th, 1728.

I fancy that Mr. Achard thinks I am run away, he having not heard from me so long, but do assure you 'tis not that I am anyways displeas'd with you, but for want of something to say. I do assure you, I can't express the satisfaction 'tis to me to hear my son behaves himself so well, & minds his studies so well. . . . I was not sure whether you did not want a watch chain, which I have sent you, but if you have one, if you will send itt back I will send you something else for itt. As you mention Mr. Scravesand has taken so much care of my son, I should be willing to make him a present, & desire you would try to find out what peice of plate he should like. . . .

Feb · ye 18, 1728[-9].

I receiv'd your last, & should have answer'd itt sooner, & am obliged to you for the care & concern you express for my son. I must own I am entirely of your oppinion as to his spending one year more att Leyden, which I hope will enable him to profitt the more in the rest of his travills the next year. I can't express to you the pleasure 'twas to me to receive from himself a letter to assure me he would stay still another year, & this I had from him without haveing taken any notice to him that I had heard he had a design of leaving Leyden, & in that I had yesterday from him, he seems to be perswaded that what Mr. Achard sayd was entirely for his good. . . . Lady Portland looks well, & seems prodigiously happy with Lady Sophia's being to be married so well. . . .

The young duke was now twenty years of age, and in the

* Lady Sophia Bentinck, half-sister of the first Duke of Portland. Her marriage to Henry de Grey, Duke of Kent, took place March 24, 1729, and is mentioned in a subsequent letter.

† Lady Anne Bentinck, the second duke's sister.

depleted state of the family finances, the prudent mother was hoping that he would find an heiress who would consent to become his wife, but her wishes were not consummated until five years later:

Bulstrode, Oct. ye 6: 1729.

I am glad to see by yours, Mr. Achard, that you are quite recov'd. . . . As to what you mention of the affair of Mr. Vicary, I confess I think 'tis a very advantagious thing for my son, & wish the person & caracter of the person may please him, for, as his affairs stands, a good fortune must be had. The reason I took no notice of itt to my son was that I had made a resolution never to propose anybody to him, but to lett him chuse for himself, & tho I have had severall offers, my answer has been that the person is an entire stranger to me, having never seen her, but hear she is about three & twenty, & agreable enough, but shall strive to have a true & exact caracter of her as near as is possible. Tell my son he has mortifyed poor Mr. Smith prodigiously, he having done itt in hopes to make him a great & happy man. I can't express how much dejected & concern'd he look'd when he receiv'd his letter. Therfore hope he will writ[e] again to comfort him, for what he did was in great love & concern for his advantage. As you don't mention the watch I sent for Mr. Scravesand, I fear he does not like itt. . . .

Jan. ye 22th, 1729–30.

I should have answer'd yours, Mr. Achard, before, had I been able, but have had so severe a fitt of the gout that I have not been able to writ[e] sooner. As concerning the affair you mention, I can say no more then what I writ you before, that they have a very good character, & [she] behaves herself very discreetly & soberly. This is what Mr. Smith tells me, for nobody knows anything of itt but him, & now, poor man, he is very much out of order, & wish he takes care of himself as he ought to do. I suppose you have heard that the Dutchess of Kent has a daughter,* which has been a great disapointment to all the family, & really I am sorry for itt, a son being very much wanted. . . . Pray give my kind & tender blessing to my son, & hope he is well, for I have not heard from him since I have had the gout. All his sisters are here, & present their kind humble service to him. Nany is pritty well again. George was gone to Eaton before his brother's letter came, but have sent itt to him. My daughters gives there service to you, & [I] desire you will make mine to every body that enquires after me, & that Mr. Achard will beleive me his friend to serve him.

E. PORTLAND.

In a letter, dated January 10, without year, but probably written in 1730, the duchess again expresses her joy at the accounts she receives concerning her son, hopes that when he has finished his studies at Leyden, "he will think it proper to see other parts of Europe," and continues:

Pray my most kind & tender blessing to him. I can't think on him without tears. I am glad to see how kind he is to his sisters, & wish he would send something to his

* This daughter, Lady Anne Sophia de Grey, married her cousin, *John* Egerton, Bishop of Durham, and was the mother of *John* William, seventh Earl of Bridgewater.

brother, were itt never so small (not that he is uneasy that he does not do itt), but that I think itt would show he still lov'd him as well as he used to do. I would not have you tell my son this as from me, but as from yourself. My children gives there service to you, & beleive me, as really I am, yr friend to serve you.

E. PORTLAND.

The last of the letters received by Mr. Achard at Leyden is dated March 30, 1730, and once more the duchess is joyful because of "the agreable news you sent me of the good disposition my son is of." She adverts to the probability of their making a tour through Europe, and concludes by asking her correspondent to ascertain if Dr. Boerhaave would advise her to follow a regimen for the gout, in accordance with a prescription which she encloses, which "will very much oblige her who is Mr. Achard's friend to serve him in what lies in my power. E. Portland."

Of the continental tour little is known, but we catch glimpses of the two travellers at Lausanne, Cassel, Florence, and Milan. When at the last-named city, Mr. Achard received a wrathful letter from Humphrey Edwin, dated Florence, October 27, 1731. The writer lodges a complaint against the duke's personal attendant, who wears his livery, and asks that he may be dismissed. He alleges that the offender, "a thin fellow, pretty much pitted with the small pox," has been spreading a false and malicious report about his niece:

He took the liberty to Rail at my Niece as a very mean person, and wondered she should be admitted into Company, for that he knew the famıly, that her Father kept a shop and sold Stockins, and to confirm what he said as a truth, shewed those on his Legs, and said that he bought them himselfe before he came out of England out of his shop.

He proceeds to inveigh against "this abominable falsehood," for,

although it might be laughed at in England and London where everyone knows the Falsity of such a report, yett among the Itallians who cannot be so easily informed of the truth, so scandalous a report may have the consequence of my Niece's being affronted in every company she offers to come into, instead of being received among the first, as she has always bin in every City in Italy, as well as at Court in England, and in the best Company, and among the best Quality in London, which could not be if this story was Truth.

His brother (his niece's father), he says, had married a sister of the Duke of Manchester, and was a man of large estate who lived in a handsome manner. He hopes that the duke will

instantly discard his malicious and mischievous servant who has so rudely attacked a gentlewoman.

By the time the tutorial days were over, John Achard had so endeared himself to his pupil, that thenceforward a competent income was given to him, and he lived in the duke's house on the footing of a valued and intimate friend, sharing in all the family joys and sorrows as if he had been a Bentinck by birth. It is sometimes said that he was the duke's secretary, but, on the one hand, evidence as to this is entirely lacking, and, on the other, he had one trait very improper for a secretary, to wit, an objection to letter writing.* It is true that he rendered many services of various sorts to his patron, and doubtless did help him with duties that ordinarily fall to the lot of a secretary, but the bond between them was one of grateful affection on each side. The duke made it possible for him to spend a life of quiet study, happiness and usefulness; and all who came within the range of his influence appreciated his good nature, his courteous demeanour, and his perennial benevolence. Mrs. Delany thus describes him in 1736: "He overflows with wit and humour, and makes us laugh till we cry again." Sometimes she would tease him, and then he would make a whimsically bellicose retort, so that one day she would call him Monsieur du Poivre, and another Monsieur du Miel. His status in the family may be described in words almost identical with those used concerning Sir Roger de Coverley's chaplain: "This gentleman is a person of good sense and some learning, of a very regular life and obliging conversation: he heartily loves *the duke*, and knows that he is very much in *his* esteem, so that he lives in the family rather as a relation than a dependant."

In 1737 the duchess dowager died, but before he experienced the loss of that good friend, he had gained another in the person of the new Duchess of Portland, Lady Margaret Harley, whose charm as "pretty sweet Miss" had touched the heart of book-loving Humfrey Wanley, and whose constant kindness was to win the lifelong devotion of her husband's friend, to whom she sometimes playfully alludes as Frère Bonaventure.

When the family were in London, and Achard was at Bulstrode,

* Thanking him for a letter, November 18, 1740, Margaret Duchess of Portland says it is all the more acceptable "as I know your great Dislike to writing."

or *vice versa*, the duke wrote to him constantly, and when the duke was ill, the duchess gave him daily reports. For instance, on August 3, 1741, she writes:

I received the favour of yours just now, for which I am extreamly thankfull, & wish I cou'd give you as good an account of my Lord as I am sure you are desireous of, but he was a good deal out of order yesterday with the gout in his elbow, & had but an indifferent night; he was much better this morning, & continues tollerably well, so I beg you will not be uneasy, for I assure you I am not the least so, & you know I take a Fright as soon as anyone. . . . You shall hear constantly every night . . . the children are all well, & desires their kind loves. Bess is in great care for your health. They have all been very good. I am, Sr, your faithfull friend & very humble servant,

M. C. Portland.

My Lord['s] kindest Comps attends you.

On the 5th the duchess, writing in the midst of six people who are "talking of ships, digestion, gout, apricock stones, etc," reports the duke better; on the 6th he is much better, and begins to walk about the room; on the 7th he is "as well as can be, and better than expected"; and on the 8th she writes "à la manière de Fidget," that is, of the sprightly bluestocking, Elizabeth Robinson, who in the following year became Mrs. Montagu:

I hope we shall have the pleasure of hearing from you to-day that you are perfectly recover'd, which I believe you do us the justice to think will be great joy to us. With great spirits I accquaint you that Doctor Mead says My Lord's fit of the gout is over, for he has all the best symptoms, he looks quite clear, he has an appetite to what he eats, and is very chearfull. The medecine that he took last night agreed with him very well, so that I think you may be perfectly easy upon his account . . . . the poor Master of the Rolls * is, I fancy, at rest by this time. Dr. Mead has been again with him, and said that last Sunday night his head was swelled as big as two, his nose, mouth & cheeks even, & one eye entirely gone, so that I think no one can wish his life. Robin Harley went down Saturday to Mrs. Verney. I guess you have been in the Bodleian Library where you saw a book of very fine writing by a lady. I need not tell you that I have no apprehension of my manuscripts being preserved for the fairness of the writing, nor indeed for any other merit, for to my comfort they will never rise up in judgement against me, as they are very proper for the use you generally make of letters,

Go never to be seen no more,
Go where the chickens went before.

On another occasion when the duchess was grievously sick of a fever, Anne Granville wrote: "poor Achard has been almost

* John Verney, Master of the Rolls, who had married Abigail Harley, the duchess's first cousin once removed.

distracted." And in 1743, when the duke had broken his a
in the hunting field, Mrs. Delany relates that Monsieur du Poi
is "the true representative of care—for since the Duke's confi
ment he has hardly allowed himself time for his meals;
eyebrows are arched to the top of his wig, and his sighs
enough to turn a mill."

At the time of the birth of the duke's eldest son, Mr. Ach
was paying a visit to Holland, but the duke, April 14, 1738, wr
to apprise him of the happy event of that morning. "I am,"
says, "sensible of your joy, and can form it better to myself
Idea than you'll be able to express, for I imagine it will fall up
you so fast, that you won't be able to express it at all."

A few days later the proud grandfather, Edward Harl
second Earl of Oxford, wrote to him:

> Dear Sr,—Though I was allways very glad to see you and converse with you, I think I never regretted anything in my life more then your absence at this time, t you might have had your share with us of the great joy and pleasure which the B of our Dear Boy gave us; it was surprising and astonishing and indeed in all circ stances not to be exprest. He is a very fine child, Bigger than either of his sis when they were Born; he has all the Indications of Health and strength. ' Dutchess is extremely well. . . .
>
> I would have wrote to you on Friday, the Happy Birthday, but the Duke said would write himself, which was a much better hand in all respects to have the g news conveighed to you. Thus, Dear Sr, God has been pleased to answer our Pray and wishes and has given us a son, and given him Graciously, for there is no alloy our joy. . . .

Achard made answer as follows, the letter being dated The Hague, April 26, 1738:

> My Lord,—The honour of a letter from your Lordship to me upon this occasio so great a favour that I am at a loss to express how truely sensible I am of it; not t I can be a stranger to a goodness and condescension which I have so often experien but I took it for granted that the inexpressible joy which you must have felt in t happy circumstance would not admit of any other thoughts, and that both frie and servants would be, at least for a while, forgotten, particularly so insignifican one as myself. I am very proud that your Lordship did think of me and wish'd I l been with you to share in your happiness. I wish you and My Lady Oxford m heartily joy of the birth of this dear Child, and of the happy circumstances that ha attended it, and join most sincerely in the good wishes you make for the welfar happiness of one who is the ground of our hope for future happiness and comfort his good and great family. No doubt you expect to hear something of my happin when I heard the news. I would willingly satisfie your curiosity if I could, but rea I want words to express it. [The paper is here torn. He says that at first the in

struck him dumb, but] now it hath taken another course, and I run in the other extreame; it gains upon me every day, so that I am in a fair way of being quite mad when I come to see the Marquis, which I hope will be shortly, and find your Lordship and all the family in good health, and as truely happy as I wish you all. I am, with the utmost respect, My Lord, your Lordship's most humble & obedient Servant,

S. ACHARD.

At another time Lord Oxford had written:

SR,—I forgot yesterday to mention to you of to-morrow's being my wive's & my daughter's Birthday, and as I am truly sensible you are a sincere well-wisher to them both, I desire you will be so kind as to partake of our mirth, and dine here to-morrow and you will much oblige, Sr, your most humble servant,

OXFORD.

On April 21 the Duke of Portland reported progress:

I shall only write three words to lett you know that my wife & child continue mighty well. . . . Your two little old friends * are mighty well, they breakfast with me every morning. The Governor is on ye mending hand, he & Ld Dupplin desire to be kindly remembred to you, as does ye Dss; she says she shou'd have been extreamly glad to have seen you when you first heard ye news. . . . Your sincere friend and humble servant,

PORTLAND.

Writing again on the following day he says:

All your acquaintance desire to be remembred kindly to you; recollect who they are, for if I was to write everybody's name I shou'd have enough to employ me for hours.

Another of the duke's letters may be given as indicative of the intimacy of his friendship:

Whitehall, Sepr ye 22d, 1748.

Bill [*i.e.* Lord Titchfield] being taken ill with a cold and head-ach this afternoon will prevent us coming to-morrow to Bulstrode, as we intended. He was well when he wrote his letter to his sister Betty—that was before he went to dinner, and as ye weather has alter'd, I fancy he caught cold with it. I can't tell what day we shall come down, but you shall hear of it by ye post. Give our blessing to ye little ones, service to Mr. & Mrs. Lambard. My Wife & Bill send their service to you, and to Mrs. Elstob. I am, Dear Sr, Your most faithfull friend & servt,

PORTLAND.

We don't expect to hear from Bulstrode to-morrow; but desire you'll write by to-morrow night's post; because if we should not come Saturday (as we hope we may), we should be sorry to be two days without hearing how all ye Children do; you shall hear from me to-morrow night.

What Lady Oxford thought of him may be seen in her prim epistle, dated at Welbeck, January 15, 1742-3:

SIR,—I am Thankfull for the Favour of your letter. You judge very right That every Friend of the Duke's & my Daughter's are allways welcome to me, & I am

* The Duke's infant daughters.

truely tell you that you are intitled to it for that Reason, but give me leave to say that I shall be glad to receive you abstracted from that Motive (Tho' sufficient) the Character you justly merit of being an Honest, Sensible man, which is seldome met with. I Hope the Duke & His Family will make me an Early Visit next Spring, & that you will add to the Number, which will be agreable to, Sir, Your Friend & Humble Servant,

HENRIETTA CAVENDISHE HOLLES OXFORD.

Other letters illustrative of his standing in the regard of all the members of the allied families might be quoted. Three may suffice. The first is from Lord Dupplin, the Duchess of Portland's cousin:

Bevis,* Octr 21st, 1737.

SR,—The ladies condole with you for your unfortunate accident. These sort of misfortunes first make one's friends sad, & when all ye danger is past, that sadness turns to mirth. We are not yet come to ye latter, for we are still apprehensive that you may have caught cold. If you come in good health, & show yourself safe & well, as much as everybody is concerned now, perhaps you may make us very merry with your sad narration. *Haec olim meminisse juvabit* is the reflection of a hero surrounded with dangers. Ldy Peterborow & ye Duke both desire me to tell you that there is a road hither without crossing ye water, for I apprehend before this time you may have made ye same resolution that I once heard from an old fellow at Oxford, who declared that he would trust providence in everything by land, but not at sea. However, you may let us see you here, tho' you be determined to cross no other ferry till you cross that which we must all pass in Charon's boat,

Omnibus
Enaviganda, sive reges
Sive inopes erimus coloni.

That you may be long before that happens, and that this may be ye worst of your misfortunes, & that we may see you in good health to-morrow is ye wish of all here, & of none more than, Dear Sr,

Your most faithfull freind
& humble servt,
DUPPLIN.

Bring ye letters with you by ye roundabout way, you will easily come in two hours & a half. The groom knows it.

The Duke of Portland adds a P.S.

You need not mind your dress, but come in ye Cloaths you swam in, supposing them to be dry.

The letter is addressed: "To Mr. Achard, If alive."

The second is from Lady Anne Bentinck, the first duke's daughter, and it gives another of the coterie names by which John Achard was called. It was written at Bulstrode, January 19, 1734–5:

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* The seat of Anastasia Countess of Peterborough.

I thank you for your entertaining letter, and do assure you it allways will be a
asure to me to hear from you. I hope you will continue to write to me, and I will
an exact correspondent. I was very much supprissed to hear of my [Lady]
nsdown's death. I suppose they will say that Mr. Ward's drop has kill'd her. I
ncy the Play of the Pill plot will be very pritty. I think Tim Scrub writes mighti[y]
ll. . . . Mama desires her compliments to you. She thanks you for the poem
u sent; she says it is to[o] learn'd for her, and she can't understand it. I have put
into the Library. . . . I beg you woud excuse my bad writing, for I writ by candle
ht, and then I never can writ strait; everybody here desire their compliments to
u. I am, Good Generall, your sincere friend,

Anne Bentinck.

Lady Anne married Col. Daniel Paul, and her illness is the
ıbject of the next letter, from the hand of Henry Monck, the
ısband of her sister Isabella :

Dublin, January 1st, 1746.

Sr,—As the event that was expected concerning Lady Ann was what would have
en unpardonable in me not to have apprized the Duke and Dutchess of Portland of
time, and as I thought a person of your prudence and affection to the family coud
st communicate the same, I therefore in my letter to you of Saturday last described
what a dangerous way her Ladyship was, who for two days after that date was
ther worse, but on Monday evening the remedy she took in the morning had such a
dden and surprizeing effect that from our apprehensions of immediate death, she
once grew better, and has continued so ever since. . . . I shall henceforth never
spair of any patient, since I find Lady Anne with her weak nerves can go through
ore than an horse coud weather, and this putts an end to my correspondence on
is head.

In his prosperity Mr. Achard did not forget his Swiss relatives,
nd many presents of money were sent by him to his nephews
nd nieces. To one of the nieces (Angélique Croutaz) he gave
is portrait in 1758. He was interested in pictures, and made
arious notes about those at Bulstrode, but his special hobby
as collecting medals and making casts of them.

The second duke, his erstwhile pupil, died in 1762, but the
onnection with the family still continued, and on August 28, 1763,
e writes to the new duke :

My Lord,—I should think myself guilty of a great omission if I did not acquaint
ur Grace that I have been in possession of your Castle ever since Saturday. All
ur servants do their best to make me wellcome, but all that does by no means make
nends for your absence. I long extreamly for your return home, and I hope that
r Grace wont be long after you, then I shall be compleatly happy. They tell me
at the post is going, excuse this abrupt breaking off to tell you that I am with great
spect, My lord, Your Grace'[s] Most humble & obedient servant,

J. Achard.

Once it happened that he was prevented from accepting an invitation given by Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, who thereupon wrote:

> Mrs Montagu sends her most indignant greetings to Mr Achard. She believes that instead of dedicating Wen'sday to an *older* friend, it is to be given to a *younger*. She had been often warn'd in her youth of the little faith that was in men of gallantry, & now she experiences the truth of these sage admonitions. Happy for her that she never trusted too much in faithless promises till Anno Domini 1765.

On another occasion she told the duchess: "Of all my friends none is so considerate of my necessities as Mr. Achard; there is a wonderfull propriety in his actions." Indeed his friends vied with each other in paying him compliments. One wrote to him:

> Domine Acharde,
> Serus in Coelum redeas, diuque
> Lætus intersis populo Britanno.

And another sent to him the following anticipated epitaph:

> Come, Gentle Reader, by Example learn
> That real Greatness must consist in Goodness:
> Regard this Monument of a right good Man,
> Who by that means acquir'd the love, the blessing
> Of the Poor and Humble; of the Rich and Great
> The Conversation; and the esteem of All.
> JOHN ACHARD,
> A Gentleman, a Scholar and a Christian,
> By birth a Swiss, and educated at Lausan[n]e,
> Who long resided with Repute and Honour
> In his belov'd adopted Country, Britain.
> Happy at all times, discontented never,
> When Death thus join'd him to his God for ever.

He was always at the service of his friends, and they give him commissions of all kinds. Mrs. Delany (July 2, 1748) asks him to buy a solar microscope. She knows that he thinks "letters impertinent things," but she applies to him because he is not only ingeniously curious himself, but delights in those that are. "I am," she says, "not only acquainted with your Politeness, but with your Zeal to serve your Friends, & I am sure you will not only grant my request but do it as expeditiously as possible."

Another who had recourse to his friendly offices was Anastasia Robinson, Countess of Peterborough. She writes from Liège in 1746:

> SIR,—I think my self acquainted with your friendly disposition so well that I take

the liberty to beg a favour of you. It is that you would have the goodness to chuse for me a Gold watch, the Case chac'd, a Gold Chain with two gold Swivels. It is for a Gentleman, a friend of mine who wd have it neat work, and in it self good, without insisting that it should have the name of the most famous maker, as that is often paid too dear for. I still venture to ask more, that the Arms I enclose may be cut by the best hand upon Cornelian for a Seal, and handsomely set in Gold. Can you, Dr Sir, excuse all this? Blame yr self if I am troublesome, it proceeds from thinking you a better judge then others of what is well done, and at the same time a larger share of good will to assist yr acquaintance. When ever you will do me the favour to let me know what the whole will come too, I will immediately send a note upon my Banker to discharge the Debt, and think my self extreamly obliged to you. The Gentleman who is the cause of this is a Man of great merit & Quality, a Brother Virtuoso & one of the grand Trefonciers.* If it was possible for me to be of any service to you while abroad, do me the kindness to employ me, and believe me with real esteem, Sr,

Your Obliged & most humble servant,

A. Peterborow.

The mission was executed to admiration, and subsequently Lady Peterborough writes:

I have at last got the Watch, and find it every way such as I expected from one of your taste, and disposition to please your friends.

Another of her letters is dated at Padwell, November 22, 1750:

Sir,—I am too well acquainted with your disposition to do good to make excuses for applying to you for the help of the miserable: a Neighbour of mine terribly afflicted with the Gout, is very desirous to try the remedy from which the Duke of Portland has reap'd so much benefit. I beg the favour you will enable me to give him the Recippe, and to specify if any particular Regimen be necessary. I hope your health is so good as to bear this exceeding smart weather without detriment. Permit me to desire my best compliments to the Duke and Duchess and young Ladies. I am with real regard, Sr,

Your Obliged humble servant,

A. Peterborow.

Another friend, Pierre Grand, Rector of Dyrham, wished to make an investment of £200 for himself and his wife, but "the method of purchasing, or which of ye funds is properest we know no more than ye Grand Mogul," and he consequently asks Achard to undertake the business for him. This Mr. Grand was one of his most frequent correspondents. He was a Swiss compatriot, who had come to England in the hope of securing a post as travelling companion to a young man of quality, but as he did not succeed in his efforts after employment of this kind, he took Anglican orders, having been promised the benefice of Dyrham by its patron, Mr. Blathwayt, when a vacancy should occur. He was ordained in July 1751, and Mr. Perry, the then rector, was

* Forest-lords.

upwards of eighty. Still, he showed no signs of dying and Grand writes sadly: "I should not be surprised if the good man lived ten years longer; that would in truth be playing me a scurvy trick, but the thing is not impossible. He eats well, sleeps well, and it is no miracle in the country for a man of good constitution to attain to the age of 90 or 95." After two and a half years of waiting, Grand was able to take the post, and he then writes triumphantly: "me voila à présent *a compleat Incumbent* à votre service."

Achard was frequently more or less of a valetudinarian, and Mrs. Delany in 1760 says that he "declines very much, and the pepper has lost a great deal of its heat." "Poor man, he looks ill and grows very weak," wrote Margaret Duchess of Portland in 1766, and the news of his death reached her when she was at Mount Edgcumbe in August 1770. "I cannot help feeling the loss of a most Faithful worthy friend" (she tells her son) "who ever had the highest Gratitude & affection to your dear Father."

His will and its codicils are characteristic. He gives to the third Duke of Portland, to his brother Lord Edward Bentinck, and to his sisters, Lady Weymouth and Lady Henrietta Grey, £100 each "as a small token of my love and respect." The rest of his estate he gives to Margaret Duchess Dowager of Portland, "as a grateful acknowledgement of the many favours bestowed upon me, particularly an annuity of two hundred pounds a year which she has been pleased out of her great generosity and goodness to grant unto me," and he constitutes her his executrix. His gold watch with the chain and seal he gives to Mr. Grand, Rector of Dyrham, "as a small mark of my friendship," and also his bureau, his two chests of drawers, his carpets and his three silver candlesticks. To Lady Weymouth's and Lady Henrietta Grey's children £50 each "to remember me." If he dies at Bulstrode he is to be buried at Hedgerley, no monument is to be placed on his grave, but £5 is to be distributed to the poor of the parish. "Let all the servants out of livery, men and women, have a guinea apiece for gloves, and the maid who looks after my room, the footman who attends me, and Mr. Brompton, the under-butler, coachman, porter and footman, John and Ned Salmon, and the washerwoman in town and country have half a guinea. Helpers, grooms, postillions, all the maids in the house,

kitchen, laundry, a crown each. The nurse that attends in my last illness one guinea over her due. All the garden men, and the old disabled ones, half a crown each. All my clothes, linen, stockings, &c., to be divided equally among the servants, William Kay to pick out first a complete suit of clothes." He asks the duchess to keep his medals for herself, or dispose of them as she thinks proper. The remnant of his estate he leaves to the duchess, not out of vanity, but "because I think it just it should return to the stock whence it came . . . it is chiefly intended to shew my honest and grateful heart, and that the friendship and affection which my most honoured Lord and patron, with Your Grace and family, have honoured me with, was not unworthily bestowed. I have not mentioned any of my relations in my will, having given them every year in my lifetime more than they ever did expect, and I must do them the justice to say they have often expressed their satisfaction with great gratitude. . . . I pray to God to bless Your Grace and all your family with a long, healthful and happy life, and crown you all with everlasting happiness." He describes a Maundy purse of red leather in one of his drawers. "What is contained in it belongs to the poor. I should be glad you would give out of it two pounds to Mr. De Crousaz for the use of Mrs. Dupasquier; the rest you will dispose of in charity as you think fit." Then he speaks of certain medals that "did belong to the Duke, my most honoured Lord and patron; he was pleas'd to give them to add to my collection. I accepted of them only upon condition that he should accept of the whole cabinet at my death. This I thought proper to tell you that you may know how I came by some of them which your Grace may probably remember were once in his possession." Last of all he gives £20 to "Margaret Waterman, my present nurse, if she continues with me till my decease, as a reward of the faithful service she has done me."

And so we take leave of the amiable and admirable John Achard, who deserves other adjectives than "the eccentric" and "the untunable" which were applied to him in an able article on Prior's Peggy, which interested the readers of a recent number of the *National Review*. R. W. GOULDING.

NOTE.—For permission to use the foregoing letters I am indebted to the courtesy of the Duke of Portland.

THE TURF AND SOME REFLECTIONS

Eventus docet: Stultorum iste magister est.

This has been an *annus mirabilis* in the history of the English turf. It has been marked by events of a novel and exciting character. The authority of the Jockey Club has been frequently exercised and has been in one instance loudly questioned. The rules of racing have been debated by the Club in full session and have been substantially amended; and within the last two months a Court of Law has been turned into a theatre where peers, trainers, jockeys and handicappers have appeared in due succession on the stage and a learned judge has amused the public with his jokes and the world of racing with his views on short stirrups.

The horse first past the post in the earliest important handicap of the year was disqualified for interfering with the second: an objection was lodged against the winner of the One Thousand Guineas but was dismissed; and the judges' fiat in the Derby was set aside by the Epsom Stewards and the race awarded to an outsider which started at 100 to 1. In other cases, notably at Newmarket, at Ascot, and at Goodwood, the Stewards had occasion to review the riding and conduct of the jockeys. At Newmarket and Ascot the winning horses were disqualified, and at Goodwood some surprise was expressed that the objection was not sustained.

The action of the Stewards at Epsom was strongly criticised. In view of the special circumstances this was inevitable. A bumping finish, a cluster of non-staying horses struggling together, the favourite's number hoisted as the winner of the mêlée, and the horse led in by his delighted owner, only to be followed by an inquiry undertaken on the sole motion of the Stewards—these incidents combined in connection with the greatest race of the

year made up a situation of palpitating and poignant interest without parallel in racing annals. *Pendente lite*, tongues wagged apace. Sir Oracle of the Rostrum laid down the law: blasé punters, backers of the favourite, were hotly indignant; gentlemen of the amateur Press were deeply concerned; and even the fair and fashionable flutterers in a few sovereigns

Who change complexions at a losing game

joined in the chorus of protest.

But, to the great credit of the sporting community as a whole, the decision was generally accepted. It was known that the Stewards had acted in good faith, and it was believed that they had cogent reasons for the course they had taken. If, it was said, they had considered their own popularity and had consulted their own wishes they would have acquiesced in the judge's verdict on that memorable afternoon. The mere fact that they had felt compelled to set it aside, and that they had drawn no distinction between a classic race and a selling plate scramble at Newmarket was proof, if proof were wanted, of the justice and equity of their interposition.

Out of this controversy, however, arises a question of far greater importance than the merits of the decision in this particular case. The welfare of racing, the maintenance of the best traditions of the Turf, and the security of the millions of capital which have been expended on race-courses and racing establishments depend, and depend entirely, on maintaining the authority of the Jockey Club. Owners of race-horses submit themselves to the Rules of Racing. These rules are promulgated by the Jockey Club, and either in the first instance or as a Court of Appeal the Stewards examine into the facts of each dispute or questionable result, interpret the Rules, and in virtue of them enforce their decision.

The Jockey Club, like the Cabinet, sits *in camerâ;* but unlike the Cabinet there appears in their official organ—the *Racing Calendar*—a well-edited report of their debates and proceedings. Is it permissible for a moment to look into that Council Chamber at the Rooms in Newmarket? There are assembled the august Senators of the Turf—stewards of its mysteries. Some of them have known the spacious days of Admiral Rous and Lord Hastings

of Mr. George Payne and Mr. Savile. Some have trained their horses with Mat Dawson of famous memory, and can recall their racing victories of the sixties; while a younger generation have been elected to the sacred circle who have been born since Galopin won the Derby. Lord Durham is there. Out of office now, he has at several periods filled with great credit the highest position in the Club. He is a just judge but a hanging judge, more often wearing the black cap than the white gloves. He replies to the case made by the Senior Steward—the *secundum columen* of the Turf—in argument which lacks nothing of pungent difference marked by studied gravity and respect. Lord Londonderry's narrative flows easily on in its ordered sequence of logic and reminiscence. Lord Derby, wielding a calm and consistent statement, presses home some material point. Lord Harewood assists his colleagues with his intimate knowledge of the classic races, with opinions sound though at times pontifical, and with his ripe experience of the law and practice of the Turf. Lord Rosebery, who can now give to the Jockey Club what he denies to the Legislature, supplies a criticism all the keener for its playful humour.

> Though wondering Senates hung on all he spoke,
> The Club must hail him master of the joke.

Lord Villiers and Lord Hamilton of Dalzell bring to the matter in hand a practical knowledge and debating ability which lose nothing of effect from that salt flavour that comes to younger minds in contact with business affairs. Lord Crewe is in attendance. His contribution to the discussion may easily be more illuminating than that which with chequered rhetoric he is wont to offer to the House of Lords. Glad must he be to have temporary relief from those Cabinet complications which have turned upon the gambling exploits of his Ministerial colleagues, and to find himself in the purer atmosphere of an assembly which since October 1842 has taken no cognisance of transactions in the betting ring.

There is no playing to the Gallery. There are no lobbying Pressmen. Interruptions, if any, are polite and orderly. At the close of the debate the officials claim urgency and the business is despatched. The Venetian oligarchs rise from their seats with the feelings of statesmen who have realised their responsibilities,

and who, as the Guardians of the Turf, have exercised their extensive and arbitrary powers alike in the best interests of that sport which they regulate, and of that discipline which is vital to its continuance.

The recent case in which a representative of the yellow section of the Sporting Press was sued for libel by a well-known trainer excited much comment in racing circles. To the particular charges levelled by the defendant against the plaintiff it is unnecessary to refer. The trial itself was a long and pitiful exhibition of personal prejudice and irrelevancy. The broad result was that the jury found in explicit terms that there was no warrant for the defendant's accusations and that the plaintiff's grievance was sufficiently met by an award of contemptuous damages. But the by-products of the case are perhaps deserving of passing notice.

Frequent references were made in the trial to the suspension of jockeys for foul riding. It is unfortunate that any offence committed by a jockey in a race should be thus described. Racing terminology is surely not so poor but that a distinction can be drawn between a breach of the rules due to negligence, rashness or inability and one into which *scienter* or intention enters. The majority of jockeys are little more than boys. They are eager to win: but—according to authority—to be eager is not a very bad vice at any age under the critical forty. *Je veux risquer le tout pour le tout* may be said to be a young jockey's motto. In his anxiety to carry out the orders of an exacting trainer he crosses another horse before he is that distance clear of him which the rule prescribes. He is properly convicted of an offence. Again, a six-stone jockey, riding a big and awkward animal, finds himself unable to avoid interference with another horse in the race. He too is rightly condemned. But it certainly seems harsh to stigmatise these offences by an epithet which is ordinarily understood to import intentional wrong. In the old articles of racing they were careful to make this point of intention. Thus: "whosoever doth stop or stay any of the horses that rideth for this plate or prize *and it appears to be willingly done*, he shall win no plate or prize." The Jockey Club have recently been much engaged in reforming the rules which deal with crossing and jostling, and racing opinion supports them, and will support them, in defining the precise character of

these offences and in determining their penal consequences. It certainly ought not to be beyond the powers of a competent draughtsman to use terms of definition and distinction which are quite familiar in every code of criminal jurisprudence. Times are indeed changed since the days when foul play on the part of one jockey towards another was allowed by the rules of the Jockey Club and when "crossing and jostling" was always understood to be permitted in a match unless there was a special provision to the contrary.

> Compelled to run each knavish jockey's heat
> Subservient to Newmarket's annual cheat.

It was alleged, in the course of the trial, that the recent increase of objections to the riding of jockeys was due to the present fashion of the seat on the horse. With all respect to the distinguished upholders of the old practice of the upright seat and long stirrups they may be reminded of some of the essentials of the controversy. Sloan was the author in this country not only of the modern seat but also of the true run race. "Waiting in front" was the paradoxical aphorism associated with his name. Those who rejoice in garrulous reminiscences of the past forget that, ridden as a race was in former days, it was comparatively easy for the jockey to keep his horse straight. The early part of the race was often a mere cantering finesse. Speed and stamina were husbanded for the finish. A race now run from end to end occasionally finds the leading horses swerving from distress; but it is very doubtful indeed whether the accomplished riders of former times would, under these conditions, have been more successful in keeping a straight course than the much-abused jockeys of the present day. An obscurantist patron of the Turf may talk bravely of the advantage of the old style. Let him go to his trainer in the paddock before an important race when the wind blows freshly down the Rowley mile some October afternoon. Let him suggest to the trainer that his jockey should let his stirrup leathers down some holes and should sit upright in the saddle. The trainer would reply: "Very well, my lord, but you are giving 5 lb. away to the others." No one is so foolish as to contend that the present style, in the case of some exponents of it, is not open to criticism; that apprentices and lightweights do not show at times to disadvantage just as the tiny midgets of the past did

when the older jockeys crowded them out at the fall of the flag or squeezed them on to the rails. But the continued vigilance of the Stewards and the due enforcement of penalties will certainly lead to more careful riding in public and will make it incumbent on trainers where their apprentices are concerned to see that they are well practised in riding and at the gate before they appear in the weighing-room in the glory of colours.

It is undeniable that the evidence of considerable betting by a trainer of horses produced a very unfavourable impression on the public mind. The combination of trainer and semi-professional backer is not a wholesome one. It is calculated to create a conflict of disturbing factors in connection with a given race: and it is at variance with the correct relations between an owner and his servant. If the trainer bets, his stable lads will do the same; and, though it may not be possible to banish betting from a stable, it is obvious that the one man who can exercise a healthy restraint on the gambling of his employés, who ought to teach them to resist the scandalous temptations which are offered to them by the advertising tipster in search of stable information, is in no position to set a sober example of independence of the betting market if he is known—and known he will be—to be employing a commissioner to accept the odds about the horses he trains, or to support the more-fancied animals in another establishment.

A trainer holds a position of trust. He requires a licence in order to follow his calling. It has been argued that a licensed trainer ought to be under the same disability as regards betting as a licensed jockey. This would, however, be aiming at too rigid a standard of morality, at too lofty a counsel of perfection. And yet, when the statement is made that the emoluments of a trainer are insufficient for his situation unless he supplements his professional earnings by betting, the matter is one which should not be too lightly dismissed. That a trainer should be obliged to look for a necessary addition to his income from betting operations on the course or from manipulating the machinery of starting-price offices is an intolerable reflection upon those who engage his services and who are responsible for his rate of remuneration. There are, of course, trainers and trainers; but certain it is that the Lord Chesterfield of to-day, when writing to his son upon the general scheme of his amusements *à la mode*, would add to his

worldly code the recommendation that he should not place his racehorses in a stable where gambling was the practice of the trainer.

In every department of national amusements great changes and developments have taken place, and racing is no exception to the law of human progress. In earlier times the sport was the diversion of the few: it is now the pastime of the multitude. The days are long past when the race-course was attended by a select band of gentlemen who followed the proceedings on horseback and who cantered on their hacks to the ring to support the animal of their choice. Races have increased in number and enormously in value. Matches, which within the lifetime of some who are still racing, figured in one year to the number of 86 are now practically unknown, save when an engagement of the kind appeals to the boyish fancy of a Jewish millionaire. The great prizes offered by the flourishing Park Clubs in the neighbourhood of London and by the management of other racing centres where enterprise and reforming policy have been rewarded with financial success, have naturally proved more attractive to owners than running for their own money.

The purging of racing from the graver kinds of fraud and chicane has been a gradual process. It is improbable that four-year-old horses will ever again be engaged in races limited to three-year-olds; or that such circumstances as Greville, for example, records in connection with the Derby of 1833 will in future deform the history of the sport. Cromwell once said that England had need of a Constable, and racing will always require the strictest supervision of the Jockey Club. There are men of every type who follow the game, and who are neither finished examples of moral excellence nor of the standard of just men made perfect. In the early Victorian period the authorities were as drowsy and indulgent as the bishops of the eighteenth century, and offences were undetected and unpunished. But in these days even Stewards of minor meetings have asserted themselves, conscious that they will be supported by the appellate tribunal; and no owner, no trainer at the head of his profession, and no leading jockey can expect to receive the smallest mercy when the Stewards of the Jockey Club are satisfied of the evidence of guilt.

It is not too much to say that betting as it prevailed in former

days has practically ceased. Betting in small sums takes place extensively among the lower orders of the community. The facilities for it have grown. The most ingenious and the most active canvassing is employed. Columns of advertisements appear in some newspapers, as insidious as money lenders' letters and generally as misleading. Again, the modern institution of starting-price offices accounts for a great deal of betting in the aggregate. These offices, with their elaborate rules, their telegraphic codes, and lines of telephone, are largely used by connections of certain gambling stables, by members of the Stock Exchange and among others by those who adopt some silly pseudonym to cloak, as they vainly hope, their speculative interests in insignificant races. To these classes and to the Postmaster-General their prohibition might be unwelcome; but the better type of bookmaker on the race-course and the respectable adherent of racing would rejoice in their extinction.

Young Sidonia may splash large sums on an outsider, and South Africa may occasionally launch out with a few thousands, but the fashion of individual heavy betting is dead. What would be thought in these days of an owner who stood to win £150,000 on his own horse in the Derby, which was beaten, and at the same time won £30,000 on another which proved successful, and who could call his net winnings by betting in a single year £100,000? Racing history records this of Lord George Bentinck. Where are the owners who bet as did Lord Hastings during his brief career on the Turf, Mr. George Payne, Mr. Merry and Sir Joseph Hawley? Where is the bookmaker to-day whose betting transactions bear any resemblance to those of Davis? Over the Derby of 1851 Davis is said to have paid more than £100,000, and without waiting for settling day sent Mr. Greville a cheque for £15,000 twenty-four hours after the race was run. The truth is the whole scheme of betting has changed. There are now no yearling books on the Derby; no owner would dream now of taking £40,000 to £800 about each of his five fillies for the Derby nearly a year before the race, as did Sir Joseph Hawley. Such a scene as is described in the glowing pages of *Sybil*—accurate as are the details down to the lameness of the bandaged winner, Phosphorus—seems to modern sportsmen as grotesque a picture of the eve of an Epsom contest as the recent melodrama of *The Whip* at Drury

Lane, or the description of the betting on the race in Ouida's novel of *Under Two Flags*.

With very few exceptions betting is now confined to the day of the race. A comparatively small outlay brings a horse to a short price in the market—a market ever apprehensive of some starting-price manœuvre. Cramped odds lead to light betting, and the restriction of business over the rails. Indeed, in these times not a few attendants of the members' enclosure witness race after race without making a wager and appear to emulate the reputation of the late Lord Falmouth.

For these changed conditions the Sporting Press is in part responsible. Thanks to the calculation of chances "by our Special Correspondent" and to the daily leading articles based upon training reports and a searching analysis of form, the public know as much about a horse as the ring and frequently more than his owner. The recognised organs of racing each morning enter fully into the prospects of every horse that is likely to run during the day. In this enterprise they are followed by journals whose proprietors are endowed with the profits from the sales of cocoa, which they recommend, and are enriched by the news of racing which they denounce. Little can be said against the general policy of the *legitimate* organs of the Turf. Their writers know their business. Their articles are readable. They steer the student through all the dreary intricacies of varying form, and comment to their own satisfaction upon "in and out" running. True, they occasionally elevate a trainer into an oracle and exalt a jockey to the dignity of a hero. But, generally speaking, their gospel is against gambling and their message is for fair-play; and they rarely deviate from loyalty to the rule of constituted authority. They would certainly have found a reader in Horace Walpole who wrote to a correspondent: "I read the part of newspapers I used to skip, and peruse the list of Sweepstakes, not the articles of intelligence."

It is sometimes questioned whether the Turf is in any danger at the hands of the Legislature. There have been times when Nonconformist politicians in Parliament have talked glibly of confiscatory measures. The egregious Mr. John Burns once recommended the ploughing up of race-courses, and Labour members have displayed hostility to racing apparently because

it is a popular amusement. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his best manner says that his opponents hurry back from Ascot to vote against him. Nevertheless it is difficult to imagine even this Government embarking on a policy of racing repression. It is but the other day that Mr. Lloyd George indulged in a considerable gamble. He acted on a tip given him by one of his stable confederates who professed to know the chances of Marconi, and he won his money. After the habit of plungers who have had a success, Mr. George " played up " his winnings and increased his stake, and, as frequently happens, with disastrous results. He did not settle his account. On the Turf a man who fails to settle may be posted at Tattersalls as a defaulter: a professional tipster would not be appointed a judge at any race meeting in the country. It would be interesting were a modern Massinger to draw afresh the characters of Overreach and Justice Greedy.

Consistency in these political times does not count for much, but it counts for something; and if the present Administration were to attempt to interfere with racing they would indeed challenge their own record for Pharisaical hypocrisy. The philosophy of this prose age has borne much; but this would touch the limits of endurance. In truth the fortunes of the Turf do not depend upon Parliament. " You have taught me," exclaimed George II. to his imperious Minister, " to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons." What the second Hanoverian had to learn from the greatest of English statesmen his illustrious descendant must have long since realised without the counsel of a Minister and despite the whisper of a Courtier. Hence, so long as the democracy enjoys its racing, so long as owners set an example of honesty and probity in their own persons and require clean conduct from their servants and employés, and so long as the Government of the Turf is administered by a wise and courageous autocracy, the sense of the people will surely protect it from the predatory passions of puritans and partisans.

Newmarket.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *August* 8, 1913

IN 1896 Mr. McKinley was elected President of the United States, and the following March was inaugurated. In the preceding December Mr. Cleveland, whose term was to expire three months hence, had sent his annual Message to Congress, in the course of which he discussed at length the revolution in Cuba, and told of the concern the United States had in it, "a concern which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. It lies so near to us as to be hardly separated from our territory. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and Government of Spain." After recounting American investments in Cuba and the trade between the two countries, the President added: "Besides this large pecuniary stake in the fortunes of Cuba, the United States finds itself inextricably involved in the present contest in other ways both vexatious and costly." Detailing the efforts made by the United States to bring about peace, Mr. Cleveland said: "It cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained," and in closing that portion of his Message relating to Cuba he warned Spain in this impressive language:

> A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a careless disregard of present duty or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind the Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests—as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by a consideration of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country, intimately related to us, saved from complete devastation—will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace.

Every one felt that unless peace were quickly restored in

Cuba the United States would be compelled to intervene, not only in its own interest, but because of the obligations imposed by the Monroe Doctrine. I recall a conversation I had with a member of the Cabinet a few days before the fourth of March. "What about Cuba?" I asked him. "They," he answered, waving his hand in the direction of the White House, "will have that problem to settle. It has been on our shoulders long enough, but it cannot go on in this way for ever."

During the first year of his administration Mr. McKinley took no action, but in February 1898 he sent the *Maine* to Havana, and on the night of the fifteenth the vessel was blown up while lying at anchor. Forty days later a Naval Court of Investigation reported that the ship had been destroyed by a Spanish mine. The destruction of the *Maine* did not cause the war with Spain, but it so inflamed public sentiment that war was inevitable. For a year or more the yellow journals had been demanding war, and they had done everything in their power to arouse sentiment against Spain and to drive Mr. Cleveland into declaring war. With characteristic courage he had withstood these assaults and had tried to bring about peace in Cuba without the employment of American troops. Mr. McKinley, who was as much opposed to war as his predecessor, pursued the same policy, but on April 11, 1898, he sent a Message to Congress in the course of which he said: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop." What followed is history.

I recall the events that led up to the war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba because an almost exact parallel exists to-day in regard to Mexico. Mr. Taft found himself in the same position as Mr. Cleveland. At any time during the last two years of his administration he could have brought on war. Looking upon war with horror and detestation, he resisted the advice of his friends and the abuse of his enemies. Then, as sixteen years earlier, the yellow journals and the persons who believed their interests would be best served by an American Protectorate were trying to drive the President into war. In his last Message to Congress, in December 1912, Mr. Taft said:

There have constantly recurred questions of extreme delicacy. On several occasions very difficult situations have arisen on our frontier. Throughout the trying period, the policy of the United States has been one of patient non-intervention, steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighbouring nation, and the exertion of every effort to care for American interests.

Like Mr. Cleveland under similar circumstances, Mr. Taft called attention to the great stake the United States had in Mexico, only in that country it was many times larger than in Cuba, and added:

The responsibility of endeavouring to safeguard those interests and the dangers inseparable from propinquity to so turbulent a situation have been great, but I am happy to have been able to adhere to the policy above outlined—a policy which I hope may be soon justified by the complete success of the Mexican people in regaining the blessings of peace and good order.

Mexico, I said about that time, was destined to be President Wilson's Cuba. Events would appear to justify the correctness of that prediction.

President Wilson is as firmly opposed to intervention, which means war with Mexico, as Mr. Taft was; he has the same dislike of war that Mr. Cleveland had and Mr. McKinley, but, like the latter, he may not be able to keep the peace. For three years Mexico has been in turmoil and rent by anarchy. Diaz was driven out by revolution and Madero elected his successor; Madero was killed (according to popular American belief he was foully murdered), and Huerta became provisional President. Madero's Presidency was marked by continual revolution and an effort to overturn his authority; Huerta's regime has been equally stormy. It is difficult to get at the exact facts, as reports from Mexico are so conflicting, but it is no doubt true that outside of the capital and the federal district Huerta is able to exercise little power. The same tactics that made it impossible for Spain with an army of 200,000 men to put down the revolution in Cuba are now being followed in Mexico. There is little real fighting, and so far not one battle worthy of the name has been reported, but the whole country is given over to brigandage and guerrilla warfare, property is destroyed, commerce is almost at a standstill, lives of foreigners are endangered. The natural resources of Mexico are very great, it has incalculable wealth in its mines and soil, but its Treasury is empty and it is with difficulty the *de facto* President can procure money to maintain troops in the field.

Unlike Spain in its campaign against Cuba, President Huerta is unable to put 200,000 men in the field. The loyalists, so called, have no stomach for fighting and refuse to volunteer, and the condition of the Treasury makes it impossible for armies to be raised. It is said that if Huerta were able to borrow money he could equip an army sufficiently large to crush the revolution, but this may be doubted.

The position of the United States is, as Mr. Taft phrased it, one of "extreme delicacy." It has a moral as well as a material obligation to observe. According to the best estimates that can be made there are some 40,000 Americans in Mexico and £200,000,000 of American money is invested in that country. A great many Americans, fearing for their lives, have been forced to flee; some Americans have been killed, others have been injured and treated with great indignity. The actual damage done to the property of Americans cannot be stated, but it is said to be very large; the loss of prospective profits caused by military operations, the attacks of bandits, and the general dislocation of all trade and industry are supposed to be even greater. It is believed that £100,000,000 of English money is invested in Mexico, and a great many Englishmen are engaged in business there. France, Germany, and Spain have also large investments. Americans have not been the only sufferers. Rebels as well as the Government have shown no nice discrimination. British property has been destroyed or rendered useless. French, German, and Spanish investments have suffered equally with British and American. The duty of a Government is to protect its subjects, and as the United States has the largest stake in Mexico, its duty of affording protection is proportionate to that interest.

But that apart, the duty of the United States is paramount because of the Monroe Doctrine. The United States has said to all the world that it may not colonise the American continent, that any attempt to do so would be a challenge that the United States would feel compelled to accept. The United States has not said that it will preserve order on the American continent, although a great many Americans believe that is what the United States ought to do, not vaguely or by inference, but in explicit

terms. It ought, they say, to proclaim to the world that the United States will keep the peace of Latin America and enforce respect for the law of nations. There ought to be no unilateral contract such as the United States has compelled the world to observe. The United States is secured certain advantages by the Monroe Doctrine, but it gives nothing in return.

Were it not for the Monroe Doctrine, in all probability one of the European Powers would long before this have sent a sharp Note to Mexico and warned it that the lives of her nationals must not be endangered and their property destroyed, and failure to heed this warning would have led to the necessary measures for self-protection, involving perhaps an occupation of territory or the possession of a port until an indemnity had been paid or guarantees given that treaty rights would be respected. But the Monroe Doctrine ties the hands of Europe. Any coercive measures taken by a European Power against a Latin-American republic is immediately resented by the United States, which always imagines a deep political scheme on the part of Europe to undermine the influence of the United States and to menace its safety. There are Americans who do not share this view, and who say that the extension of European sovereignty to Central or South America is no greater menace to the United States than the existence of that sovereignty in Europe, but these Americans are in a minority. When Great Britain insists that Nicaragua or Venezuela or Guatemala must not repudiate their contracts or default on their debts American newspapers shriek about the Monroe Doctrine and the danger to Republican institutions, but as Colonel Watterson, the doyen of the American Press, recently remarked:

> It is safe to say that not one in a hundred of the newspaper writers who chatter about the Monroe Doctrine know or care anything about it. The power of a shibboleth and the force of habit could go no further than they have done with this ghost of a dead diplomacy. . . . All that was fit and tangible in the Monroe Doctrine expired long ago. These fifty years it has been a bar, not between Democracy and Europe, but between ourselves and Spanish America. At length it is only a trick phrase susceptible of being turned to our disadvantage. . . . Republicanism in America is no further in peril of the despots of Europe. It is the despots of Europe who are trembling in their boots before the advance of Republicanism.

Since Japan has kept the jingoes awake at night the Monroe Doctrine has been further expanded. Japan, as every well-

informed American knows, lives, moves, and has its being with only one object in view, and that is to conquer the United States and turn California into a tea-garden. To carry out its fell designs Japan has already sent an army, disguised as labourers, into the Philippines, and an army corps into Hawaii, the artillery and the cavalry being concealed in the loose garments all Japanese wear, which, as it is well known, have been specially designed for that purpose. Still further to embarrass the United States, the Japanese are colonising Central America and Mexico and have obtained concessions for naval and military bases that threaten the safety of the Panama Canal, Niagara Falls, and the subway under New York City. So quietly Japan worked, no one knew what was being done until last year, when some of the jingoes in the Senate awoke to their danger and secured the passage of a resolution which shattered the Japanese dreams of conquest. The Senate solemnly resolved

that when any harbour or other place in the American continents [no pent up Utica satisfies the jingoes, but they must have all the continents there are) is so situated that the occupation thereof, for naval or military purposes, might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States the Government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbour or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes.

This resolution was aimed at Japan; it was warning that she must not seek to obtain a concession from Mexico in Magdalena Bay, although there was not the slightest evidence that Japan either contemplated or desired such a lodgment on the American continent. But the jingoes were delighted. The resolution, they said, put "additional vitality" into the Monroe Doctrine, and it was notice given to all the world that the Monroe Doctrine was very much alive.

When Mr. Olney was Secretary of State the Senate adopted a resolution, in connection with Cuba, which Mr. Olney somewhat contemptuously declared had no more force or effect than any other resolution adopted by any other respectable Assembly. The adoption by the Senate of this annex to the Monroe Doctrine does not make it either municipal or international law, it is simply an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate which neither the President nor the courts need recognise, but it is

indicative of the trend of sentiment. It shows the desire on the part of certain public men to take advantage of the Monroe Doctrine, but to ignore its obligations.

This attitude—that the Monroe Doctrine must be used by the United States for its advantage, while entailing no obligation—has again been shown not only in the *laissez faire* policy adopted in regard to Mexico, but also in the refusal of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to approve the treaty with Nicaragua.

That treaty provided in effect for a Protectorate to be exercised by the United States. It was an enlargement of the treaty negotiated by President Taft, which was so bitterly opposed by the Democrats that it could not be ratified. Under the terms of the Taft treaty American bankers were to advance Nicaragua money sufficient to liquidate the claims of foreign creditors and rehabilitate its finances, the security offered being the customs, which were to be supervised by an American Collector-General. Democrats asserted this was vicious "dollar diplomacy," and the treaty was pigeon-holed in committee-room.

Traditionally the Democrats are opposed to "Imperialism," but Mr. Wilson believed he was violating no traditions when he sanctioned a new treaty with Nicaragua by which that country, in return for a cash payment of £600,000 by the United States, agreed to grant the United States the sole right to construct a ship canal across Nicaraguan territory, to cede to the United States a naval base in Fonseca Bay, and to agree that no debts or foreign loans would be contracted without the approval of the United States. Virtually this brought Nicaragua under the protection of the United States, and to men who believe that the Monroe Doctrine imposes upon the United States a duty to preserve order in Central America and enforce respect for contractual engagements this was regarded as a step in the right direction. Already the United States exercises a Protectorate over Cuba. Nicaragua was now to be brought into the fold. Soon other Central American Republics would follow. Then there would be peace on the shores of the Caribbean, and all the world would be the gainer. Mexico must either put her house in order or the United States would do it for her.

But American statesmanship takes a narrow view. The

Foreign Relations Committee is willing to give its approval to a treaty that grants to the United States the exclusive right to construct and operate a canal across Nicaragua, thereby owning a monopoly which the rest of the world may use only on such terms as the United States may be pleased to grant; and to sanction the cession by Nicaragua of a naval base which shall still further strengthen the position of the United States in the Caribbean and enable it more efficaciously to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, but it refuses to approve the supervision of Nicaraguan finances, and it is the control of the Treasury that is the cause of almost every Latin American revolution. Latin-American "patriots" would see less reason for rising against Latin-American "dictators" and "tyrants" if the Treasury was not to reward them for their success.

The refusal of the British Government to be officially represented at the San Francisco exhibition to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal has caused a somewhat violent outbreak of Anglophobia in the columns of the American Press, especially in those newspapers which are anti-English and seldom miss an opportunity to express their feelings. Whether correct or not, the belief is general in the United States that the official explanation —that British manufacturers would gain no advantage by exhibiting—is only partially true, and that the real reason the British Government gives the exhibition no countenance is resentment over the failure of the American Government either to repeal the discriminatory section of the Panama Canal Act or to refer the question in dispute to arbitration. Newspapers that uphold the English contention that the discrimination is a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty frankly say that they are not at all surprised at England's refusal to recognise the exhibition, as they consider England has been badly treated.

While certain American newspapers furiously denounce England for holding aloof from the San Francisco Exhibition, it perhaps may not be amiss to remind them that, apart from this question of the Panama Canal tolls, no attempt has yet been made to secure the ratification of the renewal of the Anglo-American arbitration treaty, which expired by limitation last June; or to give official recognition to the celebration of the hundred years

of Anglo-American peace, although British and Canadian commissioners came to Washington in the spring to confer with the American Government about the proper observance of that not unimportant historical event. Congress apparently deems a hundred years of unbroken peace between the two English speaking peoples a matter of such trifling consequence that it has refused to make an appropriation for its observance, or to provide for the appointment of Commissioners to join with the British and Canadian to arrange the celebration. Newspapers that find cause for criticism in England's action would have better justification for their attitude if they showed concern over the indifference displayed by their Government. It would not be fair to say that this indifference is premeditated or indicates how little Americans care about maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain—that would do a great injustice to the great majority of Americans, who are sincerely desirous that the most cordial friendship shall exist between the two nations—but that might be a fair inference if one wanted to arouse ill feeling.

Mr. Bryan is one of those men who is bound to meet criticism whatever he does. He is hated or loved; he inspires no tepid sentiment; he is very much like Mr. Gladstone in that respect. When Mr. Bryan went into the State Department his enemies feared that he would make a sad mess of the foreign affairs of the United States, but they plucked up heart a little later when they learned that Mr. John Bassett Moore was to be appointed Counsellor of the State Department and would be the Secretary's professional adviser. As the country has confidence in Mr. Moore, a man of great ability and long diplomatic experience, it was said that the less Mr. Bryan interfered with Mr. Moore the better it would be. When Mr. Bryan announced that he was going off to lecture, thus making Mr. Moore Acting Secretary of State, the very papers that before had rejoiced in the thought that no harm could come so long as Mr. Moore was in the Department, now criticised Mr. Bryan for lecturing, and incidentally making money, instead of attending to his duties as Secretary of State.

That a Secretary of State must spend part of his holiday lecturing so that he may be able to support the dignity of his position during the rest of the year is resented by the American

public, the majority of whom are ignorant of the cost of living in Washington. The salary of the Secretary of State is [illegible], or reduced to its American equivalent, $12,000 a year. That represents a capitalization, at 4 *per cent.*, of $300,000, which is a sum so vastly beyond the hope of the average American that he is naturally incredulous when told that it is insufficient to support a family in comfort. In a land of enormous fortunes $12,000 a year is nothing—there are men who spend more than that in the purchase of a single automobile, and there are women who wear in jewels more than the capital represented by that income—but it is, I think I am correct in saying, from three to four times as large as the average American income. I am unable to refer to statistics, but speaking from a wide personal knowledge, I believe I am not wrong when I say that taking wages, salaries and earnings of working men, clerks, farmers, lawyers, doctors and other professional men the average American income would not be over $4000, and in all probability it is nearer $3000. To men having to live on from $50 to $250 a month, $1000 a month seems great riches.

Congress knows to the contrary, but Congress plays to the farmer and caters to the demagogue. No Secretary of State in recent years has been able to live on his official salary, and he has been compelled to meet the gap from his private means. Every Secretary of State has known this and has been willing to pay the price of office. Every member of Congress knows it too, but members of Congress early cultivate the habit of blinking the inconvenient. Members of Congress would be the first to sneer at a Secretary of State who lived on a back street or who did not officially entertain, yet they refuse to pay him a salary sufficient to meet his necessary expenses. It is the same with Ambassadors. Every one knows that no Ambassador can live on his official salary, but Congress refuses to increase it, at the same time pretending that appointment to the Diplomatic Service should be the reward of ability and not wealth. Unless a man is very rich or very poor he cannot afford to enter the public service. The rich man, of course, cares nothing about his salary, and the poor man finds in the Government a generous paymaster, but the man earning a large professional income must sacrifice it when he enters Congress or the Cabinet or the Diplomatic Service. In

recent years some of the most influential members of Congress have resigned simply because the sacrifice they were compelled to make was too great.

Nevertheless, the thought of Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, on the lecture platform is displeasing to a great many Americans, especially as it makes of him an "attraction" that tends to cast discredit on the Secretaryship of State. A Chautauqua entertainment is "billed" as flamboyantly as a circus. On the hoardings of middle western towns are great posters announcing the "literary, musical, entertaining, instructive, devotional, inspirational, life building" treat that is in store, and then the names of the "stars" are given in this form:

New York City Marine Band	Avon Sketch Club
English Opera Quintet	Neapolitan Troubadours
William Jennings Bryan	Elliot A. Boyl
Sears, the Taffy Man	Lorenzo Zwickey

Ed. Amhurst Ott

Last year women were given the right to suffrage in California, but according to a prejudiced source—the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage—the only effect of the extension of the ballot has been greatly to increase the expense of government and to inflict on the State an enormous number of ridiculous and unnecessary laws.

Four thousand bills [the report says] were introduced at the last Session of the California Legislature, and 1100 were passed. It is probable that no State ever had so many "freak" bills introduced. One Bill sought to regulate the size of chicken coops. Another was framed to dictate the style of shoes school children should wear. Another sought to regulate the size of sheets used in hotels. Apparently the State went mad over the idea that everything under the sun can be regulated by law. The storm of protest against some of the measures passed by the Legislature finally reached the Governor's ears, and he refused to sign some of the Bills.

These are but a few of the results born of women's entrance into the politics of the State. And California has only just begun to spend money to expedite the millennium. The schemes advocated by the more rabid Suffragette reformers would, if carried out, bankrupt the State in a few years. Fortunately, the women of the State are growing tired of their new toy. The California situation is an object-lesson to other States in which women are clamouring for the right to vote.

A Mayor of New York is to be elected this autumn, and the election will be of interest as indicating to a certain extent whether

the Progressives are maintaining their separate party organisation or are drifting back, as many political observers believe, to the Republican ranks. In local elections in various parts of the country since the Presidential election of last year the Progressives have shown such surprising weakness that the future of the party has caused much speculation, but reports from the West show it is still in good fighting trim in that section. Mr. Ormsby McHarg, who was one of Mr. Roosevelt's chief lieutenants in the last campaign, is quoted by the newspapers as saying that in 1916 Mr. Roosevelt will be back in the Republican Party, but Mr. Roosevelt has not confirmed this, and it may be accepted with due allowance. There are signs, however, pointing very clearly to a split between the Radical and Conservative Progressives, and that a great many of the former are more in a mood to return to their former allegiance than to follow their more recent leaders in attempting to carry out the extreme programme to which they stand committed. It is somewhat significant that one of the oldest members of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut, has recently given it as his opinion that before the next election the Republican Party will change its name and formally assume that of the "Conservative Party" as more expressive of the aims and purposes of its members. The feeling seems to be growing that with the Democratic Party committed to "Progressive" policies there is no need for another Progressive Party, and that the *métier* of the opposition is to be Conservative, that name at the present time being more appropriate than Republican, which has almost entirely lost its meaning and is unpopular in the South, where a strong Conservative sentiment exists.

A. MAURICE LOW.

DESERT SANDS

THERE is something peculiarly strange and moving in those places where the forces of Nature meet in perpetual conflict—where the restless sea beats on a rock-bound coast, or at the estuary of a great river; where the glacier encounters the rocks that hem it in, or at the edge of the jungle where the spirit of the forest meets the spirit of the plain. It was in one of these places that he lay upon a sun-bathed rock; and in the view which unfolded itself before his eyes the contrast was so powerful that his mind was swayed, now by one force, now by the other.

The conflict between desert and mountain is stranger than any other, because of the rare cases in which it occurs, or perhaps because the mental characteristics of the desert-dweller and of the mountaineer are so disparate. However this may be, he was profoundly affected by the scene that was presented to him. He was lying where the vast rampart of the Atlas Mountains confines the northern edge of the Sahara, at the very spot where it descends in a precipice at whose foot surges everlastingly the limitless yellow sea of the desert; that strange land where fierce dark-skinned men are born, in whose hearts Nature has implanted her most ungoverned passions, yet a land where the soul may at times find forgetfulness. On the one hand he could have rolled a stone a thousand feet or more upon the desert below, but upon the other there swelled a tumultuous sea of broken ranges, without tree or habitation. The valleys were seamed everywhere with deep gorges steeped in purple shadow, and chasms that appeared to penetrate to the heart of the earth. The nearer mountains, which appeared golden or yellow, were splashed here and there with crimson patches that changed to orange and carnation, and their pillared and serrated crests were

outlined by a band of paler colour, which might have been due to the shimmer of the hot air as it ascended.

But beyond, the hills became blue, and as far as the eye could reach the Kabyle Mountains reared their snow-flecked crests under a heavy canopy of cloud. On either side stretched the encompassing wall of the Atlas Mountains, like two long arms extended to embrace the desert, which washed against them in undulating sand-dunes like waves against an iron cliff.

Except for the barrenness and the yellow colours of the soil, the view northward had all the familiar features of a mountain panorama, but when the traveller turned to look upon the desert that swept to the horizon like a burnished golden plate he was affected by the strange spirit of open places, which, though it was not stronger than the spirit of the mountains, yet contained an element of passionate humanity that swayed his emotions rather than his intellect.

The breath of the desert, which is the south wind, rose from the sands and fanned him like the breath of some fierce lover. Eagerly he drank deep draughts of this air which made the fire of life beat in his pulses.

Gazing at the grim expanse, which veiled its fecundity by an appearance of barrenness, he seemed to see the spirit of the desert rise up, fierce and defiant, proudly naked, as a woman who is confident of her beauty, the beauty of motherhood triumphing in a million children, free nurslings of the sun.

When he looked at the mountains he had a sense of power and strength, a feeling that he could stride through the world, springing from crest to crest of the hills that lay in a tumult at his feet; but when he looked southward he felt that he was passive and inert, and that the spirit of the sands was rising out of the south and rushing past him with burning hair streaming in its wake. He wanted to be out there, far beyond the horizon, where there were no mountains, no palm-trees, nothing but sand and sun, and clean, strong air.

He was filled with curiosity to taste this new experience, and he had determined to ride southwards upon one of the great caravan-routes that lead at last to Timbuctoo. Accordingly he started to descend the southern precipice, and little by little he began to take notice of the features of the desert which were

unfolded to him as he progressed. On the edge of the sands where they approached the mountains he now saw innumerable oases studding the desert, like coral atolls scattered in a southern sea. Lying in their golden setting, the palm-trees made them look darker than the darkest emeralds, and though at first they appeared minute, later he could see that they were really of considerable extent. When he was lower still he caught the furtive indefinable smell of the East, and heard a confused murmur, in which were mingled the cries of men and the barking of dogs, the beating of drums and the droning of haut-boys. When at last he reached the foot of the precipice, he found his Arab servant, holding by the bridle a white horse with elaborately ornamented saddle and bridle, heavy stirrups and savage bit. They stood in the shadow of a tall rock overlooking a dry water-course, through which the tawny mountain waters rushed in flood-time. Silently he took his horse—a half-bred Barb—from the Arab, and, mounting it, rode southward, the way he longed to go.

Though, from above, the floor of the desert had appeared flat, he found now that he was upon it, that the hard-baked yellow soil undulated, so that one moment he could see the oasis ahead, and the next he had sunk in the trough of the sands where nothing was visible but the beetling crags of the Atlas Mountains behind him, and the ground scattered with salt crystals, which flashed and glittered as they caught and reflected the rays of the sun.

In order to dissipate the sense of passiveness which had enveloped him when he first looked on the desert from above, and which was still clinging to him, he urged forward his horse at a gallop. But somehow, in spite of his efforts, it appeared to him that he was advancing no further, but that as he increased his pace the desert merely swept by him more precipitately. Soon however, he approached the outskirts of the oasis, where a few tall palms stood like sentinels, gaunt and motionless. Beneath them were bunches of thorn and tamarisk, which had been collected by nomads of the desert, and behind which they lived under ragged cloths that served them as tents. Here and there he could see a dark-skinned woman dressed in fluttering tatters of brilliant stuff, standing at the opening of her dwelling

nursing a naked baby, while two or three more were rolling at her feet in the sun and dust. On either side of the road, which was beaten flat by the feet of innumerable camels on their way to and from the mountains, he saw attempts at irrigation, and since it was spring a few dark blades of wheat had appeared. He entered the oasis where the palm-trees grew more thickly, and at last reached a spot where the road ran between two narrow mud walls, behind which countless palm-trees grew as closely as their roots would permit. Down this road he continued some distance, passing every now and then by the wayside a group of children or a beggar with distorted limbs.

He came at last to the native village, which was built in the very heart of this island of palms. Close by the mosque there was a large open space crowded with every race that lives near the African desert. Along one side ran a low arcade, but everywhere else the white walls of the houses cast dark-blue shadows, and in one of these he reined in his horse to observe the scene. He could hear that strange monotone which is as characteristic of an Eastern crowd as the murmur of bees is of an English garden. The slender minaret of the mosque could be seen above the feathery branches of the palms, and a cloud of white doves with red feet kept circling round it, ever and anon alighting to peck at the grains of food which lay upon the ground. There was a dense crowd of bronzed Arabs, their white burnouses falling about them in graceful folds. Here and there were black-skinned negroes, with gaudy-coloured handkerchiefs upon their heads. Some of the women walked with veils upon their faces; others, the fair-skinned Kabyles with bold eyes, and the graceful women of the Ouled Naïls, went uncovered. Under the arcade and in the stalls every product of the desert was proffered for sale—grain for the camels, piles of golden dates from the south, the flesh of the wild gazelle, bales of stuffs, trinkets for the women, and weapons for the men, musk and henna and keef. The low clangorous murmur of the East filled his ears and seemed to mesmerise him as he watched the shifting throng. In a doorway to one side a group of old men were playing at dominoes, a little farther on a letter-writer was crouching on his heels, and in the dark porchway of a Café Maure two men were smoking. Inside he could dimly see a group of figures sitting or reclining, drinking

coffee and smoking, while the twang of stringed instruments, the strident cries of the water-carriers and the incessant chatter of the bargainers added to the universal murmur.

Seen from horseback, the crowd was like an intricate pattern in fine linen, and he could trace the passage of a blue or orange burnous amongst its fellows like a coloured strand threading the white woof. In the courtyard of the mosque a group of students sat, while an old man expounded the Koran in a high monotone, from a roll of parchment which he held in his withered hands. Beyond the crowd he could see where a train of camels had just come in from the desert. Some were lying, some were standing, but they all snarled hideously, showing their yellow teeth and black throats. Now and then a tall desert Arab would strike one with a stick crying, "Oosh Oosh," and from the arcade at his side, where a scent-seller had his scales, he could distinguish a faint perfume of amber mingled with attar of roses. Sights, sounds and smells were so varied that he could scarce draw his attention from them, but at last, when two half-naked children came to him with outstretched arms begging for money, he urged his horse through the crowd and followed the narrow street as it wound through the palm-trees, passing now and then a grave-eyed Arab, who, though looking at him intently, proceeded in silence.

Presently the palm-trees grew more scattered, and he emerged again upon the hard dry earth of the desert. Behind him rose the purple Atlas Mountains, sharply outlined against the clear sky, and on his right hand some six or seven miles away, he could discern the low form of a salt hill. Now the oasis had dwindled into a dark line which serrated the horizon, and he was out in the wide expanse of the desert. The Atlas Mountains had taken on a rosy tinge which a great depth of desert air will lend to the distance. The soil grew more sandy, and far ahead he saw what he suspected were dunes. There were no more nomad tents or wandering Arabs by the wayside, and save for that low line of mountains he was free and in the rolling desert.

As the man who loves the ocean is anxious when the ship has left the harbour to see the last land dip below the waves, in order that he may swing his gaze uninterruptedly from horizon to horizon, so the desert-traveller wished to see the last [illegible]

of palm-tree and mountain vanish from sight, in order that he might feel this vast spirit of the desert sands envelop him in his strong arms. A few minutes later, as if in answer to his wish, a gust of hot wind, carrying with it a few particles of sand, struck his face. Almost before he could realise it a thin veil shrouded the distant view, and, as rain will sweep up the mountain valley, blotting out the further wall of rock, so did the breath of the desert draw about him a curtain of sand. Its touch thrilled him, and half-closing his eyes he bent low in the saddle to watch the miniature whirls of sand dance playfully upon the ground, and circle round and round like kittens after their tails. He could scarcely believe that a few moments before he had been able to see to the uttermost distance, and that now the sand, which is the desert's hair, had wound itself about him so that he could scarce keep to the track that led southward. It seemed impossible that so clear an atmosphere could in a moment be filled with this writhing inferno of hot stinging sand.

For two or three hours, perhaps, he rode monotonously forward in this manner, before the wind began to fall and the sand mist to grow thinner, and when at last it subsided he could see nowhere mountains or palm-trees, tents or Arabs. He had sent his servants on the day before to prepare an encampment for him in the next oasis, and he knew that somewhere out there among the yellow sands lay his tent, but since he was in no anxiety to reach it, reducing his pace to a walk, he allowed the infinite peace of the desert to steal upon his soul and lull it to forgetfulness. He forgot where he was, and whither he was going, and though he continued riding mile after mile he never seemed to advance, for as soon as he passed one tamarisk bush, another would appear in almost the same position, so that the scene never altered. Once indeed, he passed an Arab riding a white horse, clad in a burnous and wearing a white turban, while over his shoulder he carried a long rifle with a curiously curved stock. Again he passed a long line of camels coming up out of the heart of the sun, feeding as it seemed off the sand, as they advanced with their slow, listless, infinitely patient gait; and a long time after they had passed him he could see their backs breaking the line of the horizon like ships at sea.

Towards evening his attention was attracted by what seemed

in the distance to be water—not water he thought—but a mirage. When he reached it, however, he found that it was neither, but only the shallow bed of some *shat* that, having been dried up, now glistened white in the sunshine, owing to its covering of salt crystals. This deception made him understand a new aspect of the desert, a barren inhospitality that made him afraid. Moreover, as it grew dusk, he was filled with a strange unrest and distrust of this place which he did not understand. When the stars began to shine, as they can only shine in a desert sky, looking like tiny chinks in the heavens, he searched anxiously for some light ahead which would betoken the presence of his tent, but he could see nothing. By night the cold relentlessness and inhumanity of the desert, which in the daytime pulsed so passionately, made him uneasy. He was filled with vague doubts and fears, fears that he had missed his way in the sandstorm, or that his Arab servants had failed him. He could still, however, see the caravan route by the light of the moon, which was now high in the heavens. He constantly thought that the dark tamarisk bushes were men, hostile or friendly, walking out of the darkness. Once the white bones of some camel that had been left to die by the road seemed to him like a man wearing a white burnous, and again he imagined that he saw a great grinning mouth with white teeth, but it was merely the bleached ribs of a dead donkey.

By this time he was so disturbed by his sense of helplessness that he was ready to believe his slightest fancy. Three or four times he mounted some rise in the ground to see if by any chance he could perceive the light of the desert rest-house which he was seeking, but in vain. Only the desert places spread out in every direction, looking ashen with glints of opal fire in the pale rays of the moon. Then his mood changed again and he became calmer, as if he were affected by the fatalism of the East, and he repeated to himself that one word in which is implied so much—"Allah, Allah." He seemed to see the white forms of Allah's worshippers in their mosques, and beggars by the roadside repeating "Allah, Allah, Allah" till they threw themselves into a trance, and even out on the desert the Arabs were prostrating themselves towards Mecca.

As he rode on into the night, he was aware that the moon

would, in a few moments, have dipped over the rim of the desert. He stared at the great luminous orb as it dwindled now to a semi-circle, now to a segment, and then vanished altogether, leaving a dim effulgence in the sky like the light from a halo. Then suddenly two white figures grew out of the darkness, and taking his horse by the bridle led it unresistingly behind a sand-dune, where he could see the outline of a small mud house by two palm-trees, under which were grouped the dim forms of four or five camels, and to one side, in the light of a tamarisk fire, he saw his tent.

* * * * *

Lying wrapped in a blanket after eating his *kous-kous*, he was happy in the sense of human companionship regained, for he heard Achmet playing upon his flute and singing this love-song while he sat under the palm-trees :

My love is like the mid-most day of Ramadan,
When the moon is full.
My love is like a gazelle at the water-spring,
When it has fled the hunter.
My love is like the palm in the heart of the Ziban,
A tall palm-tree laden with dates.
Such is my love for the beautiful Irena,
Irena of the Ouled Näila.

My love is like the doves in the courts of Alkar,
The doves with the coral feet.
My love is like water to the thirsty traveller,
The pilgrim to Mecca.
My love is like the sun after the Adhân,
The red sun in the desert.
Such is my love for the beautiful Irena,
In whose heart dwell scorpions.

"It is the desert, the very desert," he thought, "this beautiful Irena in whose heart scorpions dwell."

WEYLAND KEENE.

ELIZABETH *

FROM A PLAY FOR A VILLAGE AUDIENCE

THE following episode is taken from a short historical play entitled *The Sea Power of England.* This play is intended for performance in a village, and is so arranged that it can be represented upon a very small stage. The five episodes represent the periods of Alfred, Edward III (Battle of Sluys), Elizabeth, Charles II (the Dutch in the Thames), and the reception of the news of Trafalgar. Each episode is preceded and introduced by a blank-verse chorus. Permission to act can be obtained from the author.

ELIZABETH, BURGHLEY, MUNSON (a spy),
FIRST PAGE, SECOND PAGE

The Curtain rises and discovers an empty stage with black back-curtains. An oak table stands in the middle with a piece of rose-coloured brocade thrown across one end. An oak chair with carved arms and covered with crimson brocade faces the audience across the table, and a stool with a top of rose-coloured velvet stands opposite the chair on the side of the table nearest to the audience. A silver hand-mirror lies on the table. There is an oak chest in one corner of the stage.

[*Enter* QUEEN ELIZABETH (*rather hurriedly*) *in a rich gown in some light tone of gold. She holds a feather fan, heart-shaped and with a long handle, in her gloved hand. In the vortex of her brocades and her sweeping dignity is an insignificant person in black* (MUNSON).

QUEEN [*turning upon* MUNSON *the moment they are well upon the stage*]. What a dolt to speak to me yourself, Munson, and before the French Ambassador had left me. Did your news burn your mouth, that you must come blustering, your cheeks

puffed out with tidings like the east wind on the corner of a chart?

MUNSON [*quietly*]. I had waited two hours whilst it pleased your Highness to have those new steps taught you by the Ambassador, and having something of great moment——

QUEEN. Two hours? Why could you not say at first to one of my wenches, "Tell the Queen that a pedlar is come with fine Ypres cloth from the Netherlands." I should have said to her, "Silly girl, I want none of his ware," and presently turning my foot as I danced, should have been obliged to leave the lesson. But you, clumsy fool, come with your clothes still telling of the salt water and pluck us by our sleeve——

MUNSON. Madam, I had not heard that it would have been of great moment even had the French envoy apprehended something of my business. My tidings will, I think, be made public by your Highness within an hour.

QUEEN. No reason, meddler, for conducting an affair so cloddishly. It might have been our policy to keep the news and not publish it these ten days. [*Sitting down on the arm-chair.*] But now that we are private you tell me nothing: to the business at once.

MUNSON [*standing at the corner of the table. He speaks with emphasis, almost with solemnity*]. Your Highness, I am now able to confirm to the utmost every word that was writ you by Pedro in the last cypher letter. The event indeed exceeds his foretelling. The Prince of Parma has gathered every soldier he had in the Netherlands and has assembled a great array either at Dunkirk or at Calais. He must have at the smallest count seventeen thousand men, a very great train of baggage, and a flotilla of transports.

QUEEN. And the fleet?

[*The* QUEEN'S *manner has changed. She was at first capricious and a little conscious of her brocade and jewels. Now she is thinking only of the news.*

MUNSON. Public report in the Netherlands would have it that the Armada set forth again in May, but that through stress of weather it put back to Ferrol.

QUEEN [*brushing aside this well-worn piece of intelligence*]. We heard it long since. What now?

MUNSON. Now, madam, swift rumour has it that the Armada has finally set forth and that within five days it will join with the Prince of Parma in Calais harbour. . . . Your Highness, I think that this news is true.

QUEEN. We are sure of it, Munson. [*Nodding her head.*] Now must the battle be joined. . . . Can you tell us anything further?

MUNSON. Your Highness has heard all.

QUEEN. You know nothing of the number of sail?

MUNSON. Nothing new, Madam.

QUEEN. Send Lord Burghley to me here, in my lesser council-room, at once, and as you pass the antechamber bid one of the pages attend me. [*Exit* MUNSON.

QUEEN [*alone*]. Now my hour is indeed come. [*She takes up the mirror and gazes doubtfully and in deadly earnest at her own reflection. She watches it intently and anxiously as she speaks.*] Oh Eliza, Eliza, where will you and your people refuge if Philip be left victor? What will you do if you have not strength . . . and I misdoubt. . . . If I had built more ships. . . . Sharks are we against—Leviathan . . . [*She puts down the glass.*] But surely God Himself must defend our liberties. . . . [*She is interrogative, not assured.*] He will not suffer our captivity, the death of our freedom . . . reft of our liberty we must die. [*She speaks slowly.*] Sharks against Leviathan. . . . Sharks against Leviathan, and who can know the issue?

[*Enter* PAGE. *The* QUEEN *at once resumes her composed assurance.*

QUEEN. Go at once to Rodger, to Green, and to Williams. Tell them to saddle instantly and prepare to ride all night with despatches. Tell my women that I have business and shall not come to bed until the morning. Is Lord Burghley coming? He is immoderately slow.

PAGE. He but stays, madam, to make his adieux to the envoy. He thinks that your Majesty would not have him hasty.

QUEEN. He is right. Do your errands quickly and attend me in the antechamber, or, if you are weary, Popham can relieve you. We shall need some one to attend us late.

PAGE. I will send Popham, madam. [*Exit* PAGE.

QUEEN [*alone*]. The silly boy is tired already; he may rest. When he is a man he will never bear a burden so heavy as I bear . . . and must bear alone. Drake! [*She is stung and tormented by her thoughts.*] . . . If I had taken Drake's counsel we should have had enough ships. . . . [*With increasing irritation.*] And now we must stake our freedom upon the wind. . . . Cannot prosper but by favour of the unstable wind. . . . Oh, my poor people. . . . Drake wrote . . . (the words have drummed ever since in my head) " If it please the Queen's Majesty that we fight with one hand tied behind our backs . . ." Yet how can I give him munitions without yet another tax . . .? Yet I would I had . . . [*Enter* BURGHLEY. *She speaks with a dreadful facetiousness.*] Ha, Burghley, sluggard, come at last? Hast thou packed off thy capering envoy?

BURGHLEY [*gravely*]. Yes, indeed, madam: he is gone home in his litter. . . . Your Majesty has had news from the Netherlands?

QUEEN. Yes, Burghley. I think that the Armada has started for the last time. Parma's troops are gathered near Calais to the number of seventeen thousand men. The time for action has come, ... I think that the people will be glad.

BURGHLEY. You think from what your messenger has informed that this is final, madam?

QUEEN. I feel that it is final, Burghley. It must be final.

BURGHLEY. Is it your Majesty's will that we send word to the fleet?

QUEEN. No, they have spies of their own, . . . will be at sea before our news could reach them. Such tidings will send them burning with impatience out of port.

BURGHLEY. Your Majesty might send them words of—[*He is suggesting phrases to her*]—comfort and of extollence for the excellent valours they have shown until now. A swift cutter could pursue them with the despatch.

QUEEN. If we do it we must do it at once, good Burghley. Sit down yourself, then, and write quickly as I bid you.

[BURGHLEY *fetches writing materials from the chest.* ELIZABETH *gets up and looks over his shoulder as he kneels before the chest.*

QUEEN. Nay, nay; the old quill is still good. Now go quickly; words come pat into my mouth.

[BURGHLEY *sits down at the table—on the stool—and arranges his pen and his paper.*

QUEEN [*dictates, standing behind her red chair, her hands holding the back. She hesitates with every word at first until she picks up the thread*]. "MY LOVING SEAMEN,—You have, it may be, by now heard that those enemies . . . those enemies of your Prince and of your country whom you have so long and so ardently expected are at last approaching to do you that battle for which I know your valours have been solely impatient." [*Walking to the side of the table away from the audience and looking to see how the letter is getting on.*] Are you so far, Burghley? "Never had Prince loyaler or more valorous servants than I have in you. And I do assure you that you can never have a more loving or more grateful Sovereign than you have in me."

BURGHLEY [*after a little pause*]. "Than you have in me."

QUEEN. "As your services to us and to your country are likely in this affair to be beyond recompense, so shall our gratitude to your virtues be beyond reckoning. . . . I know that you have already deserved princely recompense . . . and I think that you shall soon merit greater rewards than are in the power of an earthly sovereign to bestow. Be as you ever are . . . vigilant and courageous, for on your valours depend our lives and our liberties. . . . And so I commend you to God.—ELIZA REGINA." Now give it to me to sign.

[*She sits down and holds out her hand for the letter.*

BURGHLEY [*still bending over it. He has by no means finished*]. You promise them nothing but gratitude, madam.

QUEEN [*annoyed*]. You know very well that without new and heavy taxing I have nothing else to give. . . . Besides, why waste money? They'll have plunder. [*Uneasily.*] They must, as always, be the victors, and they need no spur. They love me and remember the Inquisition. Oh, if Spain should win, the rack and the fire in England . . . but it is impossible; I spake in a jest. Is the letter ready, lag-last?

BURGHLEY. I go as quickly as I may, madam. . . . Here it is.

[ELIZABETH *signs, passes it back to* BURGHLEY, *who folds and seals it.*

QUEEN [*calls*]. Popham! [*Enter* POPHAM, *another page. The* QUEEN *takes the letter and hands it to* POPHAM, *who receives it on one knee.*] Tell Green to ride quickly to the coast with these and deliver them to the Lord High Admiral, who is to publish them to the fleet. Do you understand, boy?

POPHAM. Yes, madam. [*Exit* POPHAM.

BURGHLEY. And the army. Your Highness thinks of it, I trust?

QUEEN. After the fleet I think of little else, loon. We intend to visit it in person at Tilbury. And Burghley, should the Spaniard land in force, we are determined to lead our troops ourselves. [*She rises slowly from her chair.*] Nothing can move us from this resolve.

BURGHLEY [*dampingly.*] Your Majesty is no general and, knowing nothing of field strategy, will, I fear, prove a very indifferent commander. Let this whim pass, madam.

QUEEN [*angrily, walking up and down behind the table*]. Burghley, you are well-nigh intolerable. Never, I swear by all the powers and dominions of Hades, had a too indulgent princess so vilely ill-natured, ill-tempered, grudging a knave to serve her. I think you care nothing for us, though we have heaped preferments upon your ill-conditioned head. Know that we will not bear it. We will not endure it a moment longer. We will find others who shall serve us less clownishly, less snarlingly. . . . We will not be so used . . .

BURGHLEY [*quietly*]. At present your Majesty's more agreeable servants are all in bed, and the message to the army remains to be written.

QUEEN. Know that it does not remain to be written! [*Calming down.*] We have, like you, so long expected this event that we have already resolved, revolved, and written our speech. Even the manner of its delivering have we considered. You will find a paper in the casket tied with a crimson shoelace; bring it me. [*He goes to fetch it.*] We would rehearse the speech before you. [*Good-humouredly.*] Grumbling churl as you are, we must, with the aid of godly patience, endure you, for you wish well to our beloved people . . . and may also save us some errors in our speech. [*He hands her the paper.*] Sit down and listen. The speech is to be delivered in this wise: [*The Queen

walks forward into the middle of the stage and enacts the august pomp of a review with the most agreeable self-satisfaction.] We ourselves, habited in a steel breastplate and a farthingale of gold-coloured satin, and with a marshal's baton in our hand, will ride before the troops upon a tall warhorse of pure white. Bare-headed will we ride, and before us shall be borne a sword of state and behind us a plumed helmet, and we will have but these two lords who shall bear the helmet and the sword. And so we will go alone before our troops.

[*A pause, the* QUEEN *immersed in this picture of magnificence.*

BURGHLEY. And what of the speech, madam?

QUEEN [*not observing his interruption, reads**]. "MY LOVING PEOPLE,—We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust . . ."

BURGHLEY. Your Majesty must keep out of actual danger of battle, I implore. This generaling will come to no good; it is not . . .

QUEEN [*stamping her foot angrily*]. Be silent; I will do as seems good to me. Listen. [*Reads. The* QUEEN *has become very much moved by her own splendid rhetoric and is pacing up and down the stage with her eyes glowing like a cat's, in spite of the mock humility of her words and voice.*] "I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, *and of a King of England too*, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm: to which, rather than that any dishonour should grow by me [*looking steadily at* BURGHLEY],

* *NOTE. This is the authentic "Speech to the troops," and was delivered at Tilbury in all the glory of costume which she has just described. The letter to the seamen is entirely [illegible].*

I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judg
and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I kno
already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards a
crowns, and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, th
shall be duly paid you in . . .

BURGHLEY [*interrupting silkily*]. And whence will *this* mon
come ?

QUEEN. And whence do your continual interruptions co
but out of a . . .

PAGE [*rushing in*]. Madam, the Spaniard has been sight
off the Lizard. Seven miles of ships.

QUEEN. Then, by Heaven, the Fleet is engaged.

CURTAIN

The Chorus steps before the curtain: "He blew with His wi
and they were scattered."

AMABEL STRACHEY

REAL TENNIS

To the mass of the game-loving public in this country Tennis, except as incorrectly applied to lawn tennis, is little more than a name. Many of those, indeed, who take a healthy interest in games have scarcely heard of it; many more have never seen it, but possess some hazy notion that it is a sort of lawn tennis played in a closed court. And those with the little knowledge that is a dangerous thing spread extraordinary fallacies, all with a grain of truth in their composition, that it takes two years to learn to score; that it is a game only for millionaires, and other things equally remarkable and equally far removed from fact.

Meanwhile this most beautiful of all ball games keeps on the even tenor of its way, largely unnoticed. Its band of devotees s yearly increasing in numbers, but it is quite certain that they will never grow to any very great extent, nor will they decrease naterially. Were there no public competition at the game at ll, its inherent qualities, the delight of learning to play it properly, nd the ample reward of the long apprenticeship required, would nake it endure; but it is equally certain that even if the number f open competitions were added to, which is not likely to happen, he game would never become popular in the sense of being a game for the many. The conditions in which it is played, the ime required to achieve any degree of proficiency, and the comarative scarcity of courts make this impossible. At the same ime there are many players of ball games who would have the ime and opportunity and possess the natural advantages that re factors towards success, who never take to the game largely ecause they have heard of the fallacies that I have mentioned bove. With a view to dispelling some of these fallacies I prose to describe some of the conditions of modern tennis. Once

a player has taken to this game and mastered the initial difficulties, there is no game with ball and racket that can afford such real pleasure by its infinite variety, by the beauty and diversity of its strokes, and by the skill and judgment required to play well.

No game has a longer or more celebrated history than Tennis. Mr. Julian Marshall, a most devoted adherent of the game, spent many years in collecting material for his work "The Annals of Tennis," which gave the history of the game from its earliest origins down to the year 1878, when the book was published. I am not going to attempt here even a flirtation with the history of the game. Suffice it to say that Tennis in something like its present form has been played for at least 500 years. In its earlier history it was chiefly connected with France. In the time of Louis XIV there were, it is said, no less than 1400 courts in Paris alone, though these of course were very different from a modern court. The game was introduced to England about the thirteenth century, and in Tudor times it flourished exceedingly. A great number of French and English Kings were players and devotees of the game, and the title of the "Game of Kings" is still applicable, for the late King Edward and King George have both known the delights of Tennis.

The dimensions of some of the courts of the Stuart period are still preserved, and though some of them in size and all of them in general conditions differ from a modern court, the leading features remain the same. Indeed in one case an old court has remained to us. This is the famous building at Hampton Court Palace, constructed by Henry VIII in 1530, and Tennis is played there to this day.

In some games it is the simplicity that is the great charm ; in Tennis it is the complication. In any given instance, not only two or three replies to an opponent's stroke are possible, but twenty at a small computation. There is no finality to attempt or achievement.

THE COURT

The reason of this is the complication of the court, and I will now attempt to give a description of a modern Tennis court. I shall avoid giving unnecessary details. To describe every part of a court would mystify more than enlighten. As it is, there

who watch a game of Tennis for the first time without any one to explain the game to them are as much in the dark at the end as at the beginning. In the course of a match they would often think a player had lost a stroke when he had actually won it, and vice versa. Once, however, a man begins to play, the difficulties of scoring disappear in a very short time.

I must say in beginning that the sizes of Tennis courts differ: there is no standard, though the amount of variation is small. The dimensions I give below are those of a good average size modern court.

A Tennis court is oblong in shape, enclosed by four walls, a roof, and a floor. The length of the floor is 96 ft. 6 in. The breadth of the floor for 82 ft. 6 in. of its length is 32 ft. 6 in. for the remaining 14 ft. it is 31 ft. broad. Across the court from the middle of one long side to that of the other a net is hung which divides the court into two halves—known as the hazard side and service side. The net is 5 ft. high at its extremities and slopes down to 3 ft. high at the centre. The entrance to the court, is behind the net on that side of the court that has, as one enters, the hazard side on the left and the service side on the right.

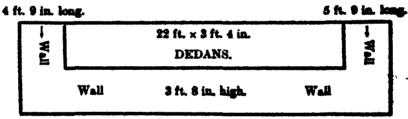
All four walls are different. As the court is entered the wall directly facing the player is known as the Main Wall, and is so marked in the plan. This wall is 18 ft. high, and between the top of the wall and the roof are windows which could only be made intelligible by means of an elaborate diagram which it has not been possible to arrange.

This main wall on the service side of the net is a plain strip of wall like the side wall of a racket court, but on the hazard side and about 34 ft. from the net there is a thickening of the wall; the thickening being about 1 ft. 6 in. A buttress is thus formed which is known as the Tambour.

Round the other three walls an inner wall with a sloping roof 7 ft. 2 in. high at its outer edge and 10 ft. at its inner edge, where it joins the high walls, is built. This wall projects 7 ft. into the court. The sloping roofs thus formed are known as the pent-houses. The second long wall on that side where the court is entered is known as the gallery wall and is thus formed starting from the top. First 8 ft. of plain wall, known as the service wall, then the

pent-house, and below this the gallery wall proper which is thus formed. At each end two plain strips of wall 16 ft. 6 in. in length. The rest of the space is occupied by openings protected by nets. These openings, known as galleries, start at the lower edge of the pent-house and are 3 ft. 4 in. in height. Below them again is a strip of wall. The names and lengths of the galleries reaching from the end on the service side are as follows: Last gallery (service side), 9 ft. 6 in.; second gallery (service side), 9 ft. 6 in.; the door (service side), 3 ft. 6 in.; first gallery (service side), 5 ft. 6 in.; line opening from whence the court is entered, 7 ft. 6 in.; first gallery (hazard side), 5 ft. 6 in.; the door (hazard side), 3 ft. 6 in.; second gallery (hazard side), 9 ft. 6 in.; winning gallery, 9 ft. 6 in. The two galleries known as doors were in old days the entrances to the court.

DIAGRAM SHOWING DEDANS

NOTE.—The dedans wall is similar to the grille wall as far as the lower edge of the pent-house. Below this the formation is as follows:

FLOOR OF COURT.

Of the two walls at the ends of the court that on the hazard side is known as the grille wall. Starting from the top it is formed as follows: 14 ft. of plain wall; the pent-house and 7 ft. of plain wall save for one opening 3 ft. 3 in. square below the point where the pent-house meets the main wall and known as the grille. The grille is usually made of wood. The fourth wall, known as the dedans wall, is shown in the above diagram. It is composed as follows, again starting from the top: 14 ft. of plain wall, then the pent-house. The 7 ft. below the pent-house is thus composed: at the gallery wall end 5 ft. 9 in. plain wall; then the large opening known as the dedans, protected by a net 22 ft. long by 3 ft. 4 in. high. Below the dedans 3 ft. 8 in. of

plain wall. Between the dedans and the main wall 4 ft. 9 in. plain wall.

Of the openings that I have spoken of, three, the dedans, the winning gallery, and the grille, are known as winning openings: that is, that any ball hit from one side of the net either on the volley or first bound that goes over the net and then into one of these openings either on the volley or first bound is a winning stroke.

Two of these openings, the grille and the winning gallery, are on the hazard side. The tambour is also on this side. To defend these is in theory supposed to be equal in difficulty to the defence of the large dedans on the service side. In practice in modern tennis it is found that as a whole the player on the service side has some little advantage.

It would appear, even so far as we have gone, that there are enough complications to ensure endless variety, even if the remainder of the game were like lawn tennis; but we have yet to come to the most important and unique feature of the game, the system of chases.

The System of Chases

The rally at Tennis—known as the rest—is identical with the rally at lawn tennis in so far that a ball hit over the net on the volley or first bounce within the limits of the court is in play and can be similarly returned. But here the likeness ends. At lawn tennis, rackets, or squash, if the striker out fails to reach a ball and does not hit it at all or only hits it after it has bounced twice, he loses the stroke. At Tennis the striker out does not always so lose the stroke, indeed in the majority of cases a chase is made.

The whole system of chases depends entirely on the *second bounce* of the ball, and the *spot* on the floor where the ball bounces for the *second* time.

The whole of the floor of the service side and part of the hazard side are marked with lines known as chase lines.

First we take the service side.

Starting from the dedans, lines are painted parallel to it for the floor, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 is a yard from the dedans wall, 2 is a yard from 1, and so on. The lines beyond 6 correspond to the

various galleries, for if a ball enters any of these galleries either on the volley or on the first bound, a chase is the result, exactly as if that ball had pitched for the second time on the floor opposite that gallery. The chase lines are in fact guides to the marker as to the spot where the ball bounces the second time.

Now we proceed to look at the working of the chase system. First everything at Tennis is started by a service—always delivered from the service side. To be good a service *must* always hit the long pent-house on the hazard side of the net beyond a particular line—it *may* hit the service wall as well—and it *must* fall into the square space enclosed by other lines and the gallery and grille wall. A service is allowed to be volleyed or taken on the bound. We will suppose A to serve, B returns the service and makes a stroke that A cannot get to or does not try to get to. This stroke pitches for the *first* time on the line 6, then hits the main wall and the dedans wall, and falls for the *second* time on the line marked 2. Now A does not lose a stroke because of this. The point is held in abeyance, and at a later period of the game A will cross over, when to win that point he will have to make a stroke that either; (1) falls nearer the dedans wall than "2" on the *second* bounce; (2) goes into the dedans; (3) that B tries to return and fails. Now to continue. A still serves, and two rallies ensue which are both won by A, as B twice hits the ball into the net. The score is 30 love to A. Off A's fourth service a rally ensues, and in the rally B makes a stroke that hits the dedans wall full pitch, bounces first on the line 2, and then for the second time on the line 6. Now 30 love chase 2 and chase 6 is called and the players change sides. B serves, and first chase 2 and then chase 6, both in abeyance, have to be played for.

With regard to chase 2 we have shown what A has to try for. B can win the point in the following ways: (1) By leaving alone a stroke of A's that he sees will bounce for the *second* time [illegible] the net and farther from the *dedans* wall than 2; (2) by winning the point by a service outright; (3) by winning the point in the rally by returning the ball to any part of the hazard [illegible] A cannot return it.

We will suppose A makes a stroke which B sees [illegible]

for the second time not nearer the dedans wall than the line 4. B leaves the stroke alone and wins the point. Score, 30—15.

Now chase 6 is played for. This time A makes a stroke which B cannot get to and yet which falls nearer the dedans wall than 6. Therefore A wins the point and the score is 40—15. B still continues to serve, and so the game goes on. When the score is either less than 40 on both sides, or deuce, the players do not change sides until *two chases* are made. When either side is 40, or the score is vantage when one chase is made, the players change sides.

The Hazard Side.—The length of the floor on the hazard side is 48 ft. 3 in., and this side of the court is, roughly speaking, divided into two parts. For 21 ft. from the end wall, known as the grille wall, there are no chase lines; for the other 27 ft. 3 in. from the service line to the net there are chase lines. To take the plain part of the floor first, I have previously indicated where the service must be delivered to be good. In the rally in the square, formed by the main wall, the grille wall, the gallery wall, and the line which is known as the service line, the procedure is just as at rackets or lawn tennis, *i.e.* if any ball in play is not returned either *first* bounce or on the volley by the player on the hazard side, the player on the service side wins the stroke.

Now to turn to the remainder of the hazard side floor. From the line to the net there are various chase lines, and the procedure with these will be substantially as follows: We will suppose A is on the service side and B on the hazard side. In the case of a rally A makes a stroke which just misses the grille, bounces first time at a point in the back portion of the court, and the second time at a point on the line drawn across the court corresponding to the second gallery. Now A does not win the stroke. Chase "hazard side second gallery" is called, and at the proper time the players change over. B is now on the service side and A on the hazard side. To win the stroke which has been in abeyance (1) all A has to do is to play the ball over the net to any part of the service side where B cannot return it, or else (2) to leave the ball alone if it will pitch for the second time nearer the *net* than the line opposite the second gallery. B to win the stroke must play the ball to any point between the line opposite second gallery and the grille wall, so that A cannot return it.

To make matters more clear I give a description of a few typical games which might be played in any match; a method of explaining the game which was adopted by the writer of the article on Tennis in the Encyclopædia of Sport. The set at Tennis consists of either six or eight games—in England the former number is usual: a match is usually the best of three or five sets. In matches where the score is five games all, one game usually decides the set: in ordinary games a vantage set is as often played as one deciding game.

MATCH A *v.* B

A wins the toss and chooses the service side.

First Game	SCORE A.	SCORE B.
(1) A serves two consecutive faults	0	15
(2) A delivers a service which B returns into the net	15	15
(3) A serves, B returns the service and a rally follows, which is ended by A hitting the ball into the grille—a winning opening	30	15
(4) A serves, another rally follows and A finishes this by hitting the ball into the winning gallery	40	15
(5) A delivers a service which B fails to return	Game to A	

It happens that no chases are made in this game.

Second Game	A.	B.
(1) A serves, B returns the ball and it pitches twice without A hitting it. Its second pitch is on the line 3	Chase 3	
(2) A serves, B returns the ball and A tries to return it but fails.	0	15
	Chase 3	
(3) A serves, B returns the ball, again it pitches twice, and the second time on the line 5	0	15
	Two chases, 3 & 5	
(The players now cross over and play for chase 3.)		
(4) B serves, A returns the ball; B does not attempt to hit it and it falls in the line 6. Therefore B wins the stroke	0	30
(The players now play for chase 5.)		
(5) B serves, A returns the ball, B takes it and hits it into the grille and therefore wins the point	0	40
(6) B serves, A returns the ball, which pitches twice—the second time on 4	0	40
	One chase 4	
(The players cross over and play for chase 4.)		
(7) A serves, B hits the service into the net. A wins the point	15	40
(8 and 9) A serves two untakeable services	Deuce	

(10) A serves, B returns the ball into the dedans—a winning opening—and wins the point . . . . Vantage to B

(11) A serves, B returns the service, and again the ball goes into the dedans. Point to B . . . . Game to B
1 Game all.

In this game it happens that chases on the service side alone are made.

Third Game

(1) A serves and a rally follows, which A wins by going into the winning gallery 15 0

(2) A serves and a rally follows, which A wins by hitting the ball into the grille 30 0

(3) A serves, B fails to return the service 40 0

(4) A serves, B returns service; A hits the ball hard, it hits the opposite back wall and bounces twice, the second time a yard over the service line. This is chase hazard side one yard 40 0
Chase hazard a yard

(The players cross over.)

(5) B serves, A hits the ball into the second gallery in the service side and wins the point . . . . Game to A.
2 games to 1 to A

In this game it happens that only one hazard side chase is made.

To those who have followed me so far it must be obvious that it is a most difficult thing to play a stroke which shall bounce for the second time near the dedans wall, which an opponent cannot return. In the achievement of these strokes all the beauty of the truly cut Tennis stroke has been evolved, and all the beautiful arts of service have been brought into play to prevent its achievement. The Tennis racket is something like an old-fashioned lawn tennis racket in that the face is not oval but is much larger on one side than the other. Its weight is more than that of a lawn tennis racket, and it is of course much more tightly strung. The ball is 2½ in. in diameter and is covered with cloth with a hard inner core.

The racket, which should be held some little way from the end of the shaft, is specially adapted for the cut stroke, which is not a natural one. It involves a number of essentials, such as the use of the fore-arm with the wrist taut, playing with the weight of the body behind the ball, stooping to the ball, &c. Once mastered the stroke becomes second nature; it is among the most beautiful of things to watch at any game, and it is all effec-

tive not only in laying down chases, but in many other parts of the game as well.

In old days, when there were more quietness and dignity in the game than now, and when courts were less perfect, short chases, *i.e.* those strokes which bounce for the second time near the dedans wall, were much more common than at the present day. B made his chase in those days, and A crossed over to try and beat it. In modern days, when there is more return and more hard hitting, A will do all he can to return the ball and prevent B laying down his chase. But for all time the man possessed of the really good stroke has the most beautiful and valuable asset in the game.

The conditions of the game vary in certain points in England, France, and America. The most important is that the balls used in each country are substantially different.

The building of a court is of course no light undertaking. £2000 is about the minimum cost, and the price of some has run into five figures. It is this that leads people to believe tennis is so expensive a game. In a club court this is far from the case. A couple of rackets, costing about 20s. apiece, are quite sufficient equipment for the beginner, and these ordinarily should last for three or four months. Balls are supplied free, and the cost of hiring a court is not excessive; 3s. an hour may be put as a fair average; in some cases it is lower, in others a good deal higher. A private court of course is only the luxury of a rich man.

The number of courts existing in the British Isles is 41, of which 2′ are in use. The majority belong to private owners. There are twelve club or university courts. Five are in London: one at Lord's Cricket Ground, two at Queen's Club, West Kensington, and two at Prince's Club, Knightsbridge. There are two at Cambridge, one at Oxford, and one each at Brighton, Leamington, Manchester, and Hampton Court. This last is the oldest extant (1530), and the most famous historically. Many of the most recently built private courts are as good, or better, than any public court, and in nearly all cases the owners give permission to tennis players to make use of them. There are two courts in Scotland, Mr. Clarke's at Troon and Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart's at House of Falkland; and one in Ireland, Lord Iveagh's at Dublin. The private courts most used in England are perhaps Lord [illegible]

field's at Petworth, Mr. Heilbutt's at Holyport near Maidenhead, Sir Andrew Noble's at Newcastle, Mr. Lytton's at Crabbet Park, Mr. Garland's at Moreton Morrell, Warwickshire, the courts that belonged to the late Sir C. D. Rose at Newmarket and Hardwicke, and Mr. J. F. Marshall's at Hayling Island.

Outside the British Isles tennis is played in America, France, Australia, Tasmania, and occasionally in Austria at the present day. In America there is probably more play and certainly more keenness than in England. New courts, both private and club, are frequently being built, and the game has been taken up by Harvard University. In America, too, there are players of the highest class, both amateur and professional. Several of the professionals have migrated from England, it is true, but they have home-bred ones of considerable ability. Mr. J. Gould is the leading amateur of the world to-day, and though he stands alone in America, there are one or two others who could fully extend all but the best English amateurs. Mr. Gould has a younger brother who gives promise of the highest proficiency.

In France, several courts still exist, among them being those at Fontainebleau, Pau, and Bordeaux. The two courts in the Tuileries Gardens, Paris, were closed a few years ago owing to the Government wanting the building, but two new courts have been opened in the Rue Lauriston near the Arc de Triomphe. Ferdinand Garcin is the leading French professional. He is now getting on in years, and he is not a strong man physically, but he is a wonderfully fine player. As a stylist he is, perhaps, ahead of all others. In Australia the court at Melbourne is fairly well patronised, but there is no player of outstanding merit. The leading English players of the day are among professionals, G. F. Covey, C. Fairs, Peter Latham, Edward Johnson—Mr. E. M. Baerlein, Mr. N. S. Lytton, amateur champion, and Mr. E. H. Miles, holder of the M.C.C. gold prize, are the best amateurs. Among great amateur and professional players of the last fifty years may be mentioned—Amateurs: The late Mr. J. M. Heathcote, the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. H. E. Crawley. Professionals: George Lambert, Tom Pettitt, and Charles Saunders, who died in 1904. In modern days, except possibly in the case of Mr. Heathcote in about 1870, the best amateur has never been as good as the best professional. Sometimes the difference is

half-fifteen or even less, sometimes as much as half-thirty. Fifteen may be taken as a fair average. The chief amateur competitions are:

England: The Amateur Championship at Queen's Club and the M.C.C. prizes at Lord's.

America: The American Amateur Championship.

France: Le Coupe de Paris.

Handicapping at tennis is done both by points as at lawn tennis, by bisques, and also by barring certain strokes to one or other player. The range of odds is enormous, varying from half a bisque (*i.e.* one bisque in the match), to 40 and touch no walls, *i.e.* where a player has to give 40 in each game and never make a stroke which hits a wall. It is thus possible to make a close match between the best and the worst, but as a fact when the disparity between two players is more than 30, neither is likely to get much amusement from playing the other.

A four-handed game as well as a single can be played, but it is not common, and though quite interesting it is not to be compared with the single.

E. B. NOEL.

[NOTE.—To those readers of the article who are already tennis players, the author would offer his apologies for departing in some instances for the sake of clearness from the correct nomenclature of tennis.]

TARIFF REFORM AND THE MINIMUM WAGE

The movement in favour of a minimum wage in this country, though essentially opposed to the fundamental principles of Cobdenism, has been a growing force for some years. A league is in existence, viz. the National Anti-Sweating League, whose object at the present is to secure a minimum wage in "sweated" industries, and which claims to have been instrumental in forcing the present Government to pass the Trade Boards Act of 1909. A number of Unionists have stated that they are sympathetically disposed towards the establishing of a minimum wage through Wages Boards.

It is widely recognised, in view of the fact that in this "Free Trade country" prices have risen of late years faster than wages, that if our standard of wages is to be improved without inviting further foreign competition, recourse must be had to legislation both as regards Tariff Reform and a minimum wage, in order to ameliorate the condition of the workers. It has been established that of our 600,000 railway workers no less than 100,000 earn £1 or less weekly. Again, 60 per cent. of the whole of the workers with regard to whom the Board of Trade have particulars earn less than 30s. per week, and the Board of Trade have no returns covering the casual and lower grades of unskilled workers. During a by-election at Keighley it was asserted by a resident intimately acquainted with the working of several factories that the average wage of those engaged in the woollen industry in that district was 14s. per week. The series of Yellow Books dealing with wages and hours of labour in 1906 indicate that the average wage of British workers is distinctly low. Since that date the cost of

living has increased to a much greater extent than wages, while in some industries wages have remained stationary. Recent legislation has injured rather than helped the worker. Rates and taxes for the ordinary local and imperial expenses have increased, while Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges, "Lloyd George finance," and other "rare and refreshing fruit for the parched lips of the multitude" have proved expensive luxuries, increasing unemployment as well as making heavier charges on the small exchequer of the working man; and if that staunch Free Trader, Sir Charles Macara, and many others are to be believed, the National Insurance Act will affect British industry in a manner highly detrimental to the working classes. Even the *Nation*, an organ of the Cocoa Press, realises that the Insurance Act will adversely affect certain of our industries. In these circumstances, it is an indubitable fact that under Free Trade Mr. H. J. Tennant, M.P., was right when he said that an all-round rise of wages was impossible, as it would simply mean more foreign competition and more unemployment.

Tariff Reform is inevitable if wages are to be raised. Tariff Reformers rightly argue that their policy will raise wages, but the process by which higher wages would be secured is the same process as is utilised to-day. Again, Tariff Reformers argue that the full policy would not raise the price of food, inasmuch as it would stimulate production. But what wonder is it, knowing as we do, and as we have been made to appreciate lately, the poverty of hundreds of thousands of our people, that there are very many who fear to vote against Free Trade because they are not convinced that their *real* wages will be improved under Tariff Reform? If with Tariff Reform is advocated the adoption of Trade Boards which will ensure that living wages shall be paid, it is very certain that such fear will be eradicated, and the cry of the "big and little loaf" will be ineffective because the working man will know that the Wages Board, in fixing the minimum wage, will always take into consideration the cost of living.

Wages to-day, in this country, are fixed in two ways, neither of which is to the advantage of the community as a whole. In organised labour the Trade Union makes its demand, and if capital refuses to concede we have a strike, causing a loss which sometimes cannot be measured. Strikes have been known to

disorganise trade as to cause the transference of an industry from town to town, or even country to country. Strikes could often be avoided if there were some system in vogue which afforded the opportunity of capital and labour discussing the various points before the ultimatum was presented. When Trade Unions fix the rate of wages, they take locality, rent, and cost of living into consideration. The areas which now fix Trade Union wages, together with those under the Act of 1909, would form a working basis for Trade Boards. As an illustration of the variations of Trade Union minimum wage, let us take the (house) * carpenters and joiners' Trade Union. In London the rate of wage is 10½d. per hour, and the maximum number of hours per week in summer is 50; in Hinckley (Leicestershire) the same Union rate of wage is 7½d. per hour, and the maximum number of hours 59 per week; while at Penryn and Falmouth, in Cornwall, the wages are fixed at 4½d. per hour, and the week reaches 56 hours. This system has two drawbacks. Non-Union men have no voice in fixing the rates, neither has capital, and yet both the Municipal and the Government authorities recognise these rates as a minimum wage by inserting the fair-wage clause in their contracts. In casual, unskilled, and in unorganised labour wages are generally fixed by the law of supply and demand. This law operates in a most brutal way. At a time when the supply of labour is greatest, so also is the poverty, and at that time the expenses of the worker are heavier. Unemployment is always worse in the winter than in the summer; more is then required for food, fuel, and clothing; yet, wages being regulated by the natural law, the worker is the sufferer and a discontented one.

The present system greatly assists Socialist agitators, who on the one hand manipulate the Trade Unions, and on the other find a ready and sympathetic audience among the surplus labour at any street corner in a working-class district during the winter evenings. The great advantage of Wages Boards is that they recognise both organised and free labour, and would not leave it to either body to fix the rates of wage, as is done at present. Wages Boards and a minimum wage are impossible while there is free competition with foreign labour, and it is utterly absurd

* The T.U. includes house and ships' carpenters, and their hours vary.

for the Socialist or any other party to attempt a standard minimum of one fixed wage throughout the country. In urban districts a good house for an artisan and ten rods of land can be obtained for 4s. 6d. per week, or less, including rates, taxes, and water; while in London a County Council flat with three rooms—none of which are large enough to swing the proverbial cat round—and a scullery-kitchen, which two people would have a difficulty in using at one time, will cost nearly double that amount.

In Australia Trade Boards in conjunction with the tariff system have operated greatly to the benefit of the community. The following particulars relative to the Boards in the States of Victoria and New South Wales will indicate the manner in which they are operated:

Victoria.—Wages Boards were established by an Act of 1896, the provisions of which have been extended by subsequent Acts. Both Houses of Parliament must pass a resolution in favour of the creation of a Board for any process, trade, or business. The Board consists of from four to ten members (half being elected by employers and half by employees), and they nominate some outside person as chairman. The Board may fix piece-work rates and lowest wage rates, and may determine the number of improvers who may be employed. Fuller particulars with regard to these Boards are given at the end of this article.

New South Wales.—Boards may be constituted on application to the Industrial Court (a judge sitting with or without assessors) by (*a*) an employer or employers of not less than twenty employees in the same industry; (*b*) a Trade Union registered under the Act having a membership of not less than twenty employees in the same industry; (*c*) an industrial union whose members are such employers or employees; (*d*) where there is no trade or industrial union of employees in an industry having a membership and registered as aforesaid, or where such union fails to make application, then by not less than twenty employees in such an industry.

The Court may recommend the Minister that a Board be constituted for such industry, and the Minister may direct a Board to be constituted accordingly. The Minister, on the recommenda-

tion of the Industrial Court, but without any application, may also direct that a Board be constituted. Each Board consists of a chairman and not less than two, nor more than four, other members as determined by the Industrial Court, one half of whom shall be employers and the other half employees who have been or are actually engaged in any industry or group of industries for which the Board has been constituted. Where the employers or employees consist largely of females, the Court may order that all or any specified number of the members of a Board need not have the qualifications.

Wherever it appears necessary the chairman of a Board may appoint two or more assessors representing employers and employees respectively to advise the Board on technical matters, but such assessors may not take part in the deliberations of the Board. Provision is made for secrecy on the part of the members of the Board and assessors in such matters as trade secrets, profits, &c. &c.

A Board with respect to the industry or group of industries for which it has been constituted may (1) fix the lowest prices for piece-work, and the lowest rates of wages payable to employees; (2) fix the number of hours and the times to be worked in order to entitle employees to the wages so fixed; (3) fix the lowest rates for overtime and holidays and other special work, including allowances as compensation for overtime, &c.; (4) fix the number or proportionate number of apprentices and improvers, and the lowest prices or rates payable to them (such prices and rates may be according to age and experience); (5) appoint a tribunal, other than the Board itself, for the granting of permits allowing aged, infirm, or slow workers, who are unable to earn the lowest rates of wages for other employees, to work at the lowest rate fixed for aged, infirm, or slow workers. If no such tribunal is provided by the Board, the Registrar has jurisdiction to grant such permits.

Subject to the right of appeal under the Act, and to such conditions and exemptions as the Board is authorised to determine, the award of a Board is binding on all persons engaged in the industry or group of industries within the locality specified for the period fixed—not less than one nor more than three years. Every award of a Board takes effect on its publication in the

Government Gazette. The following figures are taken from pp. 255 and 256 of the N.S.W. Year Book:

	1906	1909	Increase per cent.
Number of employees .	65,633	89,098	36
Wages paid . . .	£4,889,557	£7,218,556	48

As has been said, Tariff Reform plus Trade Boards would solve the one difficulty that stands in the way of the industrial classes throwing over Free Trade. It might be objected that higher wages would so increase the cost of production as to neutralise the advantages accruing from the adoption of a tariff. That objection rests upon a fallacy. It may be true that under Free Trade, cut-throat competition at home, and cut-throat competition from abroad, it is impossible for an individual firm in any industry to raise wages without loss of competitive power. Under that system sweating of the worst description is fostered. Penalise sweating and restrict unfair foreign competition, and the case is altered. Give our industries greater security; let them increase their output; enable them the better to fight their foreign competitors; get them a preference in the markets of our Oversea Dominions, the markets of the future, and the objection is answered. The industries in which labour is best paid to-day are the industries, generally speaking, in which our competitive power is greatest. Again, the better-paid worker, *ceteris paribus*, is a better worker; the worker who takes home at the end of the week a few shillings more wages has so much more spending power; higher wages mean more custom for the boot-maker, the tailor, the furniture-dealer, the hardware-dealer, not to mention the butcher, the grocer, and the baker. At the present moment, as Mr. Chiozza Money has convincingly shown, forty millions out of our forty-five millions are wofully restricted in their spending power. In the pursuit of the Cobdenite ideal of cheapness—whose basis is low wages—we subsidise distress committees, soup-kitchens, workhouses, and innumerable charitable institutions for the relief of the poor and needy. Raise the wages standard, and you will go a long way to erase these blots on our social system.

The Conservative and Unionist Party has ever been to the fore as champions of the cause of the industrial classes. Its recent position at Westminster is attributable to the fact that the Liberals have sedulously fostered the idea in the country that

they and they alone were ready and willing to introduce legislation for the direct benefit of the people. They have wiped "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform" from their banner, and inscribed in place of that attractive motto the more compelling one of "Ninepence for Fourpence." The average working man has sense enough to appreciate the fact that some one will have to make good the difference of fivepence, and practical experience of Mr. Lloyd George's finance has engendered the shrewd suspicion that ultimately that person will be himself. Tariff Reform, on the other hand, is a policy which appeals to him as one which will afford him concrete benefits; he sees every day of his life object-lessons of the evils of foreign competition. He sees on all sides the evidence of the misery and degradation which are the outcome of poverty, and he would enthusiastically support a policy which would uplift that vast mass of poverty. Such a policy is Tariff Reform and Trade Boards, and if the Conservative and Unionist Party would regain the confidence of the workers they should announce their adoption of that dual policy *now*. There is no item in the prospective programme of the Government which makes any appeal to the people. The man in the street may not be persuaded that the United Kingdom will be the better for Home Rule or Welsh Disestablishment. Yet owing to his own social condition, which monopolises his thoughts, he may adopt a passive attitude towards these proposals. Convince him, as he can be convinced, that the Government which has outraged the Constitution in order to disintegrate the realm and confiscate the property of the Church in Wales, offer nothing of a constructive character that will either tend to increase employment or raise the level of real wages, while their opponents are willing and anxious to remove the root cause of the troubles which he sees around him, and he will see to it that the Government's shrift is short.

APPENDIX A

The "Wages Boards Bill" of 1907, to which reference has been made, was introduced by Mr. Ernest Lamb, and backed by the following: Mr. Alden, Mr. Barnes, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Gill, Dr. Hazel, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Tennant, and Mr. Whitwell Wilson. The following is the explanatory memorandum prefixed to the Bill:

"The object of this Bill is to provide for the establishment of Wages

Boards with power to fix the minimum rate of wages to be paid to workers in particular trades. It is left to the Home Secretary to say for what trades Wages Boards are to be appointed. A Wages Board will have power to fix a minimum rate for any single kind of work and will have the widest discretion as to fixing time rates or piece-work rates, and as to varying the minimum according to the locality, the kind of work, and the persons employed. The Bill provides that a Wages Board shall be composed of representatives of employers and representatives of employed in equal numbers, with a chairman chosen by the members or nominated by the Home Secretary. It is proposed to entrust the enforcement of payment of the minimum rate to factory inspectors."

APPENDIX B

WAGES BOARDS IN VICTORIA

It is necessary to remember that the constitution of a Board, and the appointment of the members of a Board, involve two distinct procedures.

Before a Special Board is constituted, it is necessary that a resolution in favour of such a course should be carried in both Houses of the Legislature.

It is usual for the Minister administering the Factories Act to move that such a resolution should be passed.

The Minister may be induced to adopt such a course, either by representations made by employers and employees, or by employees alone, or by the reports of the officers of the Department.

The reasons alleged by employers for desiring a Board are, usually, unfair competition; and those by employees, low wages, and often the employment of excessive juvenile labour. If the Minister is satisfied that a case has been made out, he will move the necessary resolution in Parliament, and when such resolution has been carried, an Order in Council is passed constituting the Board.

The Order indicates the number of members to sit on the Board. The number of members must not be less than four or more than ten.

The Minister then invites, in the daily Press, nominations for the requisite number of representatives of employers and employees. These representatives must be, or have been, employers or employees, as the case may be, actually engaged in the trade to be affected. All that is necessary is that the full names and addresses of persons willing to act should be sent in.

Where there are associations of employers or employees, it is not often that more than the necessary number of nominations are received. In any case, the Minister selects from the persons whose names are sent in the necessary number to make up a full Board.

The names of persons so nominated by the Minister are published in the *Government Gazette*, and unless, within twenty-one days, one-fifth of the employers or one-fifth of the employees, as the case may be, forward a notice in writing to the Minister that they object to such nominations, the persons so nominated are appointed members of the Board by the Governor in Council.

If one-fifth of the employers or employees object to the persons nominated by the Minister—and they must object to all the nominations, and not to

individuals—an election is held under Regulations made in accordance with the Act.

Shortly stated, employers have from one to four votes, according to the size of the factories carried on, as regards the election of employers, but as regards Special Boards for shops, each employer has only one vote; and each employee in the trade, over eighteen years of age, has a vote for the election of representatives of employees.

The Chief Inspector conducts such elections, the voting is by post, the ballot papers being forwarded to each elector.

Within a few days of their appointment, the members are invited to meet in a room at the Office of the Chief Inspector of Factories, and a person (always a Government officer, and usually an officer of the Chief Inspector's Department) is appointed to act as secretary.

The members must elect a chairman within fourteen days of the date of their appointment, and if they cannot agree to a chairman, he is appointed by the Governor in Council.

The times of meeting, the mode of carrying on business, and all procedure is in future entirely in the hands of the Board.

Vacancies in Special Boards are filled on the nomination of the Minister without any possibility of either employer or employee objecting, and the same course is observed as regards all appointments of members of the Furniture Board.

The result of the labours of a Board is called a "Determination," and each item of such Determination must be carried by a majority of the Board.

It will be seen that, unless employers and employees agree, a full attendance of the Board is required, as, in case of a difference of opinion, the chairman decides the matter, and he has only one vote, the same as any other member of the Board.

When a Determination has been finally made, it must be signed by the chairman, and forwarded to the Minister of Labour. The Board fixes a date on which the Determination should come into force, but this date cannot be within thirty days of its signature by the chairman.

If the Minister is satisfied the Determination is in form, and can be enforced, it is duly gazetted.

In the event of the Minister considering that any Determination may cause injury to trade, or injustice in any way whatever, he may suspend same for any period, not exceeding six months, and the Board is then required to reconsider the Determination.

If the Board does not make any alteration, and is satisfied that the fears are groundless, the suspension may be removed by notice in the *Government Gazette*.

This power is not, however, likely to be used by the Minister, as provision is now made under Part X. of Act No. 1975, by which either employers or employees may appeal to the Court of Industrial Appeals against any Determination of a Board.

This Court consists of any one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, sitting alone, and the Judges arrange which of them shall for the time being constitute the Court.

An appeal may be lodged (*a*) by a majority of the representatives of the

employers on the Special Board; (*b*) a majority of the representatives of employees on the Special Board; (*c*) any employer or group of employers who employ not less than twenty-five per cent. of the total number of workers in the trade to be affected; or (*d*) twenty-five per cent. of the workers in any trade.

The Court has all the powers of a Special Board, and may alter or amend the Determination in any way it thinks fit.

The decision of the Court is final, and cannot be altered by the Board, except with the permission of the Court, but the Court may, at any time, review its own decision.

The Minister has power to refer any Determination of a Board to the Court for its consideration, if he thinks fit, without appeal by either employer or employee.

The decision of the Court is gazetted in the same way as the Determination of the Board, and comes into force at any date the Court may fix.

The Determinations of the Board and the Court are enforced by the Factories and Shops Department, and severe penalties are provided for breaches of Determination.

No proceedings for breaches of the Determination can be taken by any one without the sanction of the Department.

Any employee, however, may sue an employer for any wages due to him under any Determination, notwithstanding any contract or agreement expressed or implied to the contrary.

UNIONIST CANDIDATE.

GREATER BRITAIN

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

I

Two years ago Mr. Champ Clark was busy explaining that Canadian Reciprocity would inevitably bring about the peaceful annexation of Canada. His outspoken remarks helped to open the eyes of the Canadian people to the true meaning of the bargain proposed and at the same time seriously damaged his chances of being chosen as Democratic candidate for the Presidency. He is now afraid that Canada will absorb the United States, and has been deploring the effects of the emigration of thousands of American farmers who find it is easier to make a living in Canada's prairie provinces and in British Columbia. "These emigrants," he pointed out in a recent speech delivered at a time when both Houses of Congress were considering amendments of the Immigration Laws, "are among our best citizens. I am personally acquainted with three hundred of them, and there is not a bad or shiftless man in the lot. They are seeking to better their conditions. They almost invariably take their families with them. The principal reason why they expatriate themselves is the lure of cheaper lands and less stringent laws as to homesteading." He went on to say that, in a single week this year, 1845 American farmers with $388,500 in cash and $145,000 in personal property had crossed the international boundary-line to settle in Western Canada. The exodus that week was below the average, and, what is more, the proportion of men of small means was unusually large—though nine in ten of them had bought their land in advance, either outright or on the instalment system. Estimating the economic value of the average adult citizen at $1000 and ignoring the sum (probably larger than the aggregate of the

"wads") possessed by these emigrants) the assets of the Republic were depleted that week by $2,378,500, or at the rate of $123,682,000 annually.

Nothing can be done to stop this northward drift of population, though anything which helped the Western farmers—who are practically unorganised and are ignored by the professional politician—to better their position might tend to check it. Agricultural banks, to take the place of the "store at the cross-roads" which is to the farmer of the Western States what the "gombeen man" is to the Irish agriculturist, would unquestionably be helpful. Such institutions are not necessary in Canada because the banking system in vogue there, with its thousands of branches run by managers who know everybody in their sphere of influence, will always supply the hard-working settler of good character with the capital he requires to carry on his business or extend it. The following colloquy in rhyme from the *Toronto Globe* states Mr. Champ Clark's problem in homely, colloquial terms, and suggests a remedy for the depopulation of the American West. The persons of the discussion are Uncle Sam and Jack Canuck; the former has suggested that American settlers who treat the British Flag disrespectfully (such affairs are infrequent) should be deported to the United States, together with their inoffensive neighbours.

Jack tried to look as solemn as he could,
  And thanked his Uncle. "Your suggestion, sir,
Is quite original," said he, "and good,
  And springs from motives that no doubt are pure;
But, venerable neighbour, you forget
  That these are not your people now, but mine,
And, as you know, there is a little set
  Of half-baked yawpers on both sides the line—
Light-headed patriots, much given to froth
  And, as you say, to chewing of the rag,
Whose superficial nature boils wi' wrath
  Quite readily at the waving of a flag;
But they don't count for much in the great mass
  Of population—they cut little ice,
So things can never come to such a pass
  As to require your kindly-meant advice.
No, Uncle Sam, I think I'll let 'em stay;
  'Twould not be fair to punish all the rest
For faults of some; besides, as you would say,
  I need 'em in my business in the west.
Of course, I understand, you'd be well pleased
  To get them back and stop the flowing tide
That, with the emigration fever seized,
  Is pouring still to the Canadian side—"

"You bet I would, young neighbour, you are right,"
  Cried Uncle Sam, "and how to work the scheme
I'd like to know—I'm [illegible]
  A-figurin' on it; it's a [illegible]

For patriots to leave their native land
And go to buildin' others up instead,
An' why they do it I can't understand,
Though I have got a pretty middlin' head;
Yet, there's the fact, some thousands every week,
With money an' effects, pile through the gates
A-headin' for the north, new homes to seek,
Givin' the shake to these United States;
An' how to git 'em back, that is the pint
That stumps your Uncle; my big man, Champ Clark,
Has got a notion that what's out o' j'int
Is our old homestead law that's hard to work;
An', too, we'd ought to irrigate an' drain
An' make more land for settlers to use—
He holds the cause an' cure is very plain.
But you don't care, I guess, for Champ Clark's views
Over your way; still, maybe he is right,—
And that might fix it." "Uncle Sam," said Jack;
"He's wrong as usual. It is clear to sight
What you must do to get those people back
(If anything could do it—which I doubt)
And that is, do as we are doing here—
Cut all your taxes on improvements out,
And give the working farmer hope and cheer.
Change your old system; put the heaviest load
On the forestaller and the idle drone;
Reward the toiler — that's the plain straight road
Out of your problem, that and that alone.
What is our pull? Good land and a square deal;
We've made this west the empire of the free;
That is the magnet that attracts the steel."
Says Uncle Sam: "That jars my think-tank—gee!"

These lines are signed "J. W. B.," and if I were the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, I should engage him to write two or three leaders in verse form every week. It would liven up George Brown's old journal, which has become portentously solemn since the Laurier Administration was dismissed by a nation that can never be deceived for long on an Imperialist issue. Jack Canuck knew what he was about when he scoffed at his Uncle's suggestion that all his American settlers should be returned to the "mortgaged West" below the 49th parallel of latitude. As a rule it is the American tourist who gets into trouble over flag-wagging. The transplanted American farmer is not in the beginning a patriot of either kind; his country begins in his kitchen and ends at his furthest fence. He is not unpatriotic; he is merely non-patriotic. But as time goes on and he discovers that a "British subject" has more freedom than an "American citizen," that the law in his adopted country is the same, not only in theory but also in practice, for the dollar-a-day man as for the millionaire, he becomes a staunch and public-spirited Canadian.

And, as far as my experience goes, his sons are always strong Imperialists seeing that they inherit from the "old man" the capacity of taking large views of world-politics.

2

Hitherto the hinterland of Old Ontario, which adds 330,000 square miles to the developed area of the Province and has a coast-line on tidal water of some six hundred miles, has been looked upon as a happy hunting-ground for the prospector and those in search of timber-limits. The fame of Sudbury, which supplies the whole world with nickel, and of Cobalt, Gowganda and other mining-camps rich in silver, have caused its agricultural resources to be ignored. Even the future development of the forest area, which extends north and south for some two hundred miles and runs from the Quebec boundary westward for nearly eight hundred miles, has not been properly secured. The whole territory is periodically ravaged by terrible bush-fires, which are always threatening the small urban settlements and destroy timber to the value of many million dollars every summer. Settlers and lumbermen alike cheerfully disregard the danger of setting a fire out. The former will start a "burn" in the driest weather to clear their farms, while the latter think only of getting their logs to the waterways, leaving behind them a mass of branches that become veritable tinder in the summer. The law against starting fires to clear land is generally disregarded; it is obviously difficult to enforce it in the case of an outlying settler. But the culpable carelessness of bush-farmers, of wandering prospectors and of roving Indians is not the only explanation of these disastrous fires. Many of them are not traceable to human agency. In a season of drought and during a heat wave they break out spontaneously; every pioneer knows this to be so, though he cannot explain why. Dry thunderstorms, which are not uncommon in such spells of abnormal weather, are unquestionably a frequent cause. It may be that the water-drop, acting as a lens, which is mentioned in works of popular science, is also a factor to be considered. The question deserves to be [illegible] investigated. Fortunately, the extensive bush-fire [illegible] surely prepares its own destruction; if it were [illegible] Canadian forests which

> . . . march from sea to sea
> Perennial in their pageantry;
> The white-leaf'd poplars sue for rains;
> The birch a maiden ghost remains;
> The maple flames in a lone hour;
> Ever the pine's a secret tower

would have vanished long before Champlain came to Canada. The moisture in the upper atmosphere collects about the infinitesimal particles of smoke, thus forming rain-clouds, which fall lower and lower and eventually precipitate their contents. The London fog, itself a creation of the smoke nuisance, is another example of this curious phenomenon. Another effect of these everlasting bush-fires is seen in the sunsets of amazing brilliance, spectacles as wonderful as the evening pageant arranged for Neptune's pleasure in the *Eros and Psyche* of Dr. Bridges, which delight the tourist camping out in the Muskoka Lakes and other watery labyrinths of Ontario.

The agricultural possibilities of the Ontarian "Clay Belt," as it is called, have been once more explored by officials of the Dominion Department of Agriculture who lately made a careful examination of the lands along the National Transcontinental Railway for some four hundred miles. In this investigation the areas examined were classed as excellent, good, fair and indifferent according to soil. The first class consisted of undulating clay land, naturally well drained and covered with a healthy growth of mixed timber. The second class consisted of undulating or flat areas having a thin layer of peat in irregular patches and covered with a vigorous forest growth. The third class consisted of spruce-bearing areas with a peaty surface not more than eighteen inches deep, on clay capable of easy drainage. In the fourth class were placed all lands unsuited for agriculture. In the final computation the proportions were as follows: excellent, 21 per cent.; good, 29 per cent.; fair, 26 per cent. The result of this survey is to demonstrate beyond a shadow of doubt the existence in "New" Ontario of huge blocks of land which are capable of maintaining continuous agricultural settlements which would be within easy reach of the great urban markets in the southern portion of the Province.

E. B. O.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. LXI

CONTENTS

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

SIR FREDERICK RICHARDS AND SIR GARNET WOLSELEY

SIR,—In an article on "Admiral Sir Frederick Richards" in the *National Review* for August the following passage occurs:

"There is a story that in the Zulu War of 1879, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had taken a passage in the *Boadicea*, flagship of Commodore Frederick William Richards, and who could not be landed at his destination because a heavy sea was running, told the Commodore that he must put him ashore at all costs. Richards refused, pointing out that his men would certainly be drowned; whereupon Sir Garnet demanded obedience, for was he not Commander-in-Chief? Not on the sea, where I, said the Commodore, in effect, am second only to the Sovereign; and the General had to pipe down."

There is not one word of truth in the story. What happened was this. Sir Garnet embarked at Durban on board H.M.S. *Shah*, under the command of Captain Bradshaw, and anchored off Port Durnford. Here we (Sir Garnet and his staff) transhipped into a lighter, which was taken in tow by a steam launch under command of Captain Twiss, R.N., with a view to our being attached to a cable which ran from the shore to a buoy anchored a considerable distance out. There was a heavy swell, and we were all put (twelve or thirteen of us) into the small hold of the lighter, and battened down. We sat on the floor, and were towed towards the buoy. The towing hawser broke and we were adrift in the surf. Captain Twiss got us in tow again, and we were nearing the buoy when Commodore Richards, who was personally superintending at the beach, signalled that the surf was too heavy for us to land, and we were towed back to the *Shah*.

That night, after Sir Garnet had turned in, Captain Bradshaw called me to the bridge, said it was not safe to remain at our anchor, and asked me to tell Sir Garnet, adding that it was impossible to say how long it might be before it would be possible to land. It might, he said, be days. Sir Garnet thereupon requested Captain Bradshaw to take us back to Durban. He did so, and we entered Zululand by land.

There never was a shadow of difference between Sir Garnet Wolseley and Commodore Richards.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY BRACKENBURY, *General*.

July 31, 1912.

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Vice-Admiral H. A. Warren	3	3	0
Captain H. L. P. Heard, R.N.	1	0	0
Field-Marshal The Right Hon. Lord Grenfell	1	1	0
Captain A. W. Clarke	1	1	0
Captain O. A. Stokes, R.N.	1	0	0
Vice-Admiral T. H. Jerram	2	2	0
Engineer-Commander R. W. Toman, R.N.	1	0	0
Stewarts & Lloyds, Ltd.	10	10	0
Paymaster-in-Chief A. Fenton, R.N.	1	1	0
Inspector-General L. H. Kellett, R.N.	1	1	[illegible]
Captain W. R. Stevens, R.N.	2	2	0
Commander The Hon. Gerald Digby	2	0	0
Captain C. P. Streeten, R.N.	0	10	6
Inspector of Machinery R. H. Trubshaw, R.N.	1	1	0
Fleet-Surgeon J. Sugrue, R.N.	1	1	0
Mrs. J. Sugrue	1	1	0
T. Gibson Bowles, Esq.	2	2	0
Inspector of Machinery W. R. McAvoy, R.N.	2	2	0
Admiral Ernest Rice	5	0	0
Fleet-Engineer G. Quick, R.N.	0	5	0
Commander L. A. Tawney, R.N.	1	0	0
Paymaster-in-Chief W. Trew, R.N.	1	0	0
Paymaster-in-Chief G. E. Marcon, R.N.	0	10	6
Inspector of Machinery F. E. Sheen, R.N.	5	0	0
Paymaster-in-Chief E. Strickland Power, R.N.	1	0	0
Fleet-Paymaster Horatio Howell, R.N.	1	1	0
Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Matthews, R.M.	1	0	0
W. H. Whiting, Esq.	2	2	0
James McCarthy, Esq., R.N.	0	10	6
Inspector of Machinery J. Gardner, R.N.	1	0	0
Paymaster-in-Chief C. A. B. Dunbar, R.N.	0	10	6
Inspector of Machinery M. Mendes, R.N.	1	1	0
Engineer-Captain A. Palmer, R.N.	3	0	0
Engineer-Captain Wm. Hinton, R.N.	2	2	0
Commander F. Talbot Ponsonby	1	0	0
Paymaster-in-Chief T. Winterbottom, R.N.	1	1	0
General Sir H. Prendergast	1	1	0
Sir Richard Awdry	5	0	0
R. W. Dana, Esq.	1	1	0
H. Callaway, Esq.	1	1	0
Brown Bros. & Co. Ltd.	1	1	0
Walter Hunter, Esq.	1	1	0
Paymaster-in-Chief A. B. Nettleton, R.N.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Samuel H. Hills, Esq.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Inspector-General G. [illegible], R.N.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

	£	s.	d.
Inspector of Machinery H. Laughrin, R.N.	1	1	0
Engineer-Captain H. J. G. Moon, R.N.	1	1	0
Commander J. F. Foot	1	1	0
Fleet-Surgeon E. Corcoran, R.N.	1	0	0
R. W. Hawthorn Leslie & Co.	10	10	0
Commander M. J. Harrison	10	0	0
Colonel Sir Thales Pease	5	5	0
The Rt. Hon. Lord Sydenham	5	0	0
Lady McClintock	1	0	0
Admiral W. H. Henderson	1	1	0
John Dewrance, Esq.	5	5	0
Commander F. Brooker	1	1	0
The Rt. Hon. Lord Eversley	1	1	0
The Rt. Hon. Lord Pirrie	5	0	0
Navy League (Bristol Branch)	1	1	0
Dr. Thos. Rhind	1	1	0
Mrs. E. Jones	1	1	0
Rev. W. Blathwayt	0	7	6
F. C. Constable, Esq.	0	5	0
S. L. White, Esq.	0	5	0
Sir John Jackson	5	0	0
Lieut. H. C. Rawson, R.N.	1	0	0
C. H. R. Stansfield, Esq.	5	5	0
Commander G. N. Ballard	1	0	0
Admiral C. J. Barlow	5	5	0
Swan Hunter & Wigham Richardson	3	3	0
Edward C. Fraser, Esq.	2	2	0
Sir John Wolfe Barry	10	0	0
Lady Wolfe Barry	1	1	0
The Rt. Hon. Sir Claude Macdonald	5	0	0
Rear-Admiral A. H. Christian	1	1	0
Rear-Admiral J. L. Perry	1	1	0
Paymaster-in-Chief R. L. Dymott, R.N.	1	1	0
Captain The Hon. H. S. Stanhope, R.N.	2	2	0
Captain Mason Hill, R.N.	1	1	0
Paymaster-in-Chief W. H. Gribbell, R.N.	0	7	6
The Rt. Hon. Sir E. Satow	1	1	0
Deputy Inspector-General T. J. Preston, R.N.	1	1	0
G. P. Edwards, Esq., R.N.	2	2	0
Captain George L. Poe, R.N.	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
Captain C. Kennedy Purvis, R.N.	0	10	0
The Rt. Hon. Viscount Goschen	5	0	0
Sir Andrew Noble, Bart.	10	0	0
J. Wilson, Esq.	0	10	0
W. Vaux Graham, Esq.	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
Admiral Sir Berkeley Milne, Bart.	5	0	0
Deputy Inspector-General S. W. Vasey, R.N.	1	1	0
Captain J. E. Drummond, R.N.	1	0	0
Captain L. Gartside Tippinge, R.N.	1	1	0
Lady Bedford	2	2	0
The Rt. Hon. Earl Brassey	15	0	0
Vice-Admiral J. B. Warren	2	2	0
Some Members of the Royal Naval School Old Boys' Club (per General Henry Kent)	15	15	0
Sir J. H. Biles	5	0	0
The Darlington Forge Co., Ltd.	10	10	0
The Wallsend Slipway and Engineering Co., Ltd.	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
John Brown & Co., Ltd.	10	0	0
Sir William Matthews	[illegible]	[illegible]	0
Colonel Arthur Church	10	0	0
Miss Nora M. Strachie	0	10	0
Rear-Admiral W. R. Clutterbuck	5	0	0
J. A. Mullens, Esq.	5	0	0
Inspector of Machinery W. K. Beal, R.N.	[illegible]	0	0
Commander A. E. Hoon, R.N.	0	10	0
Admiral J. W. Brackenbury	1	1	0
Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart	2	2	0
Mrs. Rothfeld	1	1	0
Admiral C. G. Dicken	1	1	0
Mrs. White	1	0	0
H. W. Kearns & Co., Ltd.	[illegible]	0	0
H. J. Marshall, Esq.	1	0	0

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

Peace of Bedford

WHETHER the Balkan War will be sufficiently finished to enable Mr. Lloyd George to take the field at Bedford on October 11 in his latest and greatest, if much postponed, crusade against "landlordism," we dare not say. Some of the principal communities in the Near East who were lately at one another's throats appear to be sufficiently alive to their duty to clear the ground for this epoch-making effort, though no sooner is one controversy allayed than another crops up, and we shan't be sure of our Mr. Lloyd George until we have him in the flesh at Bedford, giving straight answers to straight questions from Lord Salisbury and others, which he seems woefully incapable of coping with on paper. Bulgaria has played her sorrowful part like a man, and bitter as must have been the pill, seeing that no European aid was available, she decided to treat directly with Turkey in the beginning of September and sent a mission including General Savoff to Co- stantinople. This necessarily involved the relinquishment of her great prize of war, Adrianople, upon which the Turks were immovable, and its retrocession was probably agreed upon in principle before negotiations opened. Thus the vaunted T[illegible] of London has gone by the board without a solitary [illegible] from the Powers responsible for it, and perhaps, as [illegible] out of the question, it was as well that it should be [illegible] [illegible]. The negotiations between Turkey and [illegible] [illegible]

arked by the usual vicissitudes, and experts were convinced t one or other moment, as one or other party was so exacting n some particular point, that war must be resumed. Ignorant utsiders argued however that Bulgaria was far too exhausted or any further struggle, and that she had no alternative but apitulation, as the event proved. The new Thracian frontier was agreed upon at Constantinople on September 18. It follows the River Maritza from its mouth to Mandra and then continues north, leaving Ortaquei on the Bulgarian side. Mustapha Pasha is also left on the Bulgarian side, and the frontier subsequently runs through Kaibalar to Sveti Stefan, on the Black Sea—twenty-five miles north of Midia, which was fixed as the Bulgarian frontier by the great Treaty of London. Turkey retains Adrianople, Dimotika, and Kirk Kilisse—another bitter blow to Bulgarian pride—while Bulgaria secures Tirnovo in addition to Ortaquei, and Mustapha Pasha. Bulgaria's outlet on the Ægean will be at the unpromising port, or rather roadstead, of Dedeagatch. As it is only human to err, one cannot help feeling some sympathy for the Bulgarians, who have paid a terrible price for the folly of their grasping politicians who were so blinded by the brilliant success of Bulgarian arms—which, be it remembered, bore the brunt of the tremendous struggle against Turkey—that they imagined Sofia could lay down the law throughout the Near East and treated neighbouring nations, particularly Roumania, with insolent contempt, while Servia and Greece were regarded as parasites who lived on Bulgaria's prowess. In other words, they had an attack of swelled head, which is a common political disease developed to such a point as to endanger the whole future of their country. Whereas Greece and Servia emerge from the conflict swollen with the spoils of a war which was mainly won by Bulgaria, the latter finds herself very little better off than she was before and minus the very flower of her male population. There can be little doubt but that the spirit of revenge burns in every Bulgarian bosom, but many years will pass before she will be in a position to get anything like even with her treacherous allies, who, however, to be fair, received, it must be admitted, great provocation from Bulgaria, whose final punishment however is greater than her follies. In leaving her to her fate the other Balkan States made the mistake on a greater scale. Meanwhile

as we go to press, we are confronted by a "new Balkan danger," in the shape of a formidable rising in Albania, which is not yet an organised State. Servia is mobilising part of her army to deal with "the Dibra Raid" which it accuses Bulgaria of fomenting. The little Christian peoples who were lately fighting side by side against tyrannical Turkey, now hate one another with a deadly hatred and will see each other's hands in every incident. Turkey, on her side encouraged by her diplomatic triumph over Bulgaria and the destruction of the Treaty of London, is less inclined than ever to knuckle down to Greece, to whom she seems to be no more anxious to cede the Ægean Islands than she was to hand over Adrianople to Bulgaria.

A Practical Joke

IF nothing fails like failure, nothing succeeds like success, and King Constantine of Greece has enjoyed a triumphal tour through Western Europe. Like wiser men before him, he walked into a palpable German trap to the no small delight of his host the Kaiser, who has a fine sense of humour and enjoys the discomfiture of a fellow Sovereign, especially if that Sovereign be a brother-in-law. All Europe is aware of France's unswerving devotion to Greece, which certainly as regards very distinguished Frenchmen who in season and out of season have espoused the cause of Greece, is not due to any political calculation, but simply to historical and sentimental attachment. It is indeed one of the few disinterested friendships in Europe, and though France has been sneered at by superior persons of the diplomatic persuasion for her "folly," and has even had serious difficulties with her Russian ally on this score, she has remained steadfast, and it is no exaggeration to say that the moral support of France, together with the appearance of a great man in Greece, M. Venizelos, when he was most wanted, have been the making of modern Greece. For one thing the Greek army, which has acquitted itself with great distinction and has suffered singularly few reverses, has been reorganised under the auspices of a French mission headed by a singularly competent French soldier, General Eydoux. The reader can readily imagine the delight with which Germany received the news that the King of Greece had made a speech at a function given in his honour by the German Emperor, in

which he appeared to attribute his military success to German inspiration. The French were not unnaturally surprised at this manifestation, but the episode has been much exaggerated. King Constantine's "speech," which was probably a few informal words, was spoken at what appeared to be a purely private gathering to a diminutive audience, and naturally among German soldiers he indulged in civilities about Germany and the German army, and probably without any idea that his utterances were to be exploited as a Franco-German incident. The German Press took the matter up after its wont, but it was satisfactorily settled on King Constantine's visit to Paris, where he paid a warm and heartfelt tribute to the French friendship for Greece as to the sincerity of which there can be no doubt. This demonstration was emphasised by the action of the Greek Government in officially repudiating the Sovereign's observations in Germany. When all is said and done, the Germans do not do themselves any good by these minor jests, but it is extraordinary, considering the number they have played, that they can still find men of affairs off their guard. No one can be too suspicious in dealing with Germans either officially or unofficially.

Monroe to Marconi

WE imagine that no one will accuse the *National Review* of unduly kow-towing to the United States—though, like all sensible Englishmen, we value good relations with the great Republic across the water, not that we imagine for a moment they will be promoted by Lord Haldane's flap-doodle, nor have we any illusions as to the attitude of Americans towards us. A section of the British Press has lately been exploiting the triumphs of that whilom vote-catcher turned concession-hunter, Lord Murray of Oilybank. His admirers, who appear to be numerous in the Press of both parties—probably in order to cover up his discreditable failure to return to England the moment his Marconi operations were disclosed, still more when it was discovered that as Chief Ministerial Whip and Treasurer he had, as it were, "put the Party into Marconis"—are electrifying the British public with gorgeous accounts of the marvellous achievements of this Master of two hemispheres. He appears to be putting Central America in his pocket and even

threatening the Panama Canal. We know nothing of his reputed achievements. We distrust a man who deliberately remained abroad when every dictate of honour demanded his presence at home, and who be it remembered only went abroad when the time was approaching for the investigation of "rumours" concerning Ministers. If he is waiting until the Marconi clouds roll by he is waiting for the crack of doom. Moreover there are other matters, as will be found elsewhere, requiring his immediate attention. We observe that the *Times* and *Daily Mail* are busily booming Lord Murray's doings in the other hemisphere, while other papers are following suit, particularly the Hush-up Press. The *Daily Mail* (September 24) describes "Lord Murray's Victory," "United States Alarm." It is a common device to stoke up two peoples against one another by representing one group of concession hunters as scoring off another, and chalking up a "patriotic victory" over which we are all expected to gloat. We do not suppose for a moment that the *Daily Mail* has any such design, but there is a decided lack of tact in parading these commercial concessions, even if they are so wonderful as is made out, as national victories, which we do not believe them to be for a moment. We know nothing whatsoever about the firm of Pearson and Company, of which Lord Murray of Oilybank suddenly became a brilliant ornament without any knowledge of oil, last August, and forthwith disappeared from public life. We must all be on our guard against the efforts of the Marconi party and of oil interests which appear to be working together to engineer an Anglo-American incident as an invaluable diversion at the present time. We hope that Americans on their side will resist their natural predisposition to be stampeded by yellow newspapers and that they will keep their heads. These concessions about which they are aroused as infringements of the Monroe doctrine probably only exist on paper and may never materialise, and in any event Lord Murray of Oilybank, though fifty times a Chief Whip, will be unable to persuade this country, whatever may be his influence on individual members of the Government, to challenge the Monroe doctrine, because he failed to put in an appearance before the Marconi Select Committee.

COUNT HAYASHI, Japanese Ambassador in London at a critical and decisive moment of international relations, is the only foreign diplomatist whom the present writer had the honour of seeing regularly and knowing well. Sir Valentine Chirol, who is probably our greatest living authority on foreign affairs, doubtless knew him much better and saw him more often. To those to whom the Japanese Ambassador, who was subsequently Foreign Minister, gave his confidence, he was unusually frank and communicative. He had not the irritating habit of minor "jacks in office" who punctuate their conversation with the remark, "Of course this is not for publication," as though any reputable member of our profession would dream of betraying private confidences. On the regretted retirement of Count Hayashi, Lord Lansdowne paid a public tribute to the sincerity and high sense of honour which had invariably marked their intercourse. He was one of the most active authors of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and in Europe was a sort of super-Ambassador whom other Japanese Ambassadors consulted. He was a profound believer in the cordial co-operation of our widely separated countries, and his breadth of view and intimate knowledge of international affairs gave special value to his opinion. It seems a pity that a great Japanese journal, whose proprietors happen to have access to his papers, should have published so-called "revelations" of the origin of the Alliance as to which there were two opposing schools of thought in Japan as was well known to all careful students of public affairs. There is little new in these "revelations" except the exaggerated suggestion that the Russian bogy was unscrupulously exploited by Count Hayashi in London in order to clinch the Alliance on which he had set his heart. That was never his method nor his argument, though he did not disguise his astonishment that at one moment in the winter of 1901–2 the British Government of the day should have appeared anxious to bring Germany into the combination—needless to say on her own suggestion—or his relief when somewhat precipitately our Government, having an inkling of German design, dropped her like a hot potato. After her wont Germany was working for the control of a weapon by which she might embroil Russia and Great Britain. That was her interest in the

The Hayashi "Revelations"

Japanese Alliance, and though we do not know, we strongly suspect that among the late Lord Salisbury's last public services was to preserve us from a German entanglement of a peculiarly perilous character which would inevitably have involved us in a Continental war several years ago. That was a European aspect of the Japanese Alliance, for which Japan was in no way responsible.

Germany's Latest

WE love the artlessness of the Germans—especially official Germany. Not that we can afford to laugh at them, because Germans have a positive genius for making fools of Englishmen and Americans. Indeed, the cleverer the Anglo-Saxon, the more readily is he victimised by the ingenuous Teuton. Germany's "latest" is nevertheless delightful, and we are not surprised at the ill-concealed annoyance of our Potsdam press at this fresh exposure of the amazing apparatus of the Wilhelmstrasse. It would have been infinitely more convenient for British marionettes that the wire-pullers should have remained unveiled. However, *l'enfant terrible* of Germany and of German and of pro-German intriguers in our midst, the Socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*, will have it so, and once more the fat is in the fire. There has been no more illuminating episode since the publication of the matchless volumes of Busch which exposed to the world the whole machinery of which the press bureau of the German Foreign Office is the centre. Those who have been at pains to read these invaluable volumes have never since been hocused by German diplomats or German journalists; but unfortunately modern developments have made our profession a prodigious hustle, and few of those nowadays instructing the public on Anglo-German relations have time to read anything except the proofs of the nonsense they have written. If they were not hopelessly committed the *Vorwärts* revelations would open their eyes to the manner in which they, often unconsciously let us hope, are exploited in German interests, though the spirit of professional emulation is so strong that we fear that some of "our own particular correspondents" would still sell their souls for some tit-bit of information faked up in a German Embassy or Foreign Office. If you are a British correspondent in Berlin you can only stand in with the powers that be by

writing what the German Government wants. Happily there always have been and still are (though with the rapid Americanisation of our press its foreign departments are deteriorating) a certain number of exceptional men of strong character who have pluckily kept up their end despite offensive local pressure and frequent discouragement from their own offices, and have always remembered that they are Englishmen first—or Scotsmen, as the case may be—and journalists afterwards.

The "Vorwärts" Revelation

THE *Vorwärts* at the opening of September disclosed a newspaper scheme entirely in accordance with German traditions, now being organised in the interests of German trade and foreign policy. This scheme was set forth in a "strictly confidential" letter addressed by a number of Reichstag Deputies, including the Leader of the National Liberals, Herr Bassermann—who, it will be remembered, obligingly announced in a public speech some years ago that it would be desirable for Germany to be friendly towards England until she had a strong navy, when the mask might be safely removed—to no less a person than the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow. Unfortunately for its authors and its recipients this letter found its way into the columns of the *Vorwärts*. It is of unusual interest, and although it has been slurred over by that portion of our press which dances to the piping of Potsdam, it is worthy of meticulous attention, especially by English journalists who are "got at" by one or other German agent. The writers, in the first place, ask the German Foreign Secretary to support what the *Times* Berlin correspondent describes as "a new daily world review" to be called the *Zeitung der Zeitungen*, which is shortly to appear in Germany; while in the second place they request his assistance for "a correspondence agency" which is to be organised in connection with this new organ and to be known as the "European Letter" correspondence. This agency, as its name implies, is to be a means of "organising the foreign press, and in the first place the Oversea press, in the interests of German policy and of German economic life." We should have thought from what we know that there was enough spade work of this kind at the present time; however, Germans are never

satisfied, so foreign newspapers are to be asked to publish regularly a "letter" describing events in Germany to be composed by the staff of the *Zeitung der Zeitungen*, though printed in the language of the country where it is published. According to the priceless document in the *Vorwärts* emanating from all these Reichstag Deputies, headed by Herr Bassermann, and so far repudiated by none of them, fifty foreign and Oversea newspapers have already promised to publish these "letters."

The English "Black List"

We should very much like to have the British list of Germanised newspapers. We should not be surprised to find that it comprised newspapers in every political camp. Certain so-called Unionist journals are already suspect on foreign affairs and give the impression of being wire-pulled from Berlin. Herr Bassermann and his colleagues, in appealing to the German Government to support the *Zeitung der Zeitungen* and its "European Letters," expressed the hope that in time this organisation will extend over the whole world, and that the Imperial Government will have in its hand a weapon "hitherto neglected, which in the struggle for political and economic supremacy is becoming more and more important," namely, "an international press organisation run in German interests." The reader, innocent of his Busch and of German methods generally, might be disposed to exclaim: "This after all is only an irresponsible request from unofficial German members of Parliament which does not in any way implicate the German Foreign Office in this Machiavellian scheme. An equally silly letter might be written to Sir Edward Grey by British members of Parliament without compromising our Foreign Office. The German Government are not such fools as to encourage this tomfoolery." Unfortunately for the minimisers the Bassermann letter makes the uncontradicted statement that the German Foreign Office has already subscribed £50 to the new venture, and it is now exhorted to make a further subscription and to empower Germany's "Ambassadors, Ministers, Chargés d'affaires, General Consuls and Consuls" in the principal places to subscribe to the *Zeitung der Zeitungen* for a year and to persuade others to do the same. Further, Herr von Jagow is informed by his [illegible]

spondents that it would be highly desirable of the official representatives of Germany abroad, "although, of course, with all due precautions such as their position demands, to do their best to persuade the most important newspapers of the countries to which they are accredited to publish the 'European Letters'." The scheme is supported by the German Parliaments and the large Banks of Germany, and the Chambers of Commerce and many of the most important firms. £50,000 in subscriptions have already been promised. The *Vorwärts* adds the interesting information that amongst the firms subscribing to the *Zeitung der Zeitungen* and the propaganda of these "European Letters" are the Deutsche Waffen-und-Munitions-fabriken and three other armament firms, and certain companies which build warships, including the Vulcan Company and the firm of Blohm and Voss. No German journal appears to have expressed any surprise at this document, as to the authenticity of which no serious doubts are raised.

Working the Oracle

"MUM" was the word in that large portion of the German Press under Government control, while the Foreign Office, which according to the Bassermann letter in the *Vorwärts* was asked to subscribe to this peculiar scheme and was alleged to have given its official sanction to the tune of £50, did not evidently feel itself in a position to deny the allegation, though as a rule an official *démenti* by the German Government comes as easily as a Marconi disclaimer by a British Minister. Unofficial organs discussed the plan of inspiring the entire Foreign Press in German interests enthusiastically, though one journal ingenuously observed that it was possible, now that its secret threads had been disclosed, the undertaking might have already received its deathblow. As the *Times* Berlin correspondent adds: "Any vehicles for carrying influence which are so plainly stamped with the mark of their origin as the 'European Letters' will be, are not likely in any case to be effective. Probably this is true. The newspapers of East Africa, British India, Turkey, Russia, England, South America and Africa, which, according to the optimistic Herr Bassermann, were already practically enlisted in Germany's service, may very likely publish, as they are said to have promised to do, the

'European Letters' emanating from the *Zeitung der Zeitungen* and could, of course, do so with perfect propriety and without sacrificing one jot or tittle of their independence." If we understand this passage aright we must respectfully demur. Any British newspaper, indeed any foreign newspaper which published a "European Letter" concocted in German interests and *ex hypothesi* against the interests of the country to which it belonged, would be dishonoured as a traitor to the national cause, unless, of course, it frankly enlightened its readers as to the origin and object of this "European Letter," written by the staff of a German newspaper subsidised by the German Government for the promotion of German interests. The *Times* Berlin correspondent adds: "But as a 'weapon in the struggle for economical supremacy' the great system is very likely to defeat its own object. Still less will it avail to cripple the Reuter and Havas agencies, as some optimists here suppose. As the Chauvinist *Post* observes, on all important occasions when it is desirable, 'immediately to start influencing, the European Letters will arrive too late on the scene.' Journalists themselves, of course, know that Germany has already her full share of 'influence' in the press of other countries. As the same organ remarks, '*to us Germans the idea of winning influence upon the foreign press is not new*' [our italics]. It is, indeed, high time that it should be more generally recognised how far this influence extends."

Of the two agencies referred to by the *Times* correspondent, Havas is understood to be an organ of the French Government, though occasionally deflected from national objects by cosmopolitan influences. Reuter is an independent agency without any connection whatsoever with the British Government, and we imagine that both Reuter and the British Government would repudiate the suggestion that the former expressed official views. We should be sorry to think that some of the Reuter telegrams we read from different parts of the world were inspired by British officials, and we do not believe for a moment that they are. While Germany is working to stiffen the discipline of the German Press, which is stiff enough in all conscience, because any paper bearing

Views

displeasure is denied information it cannot afford to buy independently—and is seeking to strengthen an already strong grip on British and other foreign newspapers, what we most require in this country is an increase of competition in the selection and distribution of news. It is unsatisfactory that so large a proportion of the inflow and outflow of foreign and Imperial information should come through agencies of which the general public knows little or nothing. Information from many parts of the Empire and to many parts of the Empire, ought not to be in the hands of close corporations or journalistic cliques with axes of their own to grind. If our readers at home regularly read the cablegrams sent abroad purporting to contain the news of the day they would be astonished, but not more astonished than would those living in distant parts of the world, could they see some of the cablegrams professing to give their news to the British public. The organisation of news stands urgently in need of reorganisation, though of a precisely opposite character to that demanded by Herr Bassermann and Co. Nothing could be more lamentable than that the British Government, composed as it is of impossible people, should attempt the task of selecting the news or inspiring the views to be distributed over the world. Our need, is in the first place, that all the communities under the Crown shall have a fair chance of knowing what is happening inside the Empire and outside the Empire, and that they shall not be misled by spurious British journalists nobbled by foreign and hostile influences.

Russophobia

THEN again we need a vigorous and sustained effort to counteract systematic attempts to prejudice Great Britain and Russia against one another. Could anything be more childish and contemptible than many of the telegrams, if not most of the telegrams, purporting to come from St. Petersburg with the object of poisoning the minds of the English against Russia. Note the source of many of these telegrams and they become unintelligible. Many Jews are working overtime to prevent an effective *Entente* between Russia and England, for the simple reason that such an *Entente* does not suit Germany's book. Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that Russia treats her Jews badly. We cannot consent to have

vital national interests sacrificed on this account even if we accept the Jewish version of their treatment, which is probably exaggerated. The dishonesty of this particular form of Russophobia is shown by the fact that while the Germans and pro-Germans seek to foment our animosity against Russia on account of her maltreatment of the Jews, the Jews of Germany remain as silent as the grave on the subject. There is no Russophobe propaganda to speak of in the German Press, while German Jewish financial houses are only too glad to act as agents for the Russian Government, and an Alliance with Russia has long been a cardinal object of German policy and at one time took shape in the Understanding of the Three Emperors. Considering the splendid hospitality which England accords the Jews, who occupy a social position such as they possess in no other country in the world, some of them make a mean and treacherous return for our generosity in continually sacrificing British to German interests and in intriguing against an *Entente* with Russia, which together with our *Entente* with France would afford a fair prospect of maintaining the peace of Europe. We suffer, not from our vices, but from our virtues. We are far from perfect, but we are unusually amiable, in fact much too amiable, and we submit to treatment such as no other nation would tolerate. Cosmopolitans are acquiring control of our Press; they have secured an undue proportion of so-called "honours"; they to a large extent control our news; they are winning many of our big races; they are crusading against our institutions, and altogether are having a "good time" such as their co-religionists enjoy nowhere else. It is not much to ask that in return they should abstain from doing Germany's dirty work by disarming this country and frustrating the federation of the British Empire simply because it doesn't suit Germany's book. No doubt they cannot help kow-towing to the strong, and Germany is very strong; but even the weak can make themselves disagreeable before they are finally wiped out, and the unpatriotic section of British Jews—there is fortunately a patriotic section who make splendid citizens from every point of view—will have a poorish time before they succeed in bringing the Mailed Fist into Great Britain.

A British Champion

OUR readers will have formed their own conclusions upon the impending German project to manipulate the foreign press in German interests to which the German Government has given its provisional sanction in the shape of a subscription of a thousand marks. There is no concealment about the objects or the methods of this scheme, even though it may be rendered ridiculous by the unwelcome publicity it has received. The object is avowedly to influence the foreign press, and through the foreign press the foreign public on behalf of German policy, and to assist German trade. The method is to bribe foreign newspapers by offering them cheap copy—in fact, the cheapest copy—in return for the dissemination of the German view of the moment, which, be it remembered, is invariably antagonistic to Powers with which Great Britain is on terms of the closest friendship, which it is an admitted object of German diplomacy to destroy. But putting all politics aside these projected "European Letters" are entirely incompatible with the existence of a free press as it has been hitherto understood in this country, however little we may have the real article owing to the operation of ravenous syndicates. One would have scarcely thought it possible, if anything were impossible, for any British journal, least of all a Liberal journal, to express any feeling except resentment against the semi-official attempt of a reactionary Power to acquire secret and clandestine influence over public opinion by the distribution of gratis copies of nominally "European Letters," which would be exclusively German letters, written to order in Berlin and circulated abroad in the language of the country. However, wonders will never cease. Englishmen who are more German than the Germans will stomach anything and defend anything done by their protégés and patrons. The *Manchester Guardian* of all papers, which used to hold its head rather high and has kept clear of combines, has come forward as the champion or the apologist of this new German journalistic venture, just as it defends every action of Germany and condemns any action of England disapproved by Germany. In its London correspondence of September 3, in a paragraph entitled "The Gazette of Gazettes," London papers are taken to task for criticising Herr Bassermann's scheme.

More German than Germans

Our contemporary complains that "They have based their information on Herr Bassermann's confidential letter to the German Foreign Secretary which has been published by the Socialist *Vorwärts*." On what else should criticism be based considering that the *Vorwärts* (which, in German domestic politics closely resembles the *Manchester Guardian*, though it is a less unpatriotic paper than the *Manchester Guardian*) has produced a document that none of the people involved dare repudiate? However, the *Manchester Guardian* with its superior inside knowledge possibly derived from the Press Bureau of the German Embassy in London is able to inform us that "The *Vorwärts* itself has been misled in the matter, owing to the fact that its good fortune has only placed at its disposal this letter and nothing more." Listen to this. "I (the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent) happen, however, to know that the main object of the venture is the 'Gazette of Gazettes,' not the 'European Letters,' which are only projected as a supplement." Quite so, a supplement circulated in foreign languages for the purpose of misleading the readers of foreign newspapers degraded enough to publish this German Letter as a "European Letter." According to our pro-German contemporary, which, on this is, as usual, more German than the Germans, because as we have seen German newspapers frankly recognise the object of the new departure as a means of promoting German interests abroad—"The Gazette of Gazettes will be a daily sort of Review of Reviews providing extracts from the world's press chiefly on financial and commercial subjects likely to interest the German business world. I have before me a specimen number of this publication issued by its promoters, and I can see nothing in it to which any one could take the slightest objection." It is many years since the *Manchester Guardian* has seen anything objectionable in any German enterprise, and it would be not uncharitable to surmise, judging from the tone of its London correspondence, that it will be one of the easiest victims of the German Gazette of Gazettes or Review of Reviews, which, according to the authority already quoted "is a collection, classified according to countries, of information gathered from various journals of non-European countries concerning [illegible]

[illegible] trade protection, &c., without [illegible] comment or criticism, and printed on one side of the paper [illegible] so as to enable the subscribers to cut out what they require [illegible] stick the cuttings in their books."

"Harmless"

WHAT a convenience for the Potsdam Press in this country to accept the "colourless" information collected in the interests of German trade, and obligingly supplied presumably for nothing by the philanthropic Gazette of Gazettes. The *Manchester Guardian* adds that "The 'European Letters' are projected in a different form. They are to pursue the highly 'patriotic' object of circulating the German view of political and economic events, and of thus protecting German interests from foreign critics and assailants. Though the promoters boast of having secured the promise of many journals abroad to insert them *they are clearly a harmless enough thing* [our italics], being subject to the control of the editors, who will, of course, be at liberty, according to trade and political sympathy, either to print them or not. . . . It is quite intelligible that an opposition paper like the *Vorwärts* should try to lay stress on this secondary feature of the ventures, but it is not quite fair for the foreign press to follow its example." We can imagine the hue and cry raised by the *Manchester Guardian* if the French or Russian Governments were detected by an "opposition" journal participating in a project to rig the press of the world in French or Russian interests. A Russian or French "Review of Reviews" would not be regarded as a colourless publication, and what would have been said of the suggestion that "European Letters" circulated with the approval of the French or Russian Foreign Office could do no harm because they were subject to the control of the editors who published them! Truly the inverted patriot is an amazing psychological study.

It was inevitable that at about this stage of the Irish controversy some *vir pietate gravis* should come forward and propose the usual round-table conference as a cure for all our ills; that the proposal should be ecstatically endorsed by the same simpletons who fell into the conference trap three years ago, which as our readers will remember produced a political pause vital to the existence of a Government which had harassed a beloved Sovereign into his grave. The moment the Coalition had gained their object—in the shape of time—they broke up the Conference and precipitated the country into a fraudulent General Election from which they counted on acquiring increased authority—an anticipation falsified by the event. Lord Loreburn who now comes forward as the convener of a Home Rule Conference when there is nothing upon which to confer, has the reputation although a politician of being an honest man. But he has committed one almost unpardonable crime in allowing himself to be hustled off the Woolsack by colleagues he despised at the very moment his integrity would have been of conspicuous service to the country. After Sir Edward Grey's *dégringolade* and acquiescence in the Marconi scandal it will never again be safe to say of any Radical Minister that "he won't stand this, that, or the other." Nevertheless we cherish the illusion, even though it may be a delusion, that had Lord Loreburn remained Lord Chancellor it would have been more difficult to "Panama" our politics, and we feel tolerably certain that an outrageous judicial appointment scandalising to everybody outside the great Trade Union of the law, as well as to many members of the profession, would not be practicable. All the more regrettable was Lord Loreburn's resignation in favour of a pliant partisan who keeps the King's conscience without having one of his own. The chief value of Lord Loreburn's letter (see *Times*, September 11) is that coming as it does from a consistent and unimpeachable Home Ruler, it knocks the bottom out of the present preposterous Bill. The sole argument and the sole recommendation in favour of that measure was that it would settle the Irish question and establish a Union of Hearts. In that case no conference would be necessary, and the single duty of the Government, of which Lord Loreburn was so recently a member, is to place it on the Statute

The Inevitable Conference

Book at the earliest possible moment. Secondly, Lord Loreburn
letter immensely strengthens the hands of those whom, to
unfeigned surprise, our esteemed contemporary the *Spect*
has treated little better than mad dogs who refuse to regard
Sovereign as the irresponsible mouthpiece of whatsoever polit
cabal may chance by chicanery or otherwise to capture the Gove
ment of the country for the time being, and turn to his Maje
at this crisis of our fate respectfully petitioning, as the humb
in the land may do, that prior to the establishment of civil
in Ireland, the electorate of the United Kingdom should
afforded an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon a meas
passed behind their back and without their consent. Thi
no question of restoring the Royal veto but of saving popu
Government in this country, which is imperilled by the sini
operations of a detestable and detested gang of Stock Excha
gamblers, on whose proceedings further light is thrown elsewh
and yet further light will be subsequently thrown.

Not Peace but a Sword

WE feel no temptation to score any point against Lord Lorebu
because in these days of general moral cowardice and intellect
inertia, initiative and independence are ra
and any man who takes a line of his own is bou
to be assailed by all the Tapers and Tadpo
and camp-followers of politics. At the same time we can
resist remarking that the ex-Lord Chancellor's letter stamps
impossible measure as a national catastrophe. Home R
means reconciliation, or it means nothing. If it fails in that
fails in everything. Lord Loreburn assumes that the pres
Bill will become law next summer. In his opinion, which, af
all, is worth something because he knows the Cabinet—rum
alleges that he knew them too well to stand them any longe
"it is inconceivable that Ministers should abandon it unl
some alternative is generally accepted." He significantly ad
and this is the crux of his letter, even if he be unconscious of
fact, "No good purpose, however, can be served by ignor
the certainty that the passage of this Bill will be followed
serious rioting in the north of Ireland." So far as we know
is the first responsible Home Ruler to recognise a fact which
long been patent to the world at large, and his laboured ef

to minimise this admission is not very convincing. "It is an extravagance to speak of civil war or to fancy that the troops if called upon will refuse to maintain order. But we know from experience in the past that much disturbance may be expected, more widespread and more violent than on any former occasion during our times." In other words, as has been continually urged by Unionists from the first moment of the appearance of this ill-starred Bill, it would bring not peace but a sword to Ireland. Lord Loreburn recognises the existence of "a general belief that the Conservative Party of England is prepared to condone if not to approve of it (*i.e.* the resistance of Ulster). This novel feature cannot fail to inflame the conflict. Then it has been found in the recent prosecutions that, though many people were wounded, juries refused to convict. A prospect of impunity naturally encourages the fomenters of disorder. Also an impression seems to have been created that Ministers will not under any circumstances use military force against rioters."

"A Grave Calamity"

UPON this the ex-Lord Chancellor makes an observation which we trust may not pass unheeded by those who have our heart-whole sympathy, but have nevertheless in our opinion somewhat lightly assumed and prematurely declared that the resistance of Ulster runs no serious risk of conflict with the armed forces of the Crown in the event of this unspeakable Bill being placed on the Statute Book. The gamblers now governing the country would for the sake of their own skins, which they might not succeed in saving in any event, be compelled to utilise all the force they control. In the mellifluous language of Lord Loreburn: "I am convinced that no such thing" (*i.e.* the abstention of the military) "can have been either deliberately said or conveyed. The primary duty of any civilised Government is to protect life and property, and it would lead merely to waste of life if any doubt were allowed to remain upon this point. But the impression has been created and tends towards making things worse." The writer adds: "It would be a blunder to take too tragically the prospect of a Protestant rising. With the utmost encouragement only a fraction of those able to bear arms would be likely to quit their peaceful avocations in order to join in battle when there is no

actual oppression, though it may become almost a point of honour to do something after the menacing predictions that have been uttered." Still, however confidently Radicals may believe that there will be nothing beyond street fighting which could easily be quelled within a short time by the constabulary assisted if necessary by the troops, "it would none the less be a grave calamity." After the suppression of such a rising there would be no chance of any "cordial partnership in self-government between Protestant and Roman Catholic Ireland" for a generation to come.

The Alternatives

RESENTMENT would take the form of boycotting, intimidation, and abortive jury trials. Moreover "a Conservative majority may find itself in power at Westminster some day, perhaps very soon, no one knows under what conditions or with what pledges. It might repeal the Act or amend it. All these certainties and contingencies have to be faced. It may be necessary for the Government to take all risks. It must be foolish to ignore them, and looking at this aspect of the case alone it is intelligible that hasty critics should say—Drop the Bill, its consequences are too serious." Lord Loreburn then invites his readers to look at the other side of the case, and imagines the Home Rule Bill to be lost through some accident without being replaced by an acceptable measure. "Is the prospect of that alternative more reassuring? Some people, inwardly conscious of the formidable dilemma, take refuge in the comfortable doctrine that after all the Irish, who have for nearly thirty years returned Nationalist members for four-fifths of Ireland either unopposed or by overwhelming majorities, do not really care for Home Rule, but that it is all done by the agitators, and all will settle down quietly if only the Bill is defeated." Even granting that there may have been a cooling of Nationalist aspirations under the influence of increased prosperity, "could anything be more certain to rekindle them than a rejection of self-government after a strife conducted in the temper which has characterised proceedings in the north of Ireland during the last twelve months?" There would be as much if not more rioting in that case than in the other. Our choice therefore did not lie, and this appears to us to be a prodigious admission from a conscientious and convinced Home

Ruler "between two paths, one leading to fury and bloodshed, the other leading to tranquillity. Both the paths which are open at this moment, unless some common agreement can be reached, must inevitably take us into serious trouble. Is there, then, really nothing that can be done except to watch the play of irreconcilable forces in a spirit of indolent resignation?"

Ministerial Miasma

Lord Loreburn and his Home Rule friends have got the country nto this hideous mess owing to their wilful refusal to see that the Nationalist argument, by which they have allowed themselves to be obsessed as regards Southern Ireland, is equally applicable to the North of reland. The "kink" peculiar to the British Radical mind ıas naturally caused them to throw in their lot with the Irish ıation which hates England and has preached Anglophobia s a religion all over the world, and whose politicians are kept y our bitterest enemies. How far they have coquetted with he Germans we do not yet know, though we shall doubtless learn n time. The other Irish nation (if we are to use that term of ommunities inhabiting these small islands) Ulster, has always een anathema to the Radicals for the simple reason that she as through good report and ill report, despite grave provocation nd threatened treachery, clung unswervingly to her membership f the United Kingdom and opposed every effort to kick her ut and throw her to her enemies and ours. Ulster's resistance as always been dismissed as bluff by politicians kept in power, or other office, by Molly Maguire votes. No sooner is Lord Loreburn mancipated from the Ministerial miasma than he can see with he rest of us the utter grotesqueness of solving the Irish question y inviting three men to trample on two men or whatever may be he precise proportion, as Lord Salisbury once pithily defined Iome Rule. We have no doubt but that Lord Loreburn is deeply nd sincerely concerned at the outlook. So is almost everybody lse who is not a congenital Anglophobe or a salaried Home uler. The Provisional Ulster Government so thoroughly and ystematically organised under the auspices of Sir Edward arson is a big fact, however inconvenient to mugwumps of all arties, and it has made its due impression upon Lord Loreburn upon others. How does Frankenstein propose to cope with

the monster his fatuity has called into being? The remedy is neither inspiring nor encouraging, and in our opinion holds out no hope of success whatsoever, even if everybody who counted could be persuaded to consider it. There is, it appears, to be "a conference or direct communication between the Leaders."

Mr. Redmond —Cipher

LORD LOREBURN himself is not over optimistic about his own project, though he makes a brave effort to cheer us up, and the Unionist gobemouche keeps his mouth permanently open to swallow anything that may be put into it by anybody on the other side. We are told in the first place by the ex-Lord Chancellor that "Mr. Redmond is a man of talent and foresight, to put it very moderately." We had always understood from persons likely to know, that Mr. Redmond was a mere windbag, like many other prominent politicians, and that he is hopelessly under the thumb of the evil genius of Irish Nationalism, Mr. John Dillon, who has done more harm to Ireland than any living soul. Mr. Devlin, who is animated exclusively by hatreds, divides Nationalist Councils with Mr. Dillon. What then is the use of Mr. Redmond recognising, in the words of Lord Loreburn, "the great difficulties of a Nationalist Ministry in Ireland struggling into life in the midst of sectarian hatred, and hampered by a combination between Protestants in the North and powerful Conservative organisations in England? He may have to meet this storm without having the control either of the military or the police, and no doubt he would encounter it rather than abandon his ideals. But presumably he would far rather have harmony, and, in fact, has quite plainly said so, though he refrained from indicating what concessions he had in view." Mr. Redmond may be left out of the picture. He is a mere cipher who may or may not wish harmony, which is the one thing the Dillons and the Devlins detest. They are not animated by any love of Ireland but purely by hatred of Great Britain, and Ulster, and they thirst for the moment, which they believe to be at hand, when they will be able to wreak their vengeance on all who have thwarted them. The capacity of these tribal Irishmen for cultivating hatred is something which no mere Englishman or Scotsman like Lord Loreburn can understand, but it is the keynote of the Irish

Nationalist movement, and grave is the responsibility of British politicians who have cast their influence on the side of this jehad.

Federal Enthusiasts

MR. REDMOND is temporarily used by the men who pull the strings for the purpose of hocusing the British, because he can talk in many different voices. He can rage with the best of them on an Irish American platform, he can coo like a turtle dove in addressing an English audience. No question will ever arise of his controlling police or military, as he will disappear when he has served his purpose, and we shall have the real thing in the shape of a Dillon-Devlin combination, which in its turn would shortly be swept out by yet more extreme Extremists for the time being in the background, who make no disguise of their contempt for the "moderation" of the Irish parliamentary party. Lord Loreburn mentions Mr. William O'Brien, who is undoubtedly animated by a sincere love of Ireland, and having sown his wild oats he may be regarded to-day as genuine in his desire for a reconciliation, and in his dislike of the coercion of Ulster by the Irish Torquemadas. Lord Loreburn calls attention to odds and ends of utterances by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords, to which little importance attaches. Doubtless he would prefer to establish Home Rule peacefully rather than by civil war. That is probably the limit of his statesmanship. He carries no weight among his colleagues, though the moderation of his feeble speeches in the House of Lords is useful in pacifying some of the Liberal plutocrats whose support is material to the party. Lord Lansdowne is likewise quoted as having said something which might be interpreted as indicating sympathy with a measure of devolution, while Lord Grey's Federal enthusiasm is naturally exploited for all it is worth, and comfort is derived from Lord Curzon's enigmatical remark in reference to the Irish question, "I agree that it must be solved." Every one heartily re-echoes this sentiment, though differences arise directly conflicting solutions are propounded. Some people who are not precisely fools think that the Irish question would solve itself if left alone.

LORD LOREBURN discounts Unionist prospects of defeating the present Bill by parliamentary methods, and points out that should they secure the dissolution for which they ask,

Dangers to Unionism

A dissolution would not soften the temper of either side, but would only decide afresh which side should be coerced, as things now are. Whether or not it may be obtained as part of a bargain settling the Irish question by common consent is more than I know. The practical point is that this Bill is most likely to be placed upon the Statute Book next June in its present shape unless some agreement be reached, and sensible people should regulate their action with that probability in view. It must be better to have a measure that you can agree with, rather than one which you regard as ruinous, and it must be worth while to ascertain whether such agreement is attainable.

Lord Loreburn adds: "When a Conservative leader pledges the whole of his party to support unconstitutional resistance to the law, unless the Bill is first submitted to the judgment of the country, there may be little open protest, but there must be a vast deal of inward misgiving among his followers, and, in fact, there is. For lawlessness is opposed to all their traditions, and no one stands to lose more than they in every way by its encouragement. Towards the end of August, according to newspaper reports, a Labour leader recommended strikers to arm themselves. He had learnt from his betters. Others may do the same." May not the wild utterances of so-called Labour leaders which are such a marked characteristic of Free Trade England to-day, be largely attributable to the example set at Limehouse by Lord Loreburn's colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, who has done far more to foment class war than all the trade unionists put together. What made his offence worse was that he was under no temptation except that of vote-catching. However that is another story. Turning to Ulster Lord Loreburn reminds us that "Sir Edward Carson has expressed himself not unfavourably towards 'local self-government,'" though the writer acknowledged "that the prospect does not look very promising in Ulster when we regard the tone of the meetings held there and the disposition to treat as a sign of weakness any effort towards peace." Nevertheless even angry men were animated by ordinary motives, and on cool reflection the most fiery partisan must recognise "that revolt will certainly be put down in the end, at a heavy sacrifice of life it may be," at

a cost of much suffering to the masses as well as the classes of Belfast and Ulster trade generally. "The misery of insurrection in crowded cities has always been immensely aggravated by the closing down of shops and factories, the flight of capital and the distress arising from wholesale unemployment. Business lost in those ways is not soon or easily recovered. A just sense of these dangers is the best security against unbridled violence. It will tell in Ulster."

Collapse of Home Rule Case

We need not pause to emphasise the portentous character of this statement which we believe to be an exact forecast of the truth, namely, that the vaunted Home Rule Bill purporting to heal the historic secular feud between Great Britain and Ireland is anticipated by an ardent English Home Ruler as likely to produce such appalling chaos in Belfast as to make men recoil from giving effect to their detestation of the measure. Nothing more crushing has been said or could be said of the infamous policy to which the Asquiths, the Greys, the Haldanes, and other humbugs in the Government have committed themselves to placate the Demagogues of whom they are afraid. Lord Loreburn adduces yet another consideration which he regards "the most powerful" of all, "which must have weight not only in Ulster but everywhere." Then follows a sentence which has been the stock in trade of every Unionist speech on Home Rule for the last two years. "After all, the people of Great Britain are entitled to some say in this business. They are ten times as numerous as the whole population of Ireland. They have their own affairs to look after, and it is common ground that their own business grievously suffers by the congestion of Parliament, and the excessive burden which falls upon the Imperial Government." From this is deduced a case in favour of some kind of Home Rule all round though of a vague and indefinite character. We are told that:

> it is recognised by all, and has become with many of them (advocates of Home Rule for Ireland) the most conclusive reason, not only for self-government in Ireland, but also for an analogous process all over the United Kingdom. The Irish question is not an affair only for Irishmen to determine or to postpone according to the exigencies of their own welfare. When Protestants of the North claim that the Imperial Parliament

and Executive shall alone govern their country, surely they do less than justice to the complaints which are made in England and Scotland of the incurable inefficiency which now afflicts us here. The entire Protestant population of Ireland does not exceed a million. Must they not in reason admit that the forty millions who inhabit Great Britain can fairly demand consideration?

But do the Nationalists of Ireland consist of more than four millions? Surely they are equally called upon to consider the wishes of the forty millions in this island, whom Lord Loreburn's colleagues in the Government refuse to consult. In order to improve the prospects of his Conference, the writer is prepared to concede that those who hold that there should be an appeal to the country before the establishment of Home Rule should retain their right to urge that view, while on the other hand, those who desire to use the Parliament Act in order to pass Home Rule as it stands shall be equally free to agitate. In one respect, however, precedent might be disregarded, as though the discussions should be as confidential as at the Conference of 1910, the final proposals in their ultimate form together with the final answers made by the other Party, should be published "if unhappily no agreement is concluded." Thus "the public would be informed of the definite views upon which leading men are prepared to act, and would form its judgment accordingly."

Tactics of Conference

LORD LOREBURN is so impressed with the wisdom of the course he recommends that, "though I am not now in any one's secrets," he cannot help wondering "if its adoption is prohibited by considerations wholly foreign to the Irish question." Like Lord Loreburn, we are not "in any one's secrets," and unlike him we never have been "in any one's secrets" and never shall be, so we are at liberty to speak with the utmost frankness. We have not the ghost of an idea as to Unionist intentions or Unionist policy on any single question in the arena of practical politics, and we would sooner remain ignorant, for though knowledge is power, confidential knowledge is paralysing. In this blissful condition we can discuss the subject without prejudice. We cannot conceive that in the face of the trickery of 1910, when the Unionist Front Benches were lured into a bogus Conference after the death of King Edward VII., which was avowedly hastened by

political events, simply and solely to save a Government of which Lord Loreburn was a member, that any Unionists, leaders or otherwise, could be such simpletons as to walk into another equally transparent trap in which bad faith would confer with good faith. Let us not be taken in by Lord Loreburn's soothing syrup—not that he is a quack, on the contrary he is a genuine practitioner who has had his eyes opened to the peril of one of his favourite specifics—which would be as useful as a pill in curing an earthquake. Were Unionists so demented as to enter this Conference with the Coalition Ulster would become immediately convinced that she was about to be betrayed, and then when this splendid national movement had either petered out in sporadic riot or burst into civil war, suppressed by the Government with the acquiescence of the Opposition—on the pretext that they were "Conferring" for the settlement of the Irish question—the Conference would break up as in 1910 and the Unionist Party would be debited with yet another fiasco. That is the tactical side of the project.

Its Practical Side

As regards its practical side we must bear in mind that there is nothing to confer about. Ministers propose to place the community, of which Belfast is the capital and centre, under the community of which Dublin is the capital and centre. Nationalist Ireland, Molly Maguire Ireland, is to tyrannise over loyal Ulster with the support of the armed forces of the Crown. That is Ministerial policy in a nut-shell. It is moreover the single attraction of Home Rule to the Dillons and the Devlins—the Redmonds count for nothing—who are determined to have their pound of flesh. As they hold Messrs. Asquith and Co. in the hollow of their hand, and as life without emoluments is too painful to be contemplated by his Majesty's Ministers, they are masters of the situation. It is nothing but a waste of time to confer under such circumstances. The last Conference broke up directly the Molly Maguires had collected sufficient American dollars to finance another General Election. We emphasised at the time the inequality of the parties in council, because whereas the Unionist representatives spoke and acted with authority, Ministers were the menials of the Nationalists, a subserviency which crystallised in the historic

phrase "Toe the line," which is not of Unionist but of Nationalist origin, and accurately described then as it does to-day the relations prevailing between the Molly Maguires and the Cabinet. There is another vital consideration. Responsible politicians have no right to compromise themselves and the causes and principles for which their Party stands by entering into any relationship whatsoever with political tricksters whose word no man can rely on, and who have made a fine art of what Lord Randolph Churchill described as "the wilful diffusion of political error with regard to matters of fact." The Marconi scandal, so far from being "cleaned up" as the Master of Oilybank may imagine, is only just beginning, as may be gathered from an article entitled "From Bogota to Bedford." This question puts Messrs. Asquith and Co. completely out of court as trustworthy and honourable men. No self-respecting persons can have any dealings with them. What is the use of conferring with politicians who can look you in the face and insinuate the most unblushing falsehoods through the medium of sentences carefully constructed to remain within the limits of technical accuracy, while deliberately disseminating a misleading impression? It is more contemptible than downright lying. If the Unionist Party confers on any question with the great Ministry of Mendacity, it is not only dead but deservedly damned. As Lord Loreburn's friends have made their beds so must they lie in them, and in spite of our reputation for guilelessness it is idle to appeal to their political opponents to pull them out of the morass.

Dissolution before Civil War

THOUGH neither Lord Loreburn nor anybody else can make out a case for a Conference, his diagnosis of the situation greatly strengthens the demand for "A Dissolution before Civil War," which is all that Petitioners to the King propose. We cannot help feeling that the *Spectator* has been somewhat premature in consigning the authors of this proposal to Bedlam. We note that weighty and cautious men, whose opinion cannot be lightly dismissed, agree with our view of the prerogatives, functions, and duties of the Crown, and differ *in toto* from that of the *Spectator*. Unless we misinterpret our contemporary, the King is a mere automaton, who must do or sign anything advised by the controlling cabal

of the moment. The House of Lords has gone by the Board. The House of Commons is going. We have nothing left but the Crown to protect the people from a Coalition destitute of moral or popular authority and discredited in the eyes of every decent citizen. If this body, under the orders of some Irish American miscreant, told Parliament to pass a Bill for the destruction of all the blue-eyed babies of Ulster, which would inevitably be carried by "the usual majority for the usual reasons," King George would have no option but affix the Royal Assent. On this theory he counts for no more in the Constitution than the pen with which he writes. It is childish on the face of it. Authority and common sense combine to repudiate it. Thus Mr. George Cave, who justly carries great influence with his fellow Unionists, in a letter to the *Times* (September 6) referring to a statement of Mr. Birrell describing the demand for the submission of the Home Rule Bill to the test of a General Election as "cant" and "silly talk," pointed out that we need not trouble ourselves about the strong language—"zeal (as Captain Wilson told Midshipman Easy) will break out in that way. But the Chief Secretary's language means, if he speaks for his colleagues, that the Government have determined (at all events for the moment) against an election—and this is a serious matter."

Mr. Cave's Opinion

MR. CAVE added that the passage of the Home Rule Bill "in its present form means the division of the kingdom, the impoverishment of Ireland, the use of British troops to dragoon a part of that country into submission to a new authority, the probability of that most bitter and lamentable of all forms of conflict—civil war." It must moreover profoundly affect the future of this island as well as the other. "Is it so foolish to suggest that, before action such as this is taken in the name of the people of England and Scotland, they should be asked whether they assent to it or not? I confess that, founding myself on my estimate of the character of the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues rather than on any spoken word, I have hitherto inclined to the belief that before making themselves answerable to the country and to history for consequences so tremendous, they would themselves desire to have the plain sanction of a direct popular

vote." But Mr. Birrell regarded it as unnecessary, and assuming his view prevailed and Ministers proved obdurate "what is the prospect? It is not a pleasant one for those who desire a constitutional solution of the crisis; but may we not hope that in that event the Sovereign will exercise his undoubted right and dissolve Parliament before the commencement of the next Session? A refusal of the Royal Assent to the Home Rule Bill after its third passing might no doubt be represented as a challenge to the democracy; but no such reproach could be levelled against a decision of the Soverign to satisfy himself, before the House of Commons is finally committed to a decision which must change the history of his kingdom, that that House does indeed represent the democracy of to-day." It would be impossible to state the case more moderately or more cogently, and so far we have not seen anything approaching an answer to this very simple statement, even though the *Times* and *Spectator* have put their heads together to denounce and ridicule everybody who is working against that greatest of conceivable catastrophes, namely, a civil war, from which we might be saved by the monarch's constitutional exercise of his right to dissolve Parliament in order to consult his people. There is no question of bringing the King into party politics, but of making him the effective President of national politics. We have reached one of those crises at which an arbitrator is required, and if there were no possibility of our Sovereign becoming that arbitrator the future of the monarchy would be compromised.

The "Times" Contempt

THE *Times* is highly contemptuous of the proposal to petition his Majesty for "A Dissolution before Civil War," which is all we are asking for and which the pundits of Printing House Square dismiss as originating "in irresponsible quarters," such a suggestion "betrays its amateur origin in a complete ignorance of our legal and constitutional usage." In other words it originated in the *Daily Express* instead of in the *Daily Mail*! The *Times* equally resents Mr. George Cave's appeal to "the undoubted right" of the Soverign to dissolve Parliament before next Session. Like the *Spectator* the *Times* would appear to regard the Soverign of an Empire on which the sun never sets as the mere Pen of one of his local Prime

Ministers, and the most discredited at that. The *Times* would *ex hypothesi* approve of the massacre of the blue-eyed babies of Ulster rather than tolerate any initiative in the Crown, which is a burning and shining light to four hundred millions of people. "Legally" we are told, "there is no question that under the constitution there are certain reserved rights of the Crown; but they are atrophied by long disuse. In spite of this, Mr. Cave thinks that the policy of the Government justifies their reassertion after the lapse of centuries." It does not seem to us to be the unchallengeable functions of the Crown which are "atrophied" so much as the minds of some journalists discussing them. Critical situations require resolute action, and it is devoutly to be desired that his Majesty will pay no more heed to the paralytic pundits of Fleet Street or Printing House Square, than to the Panama politicians of Whitehall. According to the *Times* such a firebrand as Mr. Cave "thinks that the policy of the Government justifies their reassertion after the lapse of centuries. It is, however, in our judgment, inconceivable that the Sovereign should contemplate a step *which might lead to an apparent disagreement between the occupant of the Throne and the majority of his people* [our italics]. Unionists must face the possibility, however remote they believe it to be, of another reverse at the next General Election. A dissolution of Parliament by the exercise of the Royal Prerogative *proprio motu regis* might be followed by a vindication at the polls of those very Ministers whose advice has been set aside. The proposal, in fact, has only to be stated with its implications for its constitutional absurdity to be revealed, &c. &c." It is precisely to save "an apparent disagreement between the occupant of the Throne and the majority of his people" that the wild and wicked proposal is made that the people shall be called in.

Sir William Anson

If the *Times* has its way as a demi-semi Government organ, always prepared to help Ministers out of a hole and to "queer the pitch" of the Opposition, the very spectacle may be presented which excites its alarm, namely, of the Sovereign assenting to a Bill which the nation abhors and bearing the odium of a civil war which would undoubtedly be cast on the Crown by the Coalition cabal, who to

save their own skins would readily sacrifice the Sovereign. It is the duty of those who believe in the monarchy as a great human institution to emphasise the danger of a constitutional Sovereign, during a period when the constitution has been suspended by political tricksters and the ordinary guarantees are removed, signing a measure bringing bloody disaster on the country. All that is necessary to save the Crown, is to restore the people the power of which they have been robbed by Messrs. Asquith and Co., so that they may decide whether the Civil War Bill shall or shall not become law. The *Times* shows its hand in its audacious description of Mr. Asquith as a man "whose knowledge of constitutional practice is perhaps unrivalled." This of the Prime Minister, who, as is shown in an article elsewhere, has dealt a deadly blow at the honour and traditions of English public life. However, if we once regard the *Times* as an Asquith organ —and the two have slobbered over one another in a highly edifying manner—and the *Daily Mail* as a Winston Churchill organ, we shall get a truer perspective of journalistic politics and make the proper discounts from otherwise incomprehensive opinions. Two days later Sir William Anson, member for Oxford University, and author of *The Law and the Constitution*, the leading text-book on its subject, contributed a pithy letter to the *Times* striking a very different note from the lamentable "leader" already quoted. To the *Times*, Mr. Asquith's "knowledge of constitutional practice is perhaps unrivalled," though less prejudiced persons would accept Sir William Anson as at least as great an authority, and a far more reliable one because he has no axe to grind. Sir William Anson pointed out that some of those engaged in laying down the law as to what the King should or can do, occasionally forgot "the two-fold consideration of present facts and constitutional principles." According to the writer, "the facts are these. The Government have taken advantage of a combination of groups in the House of Commons to deprive the Second Chamber of its constitutional right to bring about an appeal to the people on measures of high importance, which have never been fairly submitted to the consideration of the electorate. While this part of our constitution is in abeyance they are pressing on legislation which will shortly lead to civil war."

THIS is the position which in season and out of season we have endeavoured to bring home to our readers, and though we hold the heterodox view that constitutions are made for men and not men for constitutions, it is infinitely encouraging to find authority associated with common sense. Sir William Anson points out, and we note that the *Times* is significantly silent on this question in the issue containing his letter, that "our only safeguard against such disaster is to be found in the exercise of the Prerogatives of the Crown. I am not ready to admit that, under such circumstances, these prerogatives have been atrophied by disuse." Sir William Anson is not a Chinese mandarin. "But, on the other hand, they can only be used under certain conditions which some who write on the subject are apt to ignore. For every public act of the King his Ministers must accept respons.bility." That is a very different thing from saying that the King is the Premier's Pen. "If, therefore, the King should desire to dissolve Parliament before the Irish and Welsh Bills enter upon their third Session, and if the Government are of the same opinion, the prerogative of dissolution would be exercised in the ordinary course." So far there is no controversy. The writer adds, "If not, it would be necessary to ascertain beforehand whether an alternative Ministry was prepared to accept the responsibility for a dissolution. Mr. Cave is doubtless right that a dissolution would be a milder exercise of the Prerogative than the refusal of the Royal Assent to a Bill but he might have gone on to note that it might be easier to find Ministers who would accept responsibility for the one than for the other." Sir William Anson thus sums up: "It really comes to this, that if the King should determine, in the interest of his people, to take a course of which his Ministers disapprove, he must either convert his Ministers to his point of view, or before taking action, must find other Ministers who agree with him." This is a somewhat different but not a more advanced position than that of the *National Review* which confines itself to respectfully reiterating the request for "A Dissolution before a Civil War." To the same number of the *Times*, Lord Hugh Cecil, the other member for Oxford University, contributed a letter, observing "There is surely some confusion of thought in your comments (i.e. of the *Times*) on Mr. Cave's letter. It is certainly an undisputed rule

"Our Only Safeguard"

of our constitution, that the Sovereign must never act upon own responsibility, that is, he must always have advisers will bear the responsibility of his acts. But this does not m that he must always automatically accept the advice of those are his Ministers at a given moment. What is constitutiona determined in our country by precedent and by authority; the theory that the Sovereign must act automatically will no support in precedent, nor, I think, from any authority acknowledged weight."

The true doctrine is "that the Sovereign may refuse the advic his Ministers, although that refusal should involve their resig tion, and may even (in an extreme case) dism his Ministers; but . . . these powers are practice closely restricted by the condition that must obtain advisers to bear the responsibility of his action have the confidence of the House of Commons, or can obtain t confidence after a General Election." Finally, as giving a quie to the flapdoodle of the mugwumps, who always imagine t difficulties can be avoided by following what they imagine to the line of least resistance, we may quote the great authority Professor Dicey, who contributed a letter to the *Times* on S tember 15, expressing "my complete agreement with Sir Willi Anson's masterly exposition of the principles regulating exercise of the Prerogative of Dissolution." He reinfor "the lucid statement of constitutional law made by my fri Sir William Anson" with his customary power and precisi pointing out in the first place that a dissolution of Parliam before the beginning of next session by the King on advice of a Minister "ready to assume the responsibility for t course of action, would be amply justified by the precedent 1784 and 1834. No statesman need be ashamed to follow example of Pitt or of Peel. One may add that the whole curr of modern constitutional custom involves the admission that final decision of every grave constitutional question now belon not to the House of Commons, but to the electors as the rep sentatives of the nation." In the second place Professor Di points out a dissolution may take place and ought to take pl before next Session with the assent of Messrs. Asquith and Co

Professor Dicey

pany. "Such a dissolution will not be the sacrifice of the policy of Home Rule; it will not even be the sacrifice of the present Home Rule Bill. If the Government obtain, after the dissolution, a substantial majority in the House of Commons, they will still, under the Parliament Act be able to present the Bill to the King for his acceptance without obtaining the consent of the House of Lords."

"A Speedy Dissolution"

In the third place the author of *The Law and the Constitution* points out that a dissolution after the beginning of the next Session and before the Home Rule Bill had become an Act would be fatal to that Bill for this perfectly plain reason. "In order that the Parliament Act may apply to the Bill, the Bill must be passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the House of Lords in each of three 'successive' Sessions. But if a dissolution takes place during the third Session, but before the Bill has become an Act, it can never be passed and rejected in such three successive Sessions. If a dissolution does not take place before the beginning of the next session of this Parliament, the destruction of the Home Rule Bill by a dissolution which may take place during the next Session, will be due to the obstinacy of Ministers who will have refused to give ear in good time to the demand of the nation that the Union between England and Ireland shall not be in effect repealed until the policy of Home Rule shall have obtained the direct and indubitable sanction of the electorate." Professor Dicey referred to the rumour imputing to the Premier the intention of passing the Home Rule Act, 1914, say in June next, and advising a dissolution during the months which must elapse before the Act will have come into full operation. Upon this recklessness and fatuity the writer made some caustic comments, though in our opinion it is idle to discuss any reputed "intentions" of a man without a mind of his own, whose single policy is to "toe the line" to others. Should the Molly Maguires order Mr. Asquith at any time to dissolve, dissolve he would. But as they have ordered him not to dissolve, dissolve he won't. All his calculations are based on tricking the Crown in 1913 as he tricked it three years ago. The hopes of the people are centred on the refusal of the King to be tricked once more by the same dis-

reputable politicians as to whose characters there is no lingering shadow of a doubt. Professor Dicey concluded his letter by referring to the present discussion as to whether the King could rightly or wisely refuse his Assent to the Home Rule Bill after it had passed the House of Commons. "This is happily a purely academic enquiry on which I decline now to enter. Every advantage by way of appeal to the electors, in consequence of the exercise of the so-called Royal Veto, can be far better and more regularly obtained by a dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Balfour has struck the right note. The safety and the prosperity of the United Kingdom absolutely demands a speedy dissolution."

Burke's Authority

Concerning the Veto itself, Professor Dicey quoted this remarkable passage from Burke, which those who would make the Crown the marionette of a Marconi Ministry, would be wise to take to heart. "The King's negative to Bills is one of the most undisputed of the Royal prerogatives, and it extends to all cases whatsoever. I am far from certain that if several laws which I know had fallen under the stroke of that sceptre the public would have had a very heavy loss. But it is not the propriety of the exercise which is in question. Its repose may be the preservation of its existence, and its existence may be the means of saving the Constitution itself on an occasion worthy of bringing it forth." In the face of this it is difficult to believe that had Burke been living to-day he would have regarded us as anarchists and maniacs for calling attention to the humble petition circulated by our spirited and patriotic contemporary, the *Daily Express*, which runs as follows:

THE PETITION

Until some definite announcement is made by the Government it is advisable that the Petition to the King should proceed without slackening of enthusiasm.

Form of Petition

I respectfully ask your Majesty to withhold your Royal Assent to the "Bill to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland" until after the electors of the United Kingdom have been consulted.

Forms of the above petition—each to carry twenty-six signatures—may be obtained on application to:

THE "DAILY EXPRESS,"
23 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.,

the envelope to be plainly marked "Petition."

Applicants must state the number of forms required and enclose stamps for the necessary postage.

When signed, the petitions should be sent to:

THE SECRETARY,
THE UNION DEFENCE LEAGUE,
25 VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

ONE of the gravest aspects of the Irish question is rarely mentioned. The mugwumps dislike it, so it is voted "bad form."

The Gravest Aspect

However truth, like murder, will occasionally out, and although the German Press has doubtless received strict orders to say nothing calculated to arouse sleepy Englishmen to the strategic aspects of establishing an Anglophobe and therefore Germanophil government in Dublin, occasionally some inconvenient, because independent, thinker gives us a glimpse of the cat so carefully kept in the bag. The Berlin correspondent of the *Morning Post* (*see Morning Post* September 19) calls attention to an illuminating article contributed by one of the best known and authoritative of German soldiers and writers, General von Bernhardi to the Jingo *Berliner Post*. The General had been favoured by an Irishman "well disposed" towards Germany with an article entitled "Ireland, Germany, and the next War" in a recent number of the *Irish Review*. The General was requested to translate this article and give it the widest possible circulation in Germany, but owing to its length he could only circulate an epitome of views which he admits to be "not without interest to Germans." It was in fact eminently desirable that German politicians should make an exhaustive study both of England's weaknesses and strength. One of the former was exposed in the *Irish Review* which rejected the prevalent English idea that Ireland was indissolubly bound to England like Scotland and Wales, contending that Ireland would be much better off if she escaped from British thraldom. The article in the *Irish Review* pointed out that as German Reichsland for example Ireland would occupy an infinitely better position than under English dominion, for the English had always exploited the green island to her own advantage without doing anything to further the development of the subject country. Germany, on the other

hand, had shown in Alsace Lorraine what her administration could accomplish; the prosperity of the Reichsland had doubled and the population considerably increased. The *Irish Review* obligingly pointed out that after Germany had destroyed the British Fleet and temporarily occupied Ireland she might consider it of advantage to all parties "to create an International neutral Irish State under an international guarantee. This plan would meet the approval of other European countries, as it would ensure the freedom of the seas against British arbitrariness."

Warning from Germany

THERE is much more in the same strain, and even General von Bernhardi describes it as largely an illusion, but he observes that it is not without interest to Germans to know that when the inevitable war with England comes "we shall have confederates in the enemy's camp, who are resolved to act, and who will at least constitute a serious anxiety for England, and perhaps occupy a portion of the English troops." The General regards this prospect as gaining in significance from the fact that the Irish Americans likewise reckon on an Anglo-German War, and on its outbreak will "certainly do the utmost in their power to damage England." It is amiably, but accurately, pointed out by this distinguished German soldier, whose views probably represent an overwhelming number of the people who count in Germany, that the more internal difficulties the United Kingdom has to contend with the more advantageous will it be for Germany, for though they may not be of great military importance themselves, they assume importance in combination with the uncertain situation in South Africa, India, and especially Egypt. The more artful semi-officials of Germany were appalled by General von Bernhardi's "indiscretion," but the reprimand of the *Kolnische Zeitung* was, if possible, more indiscreet than the General's article, which it described (*see Morning Post* Berlin correspondence, September 20) as the crassest example of "things that had better have been left unsaid." Not, be it observed, things that are untrue, but truths which it is unwise to proclaim. The ingenuous *Kolnische Zeitung* added that from want of critical disposition and sufficient experience Germans were still inclined

to discuss foreign affairs as though they were dealing with philosophical and artistic questions, *i.e.* "with unrestricted candour and a passionate desire for the ruthless expression of the 'truth'."

"Quiet Political Work"

After denouncing these phantasies as disturbing "our quiet political work," the semi-official organ added that even assuming German politicians expected a war with England and hoped in that event to have confederates in the enemy's camp "it would be politically inconceivably foolish to proclaim such a hope in the open market-place." In fact it is such a shocking example of the manner in which foreign politics should not be discussed that it may be fairly assumed that "the English people cannot have such a poor opinion of German knowledge of the real situation as to imagine for a moment that it reflects the opinion of serious German politicians." On the contrary, a prolonged study of German affairs convinces us that General von Bernhardi's views accurately reflect the opinions of nine serious German politicians out of ten, the only difference between them is that the professional politician makes a business of concealing what the more straightforward soldier is not afraid to proclaim. To establish a Molly Maguire Government in Ireland would be to establish a Transvaal in the heart of the United Kingdom which would become a focus of intrigue for every enemy of England, and an invaluable asset to Germany in the event of that conflict of which the German people think and dream, and for which they prepare by night and day. It is another and an overwhelming argument for throwing the responsibility of an act of national suicide on the people at large rather than make the Monarch responsible as spurious pundits would have us do.

Sir Edward Carson?

Coalition newspapers treat the organisation of loyal Ulster against the evil day of a Molly Maguire Executive in Dublin in characteristic fashion. At one moment Sir Edward Carson and his preparations are dismissed as a grotesque pantomime, and we are told that it is impossible for him to get Ulster men to take the matter seriously or to volunteer on an adequate scale. At another moment his tour provokes panic-stricken appeals from the same newspapers

to arrest the Ulster Leader—of whom we publish a striking and sympathetic sketch elsewhere—and prosecute him for treason felony. The less excitable organs of the Coalition denounce the folly of making a martyr of Sir Edward Carson as calculated to increase his power in the north of Ireland. They would be content if the Government recommended that his name should be struck off the Privy Council. We fear there is little or no chance of our Marconi Ministers taking this step, though we can hardly imagine anything more likely to make them ridiculous. Probably few people are aware of the existence of the Privy Council, which plays practically no part whatsoever in public affairs and still fewer could name its members. In being struck off the Privy Council Sir Edward Carson would cease to be of the company of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Murray of Elibank, Sir John Brunner, Sir Alfred Mond (one of the latest recruits), Sir Henry Dalziel (*Reynolds's Newspaper*), Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Alexander Ure, Sir Edgar Speyer, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Birrell, and others of the same kidney. Could Sir Edward Carson survive such a catastrophe as that with which he is threatened by the *Daily Chronicle*, which appears to imagine that the cause of Ulster would collapse the moment the Ulster Leader was deprived of dignities shared with these illustrious patriots! Considering the manner in which the Privy Council has been watered of late years, the marvel is that anybody can be persuaded to join it. Still more incredible is the allegation that some men are willing to pay their footing.

THE UNIONIST POSITION

In private conversation about politics the two questions that are most often asked to-day are: (*a*) When will the Election take place? (*b*) Who will win it? Some attempt, therefore, not indeed to indicate a policy, but to consider the Unionist position, and to describe the frame of mind of many people who would like to vote for the Unionist Party, may not be out of place.

It is very interesting to observe that after all the changes and chances of nearly thirty years Unionists will again stand to take their trial on their ability to preserve the union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the Unionist Party was originally formed to protect. It is necessary to restate this piece of history, because there has been a tendency from time to time to lose sight of fundamentals. For instance, all good Unionists rubbed their eyes in sore amazement one fine autumn morning, in 1910, on being invited by the entire Unionist Press to abandon the Act of Union. Some few kept their heads, and the thing was strangled before it was many days old. Whether it was born in the Conference following on the death of King Edward VII. we do not know. But what we do know is that if the principle of Repeal had received public recognition by the heads of the Unionist Party the Party would have perished then and there. Its very foundation would have been shattered. That foundation was the maintenance of the Constitution which the Liberal Party, led by Mr. Gladstone, attempted to abolish by the repeal of the Union. The resistance of the Conservative Party was reinforced by those Whigs who seceded from Mr. Gladstone when he fulfilled to the letter Lord Beaconsfield's prophetic utterance that the tone and tendency of Liberalism were to attack the institutions of the country, and by certain Radicals who, from their post on the left wing of the Whig Party.

had previously been loudest in denouncing the Constitution in Church and State.

It may be said that this is ancient history, and that the coalition of Tories, Whigs and others, now known as the Unionist Party, has held together through good report and evil report for so long that it has concentrated on a new Imperialism that may one day involve a reconsideration of the government of the United Kingdom. The possibility of Federal government for Great Britain and Ireland has indeed been suggested by more than one Unionist statesman whose Imperialism is beyond all manner of reproach; but for the near future the important thing is that no Unionist advocate of Federalism for these islands or of any other departure from the Act of Union will find anything consistent with true Imperialism in the Home Rule Bill now before the country, and therefore all Unionists may be relied upon to help in bringing about its defeat. For instance, Lord Grey's speeches in the House of Lords against the Bill have been as damaging as the most true blue Tory could wish. But whether the years that are to come will ever find any alternative to the Act of Union is not now the point.

It is to the ordinary Tory or Englishman—for the vast bulk of Englishmen are Tory by temperament and disposition, even though some of them may from time to time vote for the Radicals, or even dabble in Socialism, whenever official Unionism lets them down, which is not seldom—that the Unionist Party must look for the main body of their support. The ordinary Tory does not necessarily know much about Party cries and politics, and does not follow the niceties of a disputation about the details of a Referendum or a Tariff. He loves his country and is proud of his race, and believes in those ideals of character and honour that his country and his race represent, even though he might not be able to express them on paper in the form of an essay. He is guided by tradition rather than by abstract theory, by experience rather than by the spirit of the age, by instinct rather than by intellect. He usually votes for the Unionist Party, not because he has a passion for seeing certain gentlemen seated on the Treasury Bench, but because he thinks that, on the whole, that Party will be the guardian of those national institutions in which are embodied his own prejudices and sentiments. He

thinks of men rather than measures, and of custom rather than law. He mistrusts most things with foreign names, except perhaps certain vintages from the south of Europe. He thinks that all fresh legislation is probably bad; and, if he ever studies philosophy, finds much comfort in Bacon's well-known essay on "Innovations," wherein he tells us that "It is good also not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation: and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect." But among the Tories, who more or less consistently support the Unionist Party, there is another type who has read more and thought more, and has formed a more definite idea of what he conceives to be the primary functions of Unionism, than the honest but less articulate patriot of whose frame of mind the above rough sketch is offered. This man looks to the Unionist Party to conserve certain definite institutions which compose the Constitution in Church and State, such as the Act of Union, the Established Church, and the House of Lords. Now in recent years he has suffered some grave searchings of heart; his loyalty has been sorely tried, and although he and some of his kind have voted for their Party as usual, he has not worked for it as of old. And there is a vast difference between working and merely voting. Having no great faith in mere book-learning, he rightly or wrongly feels that he has been sacrificed to the educational busybody by Mr. Balfour's Education Act; and in the country districts he deeply resents having the rates sharply raised to provide instruction—quite a different thing from education—of a kind calculated to discourage the children from remaining on the land.

But with regard to Parliament itself, a succession of far worse shocks was in store for him. If he did not think his member of Parliament infallible, he was proud of him for serving his country and his constituency without drawing a salary. The unpaid public service of this country was one of the fine hallmarks of the Anglo-Saxon race. The plain Tory, however, had an uncomfortable feeling that the Unionist opposition to the payment of members of Parliament was lukewarm, and that some members even held heterodox opinions with regard to this article of faith.

He is uneasily waiting to hear his leader declare in favour of abolishing the salary. When from the Unionist Benches in the House of Lords it was actually proposed to tamper with the hereditary peerage he felt a mild shock of surprise, but dismissed the proposal from his mind with the reflection that although the peers were playing with fire, they were probably only amusing themselves, and that the Reform of the House of Lords would be sure to go into their lordships well-filled waste-paper basket. But he was sadly rattled when he began to realise that under the name of Reform the hereditary peerage was in grave danger of being physicked and bled to death by those whom he had every right to count as its best friends. With grave misgiving he saw the Conservative Leader publicly perform a major operation upon the House of Lords amid the thoughtless plaudits of the National Union delegates at Nottingham in November 1910. With a heavy heart he heard or read of Lord Lansdowne giving the death-blow to that hereditary House that the plain Tory had been brought up to cherish and to revere as the rarest specimen in a rare collection of national treasures. The climax was reached in August 1911, when the very House of Lords itself abdicated its functions under pressure of the Crown and Caucus, acting on the advice of the responsible leaders of the so-called Constitutional Party. What, then, is the good of supporting the Unionist Party any longer? Has it not abandoned the hereditary peerage and voted for the Parliament Act? Does its attitude towards payment of members inspire any confidence that the mischievous resolution will be repealed? Is there any fundamental piece of Conservation on which the Conservative Party is in its heart of hearts really sound?

Before considering how the right wing is once more to be rallied, it may be well to consider two separate schools of thought, both undoubtedly existing inside the Party, both containing disciples who cannot be left out of the account, but both, perhaps, rather apt, quite unconsciously, to overstate their own particular view of Unionist policy.

If you were to ask each Unionist candidate what he thought his Party ought to do, you would get many different answers. But it is very probable that these answers would fall mainly into two groups. There would be one group who would be [illegible] by

the belief that Tariff Reform, and "Social Reform" and, in fact, all that which is called "Construction," would have to be carried by the instrumentality of the Constitution in Church and State; that to let go any single particle of the Constitution in order to carry some legislative project would not only be wrong but foolish; that by doing this you do not conciliate your enemies, but only alienate your friends: and therefore for every reason, both moral and tactical, the whole Ark of the Covenant of Toryism must be defended and kept intact at all costs.

The other group would probably maintain that the constructive side of Unionist policy was the real essential of success; that those aspects of Toryism that in a rationalistic age are becoming more and more difficult to defend on the platform might be conveniently thrown to the wolves: that to do a deal about one or two things that a few years ago were held to be sacrosanct is a proceeding that might be indulged in without impropriety; that the vast bulk of the electors are learning to expect more and more material comfort as a result of the vote; that the Unionist Party will never regain power, as it did in former times, by the mistakes of the Radicals, but by its own willingness and ability to improve the condition of the people.

Now the probability is that neither of these groups, taken by itself, is entirely in the right. To say that the Unionist Party will succeed by negation or construction, is the same as saying that some one rides by balance or by grip, or plays the violin by finger or by ear. Every one knows that competency in either horsemanship or fiddling cannot be attained by practising any one method to the exclusion of all others. Mr. Bonar Law in speaking of the Unionist Party in one of his platform speeches reminded us of Burke's fine axiom that: "A good patriot, and a true politician, always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country. A disposition to preserve and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman. Everything else is vulgar in the conception, perilous in the execution." No one will be found to deny the wisdom of this. But in party campaigns there are many [illegible] And there are very strong arguments indeed in favour of [illegible] that the phase we are just entering upon this [illegible] that in which the greater prominence should be given [illegible]

Conservative and Unionist Party to a "disposition to preserve," if it is to remain a Conservative Party at all. It is not overstating the case to say that at least as many people will vote Unionist in order to conserve certain things, and to knock out Mr. George, as from a wild desire to see the Unionists try their hands on our land and social system. More than that, some of these very Conservatives who will work tooth and nail for the Union and Church are not a little alarmed at the marvellous high flights of some of the Social Reformers on their own side. One piece of Conservation that every motive of history, tradition, security, peace, and prosperity compels all Unionists to work for and to bring before their fellow countrymen, is the Unity of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as secured by the Act of Union.

"Yes, my dear fellow, I know all you say is true, but the fact is that people are apathetic about Home Rule, and won't listen to it at a meeting. It might have been all right in your time, but it is bad electioneering nowadays. There is not a vote in it," is very like what one often hears. The answer is, that if opposition to Home Rule is "bad electioneering," then it ought not to be; and even if it is bad electioneering, then it is no excuse for public men, who believe that the repeal of the Union would be fatal to the Empire, to evade their plain duty of awakening the public conscience on this matter. But to put the thing at its lowest, is it really true that the opposition to Home Rule for Ireland is bad electioneering? It is difficult to believe it. It is difficult to believe that the tone and temper of the Nationalist Party towards loyalists in England and Ireland, the material prosperity of Ireland under the Act of Union, and the position that the Government have got themselves into with regard to Ulster, to say nothing of the injustice that the present Bill inflicts on every inhabitant of Great Britain, make up a bad platform. If this is a bad platform, why are the Radicals moving heaven and earth to avoid it? What is Mr. George's land campaign except a despairing effort to distract public attention, if he can, from the Ulster impasse, and, with luck, from the Marconi affair? To accept his invitation to fight on the dunghill on which he seems to be so much at home would be playing his game with a vengeance. No, rather let us put him on the defensive. Let each

Government candidate be plied with questions at every single meeting about Ulster and Marconi, and from our own platform; let us denounce the get-rich-quick Cabinet, instead of letting ourselves be exclusively occupied in a word game about the land, in which we are pretty sure to come off second best. Lord Wolmer has already scored the first palpable hit, and will have the thanks of thousands of Tories keen on the fight for clean government. Nothing succeeds like success. Lord Wolmer has drawn Mr. George, who is never more dangerous than when he keeps his temper, and never more innocuous than when he loses it.

But to return to the Government of Ireland Bill. As this is being written Lord Loreburn's letter suggesting a conference confirms the idea that to tie the Government down to their Home Rule policy during the autumn campaign will embarrass them more than anything else. Lord Loreburn is a sincere Radical, though it must be admitted that his having voted in the House of Lords last July for a Bill, the passage of which he himself says will certainly be followed by serious rioting in the North of Ireland, may seem a little strange, but, for all that, Lord Loreburn stands higher in the estimation of his opponents than do any of his late colleagues, from whom he may be sincerely congratulated at having made his escape. But we need not now enquire too closely into how far Lord Loreburn shares with the rest of the Radical Cabinet responsibility for the present situation. It is enough that the ex-Lord Chancellor admits that if he and his former friends persevere with their Irish policy that "much disturbance may be expected, more widespread and more violent than on any former occasion during our time." In effect he tells the country what every one else—except those Radicals who are so blinded by partisanship and a desire to tide over the next quarter-day that they can see nothing else—has been telling it ever since the passage of the Parliament Act, namely that the Radical Party is heading straight for disaster to themselves and to the public peace. Lord Loreburn will not dignify the disorder that he expects in Ulster by the name of civil war. But that does not matter. His letter, if turned to proper account by Unionist workers, will prove a most damaging blow to all Radical candidates, provided—and provided only—that Unionists

insist on making their opponents face the Home Rule question and do not allow them to ride off in a campaign of class warfare. If the opposition to Home Rule was dead from the platform point of view, Lord Loreburn's letter has made it more alive than it has been for many years. But even if the Radicals had gone straight on and no one in Lord Loreburn's position had been found to acknowledge the iniquity of forcing this measure into law, to say that the average British elector has no concern with, and takes no interest in, the Union between Great Britain and Ireland is a libel upon the intelligence and patriotism of our fellow countrymen. Not only that, the Unionist Party, ever since it was formed, has stood for the policy that its name denotes. Any attempt to trifle with its convictions on this policy would disgust our very best workers and tend to alienate the whole of our permanent supporters whose allegiance has already had more than one severe trial.

Some will say that all this is the old policy of negation, and that a concrete and attractive alternative must be found to Mr. George's land campaign: and that if we lose our hold in the agricultural constituencies of the Midlands and the South we are doomed beyond redemption. We do not know what the land policy of the Unionists will be exactly. But we must assume that it will not be of a more purely vote-catching character in the bad sense than that of Mr. George. If it is, then we deserve to be beaten. But, in the meantime, what of agriculture itself? Most farmers, landowners, agents, auctioneers, and valuers, if asked what would be the best thing to do with agriculture, would say, let it alone. The doctrinaire may, of course, know better than the practical man, but it is doubtful. Of all the good and true things the late Lord Salisbury said, one of the best and the most true was that the two things that most affected agriculture were the weather and the prices, and that the Government could not alter the weather even if they would, and would not alter the prices even if they could. The condition precedent to all agricultural improvement that human agencies can effect is the price of products, and the amount produced by the soil. To manipulate the prices by means of a tariff is Protection, and seems further off than ever. The amount produced by the soil can be increased by modern science, and by a thorough

[illegible] may certainly punish political opponents [illegible] a platform, but will not benefit either the industry or the [illegible]. The Radicals are frightened to death of getting more out of the land, because such an increase will not only not punish the squire, but may actually benefit him. Unionists are also quite coy about anything that might be plausibly presented as likely to benefit a squire, and show some reluctance in saying even a good word for the large estates. Hardly any speeches from Unionists about our land system contain any defence of the landlord, tenant, and labourer system which has existed for so many generations, and has succeeded in tiding over so many bad seasons. Times are bad enough now, but they have been worse, and since the improvement there has been a rise in the position of the labourer. Most people who know anything about agriculture will tell you that if wheat were to remain steady at forty shillings a quarter wages would be bound to rise, and the general position of the labourer improved. Even now, handicapped as he is by the instruction that in childhood is forced upon him by the Government in the National School, there is no bar to a persevering and intelligent labourer getting on and becoming a large farmer, or indeed anything else. Any one who has had to deal with farmers knows that some of them, and those among the very best, have either been labourers themselves or have sprung from the labouring classes. Let these men, the aristocracy of agriculture, have every opportunity. But it is doubtful whether legislation can achieve much. It is the man that counts. And it is hard to expect that Parliament will ever be able to [illegible] out in a country so variable in climate and soil as England a vast number of sealed pattern small-owners, or small-holders [illegible] any Continental analogy. And in talking about the small [illegible] or owner on the plains of France and of Germany it [illegible] forgotten that in these countries, in addition to [illegible] land, there is a deliberate attempt to cultivate [illegible] social consciousness, and to develop mind and [illegible] pulsory military training.

Then there is the question of Woman Suffrage [illegible]

Parties in the face. If any question is at present a non-Party question, surely this is. At any rate it is non-Party in the sense that neither Unionists nor Radicals have officially favoured it. Will either Party ever do so, and if so, which? Or will no woman ever have the Parliamentary vote? If it is granted at all, it will have to be through the agency of one side or the other, even if it is left an open question in the House. Facilities, real facilities will have to be given to it by the Government of the day, although it may go through without the Party Whips being put on. But probability and precedent alike are strongly in favour of one side or another formally adopting Woman Suffrage, and being responsible for its appearance through the medium of a Government Bill, even though the Opposition may not oppose the principle. This is always supposing that one day the Woman's Movement will be strong enough to persuade Parliament to give women the franchise. And it is difficult to suppose that the pressure will not be strong enough. No doubt there is good ground for arguing that militancy has made the cause unpopular. But there is no good ground for asserting that militancy has killed it, and those opponents of Woman Suffrage who think that its advocates will prove its undoing have no cause to feel too comfortable. In the event of the Government of Ireland Bill being carried, the Ulstermen have declared their fixed intention to institute a government on their own account, which is designed to discharge all the functions of a civilised State, such as the collection of taxes, and other matters which Anti-Suffragists say are sanctioned in the last resort by physical force, and therefore inappropriate for the control of what is called the weaker sex. It is said that the Ulster Covenant has been signed by some thousands more women than men. Whether this be so or not, it is a fact that the women of Ulster have worked just as hard as the men to forge weapons to protect their civil and religious liberty in the event of their being driven out of the Constitution, and that these women are going to vote for the Ulster Parliament or Council, should it ever be needed, on the same terms as men. If Woman Suffrage is a lost cause, it is a little remarkable that by the consent of the organisers of the Ulster resistance, the women of Ulster will have access to the ballot-box as well as the men, and it is certainly worthy of attention that the whole

Ulster Campaign presents as an alternative to a Dublin Parliament a new government possessing far greater powers than any local body has ever possessed, quite independent of the British Government, and elected by both sexes. Examples can be cited from among peoples who are sprung from the same stock and speak the same language as ourselves, to show the rapidity with which the Woman's Movement over the seas has gained the vote. It is not unduly straining the argument to say that the balance of evidence is in favour of the ultimate success of the promoters of Woman Suffrage. There may be some who will say that in these islands the Parliamentary franchise for women is not in the nature of things, and they will never get it. If these thinkers are in the right, then no power on earth can bring it about, and they have therefore nothing to fear from its advocacy. But if they have made a mistake, then Woman Suffrage must be placed in the list, we all know so well, of things that are "bound to come." Now it is at once conceded that there is no argument more futile and irritating than to say that a thing is "bound to come." It does not offer the slightest excuse for not opposing anything that one believes to be damaging to the national cause, and that one feels would bring disaster to the country. But if any one does not go so far as this, and would be willing to concede Woman Suffrage on certain terms, being not opposed root and branch to the whole principle, had he not better consider—if indeed he thinks that its being granted is only a matter of time—whether he will not be well advised to take a hand in granting it in such a way as to be the most humanly likely to strengthen his own cause? This position is open to all Unionists. There is no certainty that a newly enfranchised class will vote, even at a first Election, for the Government that gives them the vote. But if a new class or sex is to be enfranchised at all, it may well be wise to enfranchise only such numbers of them who are the most likely to support Conservative principles than to allow the Radicals to enfranchise huge masses of an emotional proletariat, who may be relied upon at the first intent to become the prey of the demagogue. Nor is there anything in the removal of the sex disqualification that does not consort with Tory principles. Lord Beaconsfield, the late Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Bonar Law have all been in favour of it. [illegible]

the removal be a vindication of the sound Tory or National principle that no one has any rights as man or woman unless they have done something to deserve them; but that all citizens should qualify to take part in government, and having qualified, should then be privileged by the performance of duty, rather than by being simple mortals. The qualification is thin enough already—far too thin, maybe; but it exists, and there is wide difference between the present system and the system of Manhood Suffrage, which is based on a different theory altogether. The Radical Party, most of whom are pledged to Woman Suffrage, is heading straight for Universal Suffrage. The Unionists may well consider whether they had better not be first in the field.

WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

DEMAGOGUE OF DUNDEE: WINDBAG OF WHITEHALL

Two years have passed since, as the result of a Cabinet intrigue, Mr. McKenna was unceremoniously ejected from the Admiralty by Mr. Winston Churchill. The real reason for this sudden and astonishing change was the panic which had seized the Government when it discovered that in the Morocco crisis of 1911 the Navy was unready and indifferently organised for war. But it was a fine stroke of Mr. Asquith's irony to place in charge of that great force the politician who, more than any other of his colleagues with the sole exception of Mr. Lloyd George, had contributed to its unreadiness by consistently opposing every proposal for strengthening the Fleet. It was knowledge of this fact that prevented those who followed naval events closely from joining in the plaudits with which fatuous Unionists greeted Mr. Churchill's new appointment. His first acts as an administrator are still fresh in the public mind. He changed the Admiralty from top to bottom. He placed himself in the limelight. He filled the air with speeches in which he boasted of what he would do, and warned Germany that if she increased her fleet he would add largely to the British margin of superiority. There would be no "whining," he told the public. The Admiralty would go ahead. In fact, he talked so loud and big that simpletons took his words for deeds and imagined that now at last British supremacy would be placed beyond doubt or question.

Two years is time enough for the tree to have brought forth its fruits, if it had any to bear. Mr. Churchill has been granted a free hand by the Unionist Press, and he has been treated with a generosity by the Unionist Party which is hardly distinguishable from treason to the State. Yet he has failed signally to carry out his own promises, and he has not maintained the

standards which he has himself set up and pronounced indispensable to our security. In three directions his failure has been complete, with the result that the safety of the nation is gravely imperilled. He has failed to maintain the standard of strength in shipbuilding. He has failed to provide in the North Sea a fleet which shall be superior in instantly ready ships to the German forces. He has failed to respond to the new and enormous programmes of Germany's allies, and has committed to chance, and the hope that in the critical hour France will come to our aid at sea, Britain's vast interests in the Mediterranean.

First as to the standard of strength. In his speech introducing the Navy Estimates of 1912-13, Mr. Churchill pointed out that the strength of the British Fleet must be relative to the forces it had to meet, and must largely exceed them. There is "no parity of risk," he said, "between Britain and her chief rival, Germany."

> Our position is highly artificial. We are fed from the sea; we are an unarmed people; we possess a very small Army; we are the only Power in Europe which does not possess a large army. We cannot menace the independence or the vital interest of any great Continental state. . . . We stand as a nation on the defensive. It is inconceivable that we should make a surprise attack upon Germany. . . . We have no means of following up such an attack, even if it were successful. (March 18, 1912. Hansard, 35, 1553.)

Britain, being thus relegated to the defensive and unable to choose the moment for war, must

> have a sufficient margin to be able to meet at our average moment the naval force of an attacking Power at their selected moment. . . . We must never so conduct our affairs that the Navy of any single Power would be able to engage us at any single moment, even at our least favourable moment, with any reasonable prospect of success. (Hansard, 35, 1554.)

The standard which Mr. Churchill set up was not that of two to one against the next strongest Power—the standard which has the support of history, since it was, in fact, maintained by Britain throughout the nineteenth century. It was not superiority to the two next strongest naval Powers—a standard which was first enunciated by Fox and accepted as the rule by British Governments down to 1905, when the Liberal Party entered office. It was not superiority to the Triple Alliance, an actually existing combination, though the high authority of Admiral Mahan can be invoked in favour of such a formula. It was not

simple and intelligible to all, so that the man in the street could see for himself whether it was being observed. It was below any of the standards of the past and singularly involved and complicated. The British Admiralty, Mr. Churchill declared in March 1912, in recent years had made its actual standard this—"to develop a 60 per cent. superiority in vessels of the 'Dreadnought' type over the German navy on the basis of the existing (German) fleet law," which was that of 1908. But in addition to this 60 per cent. superiority two ships would be provided for each "Dreadnought" that Germany might add to her programme as fixed by the Navy Act of 1908; and as the British pre-"Dreadnoughts" gradually declined in fighting value some undisclosed number of "Dreadnoughts" must be laid down to make good the superiority which Britain possessed in these older vessels as against Germany. Further, in July 1912, he intimated that if another considerable naval programme was taken in hand by one of the Mediterranean Powers, it would necessitate fresh measures. Finally, he announced that there were "other and higher standards" than the 60 per cent. superiority for smaller vessels. In March 1913, he declared that any ships provided by the Dominions "are additional to the requirements of the 60 per cent. standard."

The German force of "Dreadnoughts" will number twenty-six in 1916, when the ships laid down this year are complete, and one of these ships is additional to the programme as fixed by the German fleet law of 1908, requiring under Mr. Churchill's formula two British ships to meet it. Thus, to fulfil Mr. Churchill's standard and to give what he has described as "the minimum consistent with safety," the British Force should stand as follows:

	British Ships.
60 per cent. superiority over the 25 "Dreadnoughts" of the German 1908 Act .	40
2 to 1 superiority against the German "Dreadnought" added in 1912 . .	2
	42

The number which Mr. Churchill is actually providing is thirty-nine, three short of his own figures, three short of his own standard, though there is unfortunately every reason to doubt the adequacy of that standard. He is giving the nation a margin of [illegible], not 60 per cent. And this is the more serious because according to his own statements a minimum margin of 60 per cent. is required

for work in the North Sea. Either, then, this minimum standard of "Dreadnoughts" cannot be maintained in home waters, or else every single modern British armoured ship must be withdrawn from the Mediterranean.

In battleships, then, Mr. Churchill has not "made good" his promises. The situation of the Navy in destroyers is as bad or even worse. Of destroyers Germany has laid down or launched in the last ten years 116, to a British figure of 162, so that the British advantage is slightly less than 40 per cent., whereas by Mr. Churchill's formula it should be more than 60 per cent. Judged by his own formulas, Mr. Churchill is not maintaining the standard or giving the British Navy the very minimum of force which is necessary for the nation's safety. He is sacrificing the elements of naval power which make least show for those which can most easily be paraded upon paper. Our weakness in destroyers hazards the safety of our battleship squadrons in war and leaves the coast towns of the United Kingdom open to raids, of the danger of which the recent naval manœuvres has given some faint conception. What are we to think of a First Lord who meets a German programme of twelve destroyers with sixteen British vessels, after he has announced that a margin of more than 60 per cent. is necessary? Yet this was the action of Mr. Churchill this year. He has attempted to excuse his conduct by telling the country that the sixteen destroyers are of a very costly type and that the small fast cruiser and the submarine are trenching upon the rôle of the destroyer. But his own standard was one of numbers, and he cannot be allowed, after he has deliberately laid it down, light-heartedly to depart from it.

The standard of 60 per cent. or more than 60 per cent. has, then, not been maintained in either battleships or destroyers. That is to say the Admiralty under Mr. Churchill is content to build a smaller number of ships than it has declared to be requisite. It has not provided "the minimum essential for safety." It is making no sort of provision for the rapid decline in fighting power of our pre-"Dreadnoughts." It has not increased its precautions with the decline in numbers of our land forces or the increase in the German army, which is proceeding on so gigantic a scale, concurrently with the development of the German navy.

It has taken no notice of and closed its eyes to the new programmes of the Mediterranean Powers. It has neglected the wider needs of Imperial defence outside the North Sea; and relatively to other Powers our naval strength is declining with portentous speed.

If the gross strength of the Navy as determined by the Admiralty standards is insufficient, then there is an antecedent probability that the force maintained in commission with full crews will be inadequate. For its strength necessarily depends on the gross force available. The German strength of fully manned ships under the organisation established by the German Navy Act of 1912 is thus stated by Mr. Churchill:

> 25 battleships, plus 4 reserve battleships, fully manned.
> 8 battle cruisers or large armoured cruisers.
> 18 small cruisers.
> 99 destroyers.
> 54 submarines. [July 22, 1912. Hansard. 41. 102.]

This force, in his own words, is to be "instantly and constantly ready," prepared to strike without any dependence on a preliminary mobilisation. The German navy, in a word, is to be kept permanently on a war footing. This is the more serious because, as I have to repeat by Mr. Churchill's own statement, this country must be prepared to meet at its average or most unfavourable moment the onset of this fleet at its selected, or most favourable moment. Consequently the British Navy must also be maintained on a war footing, with its fleets ready to parry the blow, which may be delivered when it is least expected. It is therefore amazing to discover that Mr. Churchill proposes to leave the British Navy with an actual inferiority in instantly ready battleships and without any superiority in instantly ready destroyers. The fully manned battleships* of the Home Fleet under his organisation will number thirty-seven in 1914, when he expects the German organisation to be complete in battleships and to attain the totals provided under the Act of 1912. Of these thirty-seven, eight will be stationed at Gibraltar, and by no stretch of the imagination can be reckoned as instantly ready in the North Sea. Four more are gunnery ships, detached to the naval ports, and cannot be counted as constantly present with

* In addition there will be twelve older battleships with half crews which cannot be regarded as "instantly ready" at the "most unfavourable moment."

the Fleet. Thus the net strength in fully manned battleships available at our most unfavourable moment falls to twenty-five, or to twenty-nine, if by stretching the probabilities we assume that the gunnery ships will always be ready and that not one single vessel is absent from the Fleet docking or undergoing refit. The German force, as has been seen, is twenty-nine, assuming that not one single German ship has been specially mobilised in secret.

There is another point of weakness in this organisation. Mr. Churchill has stated:

> We came to the conclusion some time ago that the minimum standard of "Dreadnoughts" which should be maintained in home waters should be three to two as compared with Germany. (March 31, 1913. Hansard. 51. 86.)

He has placed the German strength in "Dreadnoughts" in 1914 at sixteen battleships and five battle cruisers, all of which will be maintained in full commission. Since he spoke, however, the German Admiralty has decided to station a German battle cruiser in the Mediterranean. Thus the German force in the summer of next year will rise to twenty "Dreadnoughts" in the North Sea, and to fulfil Mr. Churchill's "minimum standard" of three to two we shall require thirty "Dreadnoughts" in the North Sea. The total number completed for the British Navy at that date will be thirty-one, even if we count the *New Zealand* as a British ship. Of these thirty-one, one is to act as the flagship at Gibraltar and four will be stationed at Malta. This leaves only twenty-six "Dreadnoughts" for Home waters. Instead of three to two the British force will stand at five to four; instead of possessing an advantage of 50 per cent. in numbers, it will have a superiority of only 30 per cent., in a word, such an advantage as might quite conceivably be destroyed in a single night by a single daring and successful torpedo attack, such as the Japanese unexpectedly delivered at Port Arthur. Yet Mr. Churchill has said:

> Small margins of safety would mean in the present state of the world a vigilance at the naval ports little removed from a state of war. It would involve a strain on officers and men, intolerable if it were prolonged. It would mean a continual atmosphere of suspicion and alarm. . . . It would mean that . . . we should be forced into a series of questionable entanglements and committed to action of the gravest character not because we thought it right, but as a result of the bargains necessitated by our naval weakness. (March 26, 1912. Hansard, 35. 1777.)

To all these dangers, after stating them with such admirable precision, Mr. Churchill has committed this country during the coming year and the next quinquennium as the result of his policy of bounce and brag accompanied by pitifully inadequate action.

How utterly insufficient is the margin of force provided for use in Home waters and maintained in a condition of instant readiness can be seen from the operations of the last two years' manœuvres. In 1912 the defending or British Admiral, Prince Louis of Battenberg, was given a force of twenty-nine battleships and battle cruisers, as against eighteen assigned to his opponent, Admiral Sir G. Callaghan, who represented the German Admiral. The British preponderance was thus slightly over 60 per cent. Yet the British Fleet was unable to protect the coast of this country or prevent the movement of a strong force of hostile battle cruisers into the Atlantic. The hostile fleet, under the rules which obtained, and starting with disadvantages which would not affect the German navy in war, was able to land a force, theoretically placed at 28,000 men, on the Yorkshire coast. Yet the defending fleet was not surprised, and knew that an attack was to be expected. War in this instance did not arrive "with awful suddenness." Again, in July last, the same test of the Fleet was carried out. On this occasion Admiral Sir George Callaghan commanded the British, or defending, Fleet, and Admiral Sir J. Jellicoe, the attacking, or German, force. The British strength in battleships and battle cruisers was twenty-eight to the hostile eighteen, a British preponderance of 55 per cent. Again the attacking Admiral was generally successful. Raids were carried out against the Humber and the Northumbrian coast, and forces, which are hypothetically placed at any figure between 48,000 and 60,000 men, were landed. Enormous damage was inflicted in theory. The defending force was everywhere too weak, and the enemy was able to do much what he listed. And this, too, though the British Admiral's margin of strength was twice that which he will possess in actual war, if hostilities come under Mr. Churchill's conditions, at the enemy's selected moment and at our unfavourable moment.

The *Times* Military correspondent, who has pointed out these awkward facts, has been rebuked by the Blue Water theorists on the ground that in war the conditions would have been far more

favourable to the British forces. But as the ports which were attacked are not seriously fortified in time of peace, and as troops are not stationed at them in any strength, it is difficult to admit the justice of this excuse for the British defeat. If war comes with the same extraordinary suddenness as the Italian attack on Tripoli, to take only one recent example, there will be no time to provide fortifications or to concentrate troops, even if we possessed them in sufficient number. Nor can the British Fleet start with the same margin of strength which the defending Admiral enjoyed in the manœuvres. There are inherent disadvantages in the defensive at sea, where a country with an unarmed population, dependent for its very existence upon food brought from oversea, has to be protected. And these are complicated and aggravated by the absence of coast defences and secure bases along our North Sea front. To overcome these disadvantages it is certain that an immense preponderance of force is required. It is equally certain that a preponderance of 30 per cent. in modern ships is quite inadequate, yet that is all that we shall be able to muster next year or in the following years, unless we are prepared to surrender our Mediterranean interests and allow the fleets of the Triple Alliance in that sea to work their will. To such a pass has Mr. Churchill brought us.

There remains Mr. Churchill's failure to make provision for British needs in the Mediterranean. Here he has pursued a policy which is inexplicable on any other assumption than that the strength of the Navy is quite inadequate. In the spring of 1912 he suddenly withdrew the entire battleship force from that sea, leaving its defence to a few old ships. Forthwith a natural outcry arose, for through the Mediterranean communication with India, Australia and New Zealand is maintained, and one half the cereal supply of this country passes. On this, after much going to and fro, Mr. Churchill altered his attitude, and characteristically made promises which he has not yet carried out. On July 22, 1912, he told the House of Commons that four battle cruisers would be sent to Malta "in the winter" of 1912–13. The winter passed and only one battle cruiser reached Malta. It is now October 1913, and the four battle cruisers are not there. A second went out early this summer; a third after the manœuvres; and the fourth cannot be spared

from Home till the *New Zealand* returns. Even when the plans of the Admiralty for 1914 are complete, the force stationed at Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean will number only five "Dreadnoughts," two "Lord Nelsons," and some older ships of rapidly decreasing fighting value. The "Dreadnoughts" will be the weakest vessels of that type which we possess. The "Dreadnought" force of the Triple Alliance at present in the Mediterranean consists of one German battle cruiser, one Italian battleship of great power, and two Austrian ships of corresponding force. Moreover Austria has three ships of the "Lord Nelson" type, and both Italy and Austria possess a number of pre-"Dreadnoughts." But next year the Italian force will rise to four "Dreadnoughts" and the Austrian to three, while the German battle-cruiser will remain, giving the Triple Alliance eight ships of this type, every one of which is individually superior in battery and broadside to the five British units.*

Both Italy and Austria have definitely taken in hand additional programmes since Mr. Churchill announced that any such departure would necessitate fresh measures on Great Britain's part. The Italian Admiralty since the beginning of 1912 has obtained the consent of the Italian Parliament for the construction of four additional battleships of the largest size. As great delays have occurred in the completion of certain of its ships, voted under earlier programmes, it has taken steps to ensure punctual delivery of its new vessels in the future, and secured large credits for their construction. Hereafter the Italian ships are to be completed rapidly and to date, so that we cannot count on any recurrence of the past delays. In Austria, while a new naval programme has not been formally submitted to the Delegations, it is known that three additional battleships are to be built. The procedure of laying ships down and then obtaining Parliamentary consent for their construction was adopted by the Austrian Government in the case of its last programme, so that we have no security that it is not being repeated. As the result of these developments, and of the completion of earlier programmes, the strength of the Triple Alliance in the Mediterranean will rise to eleven "Dreadnoughts" in 1915; and probably to [illegible] in 1916. By 1916 Italy alone will possess eight, and [illegible]

* Broadside of the British *Indefatigable*, 6800 lb.; of the Italian *C*[illegible]

ten, "Dreadnoughts" ready for sea, superior in every respect individually to the five British ships which are at present detailed for service in the south of Europe. Sir Edward Grey has stated that our diplomatic necessities require a fleet superior in strength to either of the Mediterranean allies of Germany, so that the minimum of our needs in 1916 would be nine "Dreadnoughts" of the most powerful type.

Three of those "Dreadnoughts" would have been provided by Canada had not Mr. Borden's proposal been rejected by the Canadian Senate. The *Malaya*, as Mr. Churchill stated in March of this year, was with the *New Zealand*, to have been attached to the Canadian ships in 1916, when they were complete, and stationed at Gibraltar, so that the British force of "Dreadnoughts" in the south of Europe would have risen to ten in 1916. This, allowing for the inferiority in gun power of the *New Zealand* and our older "Dreadnoughts" to the Italian ships, would have been not a single ship too much for Sir Edward Grey's needs. How extreme is the emergency, how dire the need of the Canadian ships can be seen from the official memorandum which the Admiralty submitted last year to the Canadian Government. But the Canadian ships have miscarried, and Mr. Churchill has not attempted to fill their place. He stated on March 31, 1913:

> It is necessary to make it clear that the three ships now under discussion in Canada are absolutely required from 1916 onwards for the whole world defence of the British Empire, apart altogether from the needs of Great Britain in Home waters, that they will play a real part in the defence of the Empire: and that, if they fail, a gap will be opened to fill which further sacrifices will have to be made without undue delay by others. [Hansard, 51. 87.]

All that Mr. Churchill has done has been to accelerate by six months the construction of three ships voted in this year's British programme. This does not permanently increase the British strength. It simply means that three ships which would have been ready in any circumstances in April 1916, will now be ready in October 1915. It is the half-measure of a politician who does not venture to ask his own Party for the money which, he knows, is required, even though Canada might repay the expenditure. Moreover there is no possibility of "filling the gap" before the critical date arrives. The House of Commons will not [illegible]

till February next year. Its consent must be secured if any additional ships are to be laid down by the British Government, and in the congested state of our shipbuilding yards, those ships could not be completed in less than thirty months. That is to say they could not be in the Mediterranean before August 1916.

In the Mediterranean, then, Mr. Churchill is not providing for the "absolute requirements" of the Empire, to use his own phrase. On the last occasion upon which he addressed the House of Commons on naval questions, he pleaded a new excuse—the immense cost which would be involved, were the Government to maintain its own standard and build ships for the Mediterranean. He also alleged that the liabilities which the Admiralty has accumulated are beyond the physical possibility of discharge. It would not, he asserted, be possible to build on the scale required. In that case, as all the foreign programmes are going forward steadily and there are already signs of a fresh naval agitation in Germany, the British Navy must continue to regress until defeat becomes absolutely certain and our existing international friendships and alliances are lost. A weak Power cannot expect allies to do its fighting for it and save its politicians and people the trouble of exerting themselves.

Thus, as the result of two years of bounce and "bluff" and perpetual changes in the personnel of the Admiralty and the organisation of the Fleet, the Navy and the nation have been deluded and betrayed. Mr. Churchill has meddled with everything, interfered in technical matters, browbeaten the real experts, treated First Sea Lords as though they were his flunkeys, and made himself a sort of petty despot at Whitehall. Tried by the standards which he has himself set up he has provided an inadequate force and failed to maintain Britain's position at sea. He has chopped and changed his policy till no one knows what it really is. In a word, after two years of office he stands revealed as the demagogue of Dundee and the windbag of Whitehall.

NAVALIS.

THE ULSTER LEADER

Those who know Sir Edward Carson, even those who have only met him occasionally, will, one and all, agree that he possesses three characteristics in a marked degree—extraordinary courage, unbounded perseverance, and exceptional kindness of heart. Other sterling qualities I could enumerate—qualities without which no man can rise above his fellows, in the best sense of the phrase. But these are sufficient here: indeed, to go further would be unnecessary, as my one and only object is to show that the present occasion—the Irish crisis—has produced the ideal leader.

The old adage, "Like father, like son," is, nine cases out of ten, correct. One might well say, too, "Like youth, like man." This is certainly true as regards Sir Edward Carson.

As to personal courage, it is not sufficiently realised that he comes of a fighting stock; his mother was a Lambert, a descendant of the great General Lambert who fought so splendidly under Cromwell. There has been many another soldier in the family since, though less well known. This, in a great measure, accounts for Sir Edward Carson's fighting instinct, which has shown itself not only at the Bar but in these latter months, as leader of the Ulster Loyalists. I have said: Like youth, like man. And that is certainly correct in this particular instance, for at school Sir Edward Carson had many a rough and tumble, and that, for choice, with boys his superiors in strength and size. He invariably won the day. On one occasion—it was after a cricket match, I think—a dispute arose about some small matter, which eventually led to words. One of the opposition team, a man almost, was particularly objectionable, so much so that Sir Edward Carson challenged him to fight. In a few minutes they were hard at it, for all they were worth. Both suffered a

good deal, but the bigger boy got as much as he gave and was glad to stop.

And this spirit of combativeness is as the links of a chain that run through and connect every period, private or otherwise, of Sir Edward Carson's career. It never breaks. Not that he is aggressive, cantankerous, or overbearing for the mere pleasure of being so—nothing could be further from the truth. But there is in his heart a deep sense of what is fair and just, and having satisfied himself that a hardship exists or that there is an evil which needs rooting out, he will set his whole mind to so doing, and no power on earth will induce him to alter his determination or change his course by a hair's breadth. In this respect compromise is a word—applied to political warfare—that he detests. Either a thing is right or wrong; there is no half-way house where his conscience can accept hospitality. I could quote dozens of instances to support this statement. Take, for instance, the question of the Parliament Act. Sir Edward Carson opposed it, root and branch: he was, indeed, one of the prime movers in trying to defeat it. In short, to use the colloquial phrase of the day, he was a full-blooded "ditcher," and as such he fought the Bill from the very outset. Many of his colleagues differed from him; they, so to speak, "boxed the compass," and that on the ground of tactics. But Sir Edward Carson would have nothing whatever to do with such methods. He was absolutely convinced that the measure was destructive of our Constitutional foundations; that it was the first step to the descent of a bottomless pit, and that principles were at stake which far outweighed party advantages. Accordingly, he threw the whole weight of his energy, experience, and resource into the struggle, oblivious of the consequences.

Again, his attitude was precisely the same on a certain occasion in the House of Commons; he formed one opinion, his leader another. At loggerheads with Mr. Balfour and the rest of the Party, he fought them tooth and nail. As a result he was a political outcast for some months, during which time he received no Whips. But he cared not at all—and, be it remembered, that this was at a time when he was singled out for high office—he had convinced himself that he had taken the right course; nothing else mattered. Ambitious men not invariably take their cue

to Party winds. Sir Edward Carson has never done that, for the sole reason that ambition scarcely enters into the scheme of his existence. It is true he is not entirely without it; but when principles conflict with self-advancement there is no question but that the latter must be put on one side. But whatever may have been his future dreams, there is no doubt that long before he took up practice at the English Bar he had made a name for himself in Ireland.

During his youthful days in Dublin, life's struggles were severe indeed. To begin with, he married very early, and that on an income that to many a youth to-day would be but pocket-money. Money, however, never has been a serious consideration in his life—it was the oil that assisted the wheels to run smoother, that was all. And so, with a wife to whom he was devoted, and who used to share his toil and encourage him by her presence, he would work at his briefs—that were few and far between—night after night until the early hours. His first was a great event. It was quite a small case, but he won it, and as a result a day with his wife in the country followed, when all sorts of similar expeditions were planned—expeditions they were to enjoy together when his work should increase. It did increase, but slowly. At the same time there was always the deep conviction that the time would come—indeed, that it must come—when success would be assured.

I have no intention of writing more than the briefest sketch of Sir Edward Carson's career; it would be out of place to do so at present. Accordingly, in a few pages one is obliged to leave out much of interest—much that would add to a life already aglow with splendid work done at the Bar, as also in politics.

As regards the latter, it was during Mr. Balfour's Chief Secretaryship in Ireland that he first really made a name for himself. In those days, as every one knows, Ireland was racked with discontent: the agitator, the moonlighter, the Fenian were abroad; murder and cattle-maiming were everywhere. The Crimes Act was brought in and was rigorously enforced. Then it was that, in conducting prosecutions for the Crown, in the face of the most violent opposition and in the most disturbed districts, "Mr. Carson"—as he then was—showed of what "stuff" he was really made. Very soon even the most lawless learned to

not and fear him. Week after week, month after month, he ...alled through the country prosecuting those arrested for ...e. He carried his life in his hands, and but for the fact ...—much against his wishes—he was shadowed night and day, ...e is very little doubt but that he would have been shot. ...re was no lack of threatening letters; the usual postcards ... skull and cross-bones; model coffins; the boycott of men ... dared to speak to him; open threats. But all left him ...olutely callous and unmoved. His duty was to prosecute, ... the more he was threatened the more he clenched his teeth ... "carried on." On one occasion during the exercise of his ...k he received a cypher telegram from the Castle, recalling ... to Dublin; at another time, instructions to discontinue a ...ain prosecution. He disregarded both, convinced that they ...e forgeries. He was right: both came from Nationalist ...rters. Indeed, so threatening did matters become during ... trial that an attempt was made to break up the Court, and ... close upon five minutes the young prosecutor stood at the ...le, a revolver in his hand, ready to shoot.

Such incidents, and they were of almost daily occurrence, ...ld have been enough to bend a nerve of iron. Oddly enough, ...y had the exactly opposite effect here. Intimidations, threats, ...aned assaults, only hardened his determination to do or die. ... enemies soon realised this. Now courage, especially to an ...hman, is the most attractive of all qualities, and in this respect ... Irish agitator and law-breaker very soon learnt to respect .... One day—I forget exactly where—when, as the result ... stormy trial, some half-dozen men had been convicted and ...tenced, the crowd outside the Court-house became more ...n usually violent, so much so that the "Crown Prosecutor" ... strongly advised by the constabulary on duty to leave by ... back entrance. Shillalahs and stones were in the air; curses ...l vengeance were the order of the hour; a serious riot seemed ...minent. "Mr. Carson" from the Court window watched the ...m, absolutely unmoved. Again and again he was urged to ...ry away; the police could not be responsible for his safety. ...last he consented. But it was not by the back door that he ...k his departure. As he told the official on duty, "the King's ...hway was made for all, and by it he would go or not at all."

Then followed the most extraordinary scene. The Court door opened, and the object of all the excitement walked down the steps with nothing but a stick in his hand. Just for a few moments it looked as though a "rush" was to be made. Of a sudden, however, execrations gave place to a long-drawn murmur; then to a partial silence, during which a passage mysteriously opened in the crowd, by which "Mr. Carson" made his way to the hotel—untouched. An eye-witness, one who had been present at some of the worst riots in Ireland, described the scene as something approaching the miraculous. The howling, infuriated mob, thirsting for vengeance, breaking like a rough sea on the steps of the Court-house, where a line of constabulary guarded the door; the windows on all sides filled with shrieking women and children; the wild brandishing of sticks; the showers of stones; the mad struggles with the police. And then from the Court-house door the spare figure of "Mr. Carson" steps out, his face pale, as always, with deep-set eyes and determined chin. For a few seconds he scans the scene, as a captain would the storm clouds, before weighing anchor. The mob recognise him, and the shouts, "To hell with Carson," are met with a half cynical, half defiant look, which seems to cow and disarm. Then a brief silence follows; he walks down the steps and away, through the very midst of his pursuers.

It is on such occasions that a strong man shows himself; that a leader is recognised. Sir Edward Carson is both, and however much the Nationalist members may differ from him politically, one and all admire him—many are devoted to him. Not so many months ago, after an important debate in the Commons, during which Sir Edward Carson had delivered one of his very best fighting speeches, a group of members were discussing in the lobby as to which would make the better leader, Sir Edward Carson or Sir Rufus Isaacs. "I should be prepared to hunt tigers with Carson," said one of them; "as to the other—I wouldn't hunt cats with him!"

But, in addition to his inordinate courage, Sir Edward Carson has a fund of perseverance that is quite abnormal. Once he has taken a thing in hand he never draws rein until it is finished. And in this respect, I remember his saying to me that in the affairs of life so very few men ever finish out the race—[illegible]

the last hundred yards," as he expressed it. That is very true. There is no indication, however, judging by the past, that the Ulster Leader will fail here. From the very outset of his career it has been one long drag against the collar. He worked very hard at College, and, on leaving, worked even more indefatigably, as I have said, at the Irish Bar. For the first few years he simply devoured law books, night and day. When later on an occasional brief was offered to him, no matter how trifling the case, he worked at it as though his whole existence depended on the result. For months together he would not stir outside Dublin; and sometimes, for days, not even outside his small lodgings. And so things continued for several years, until at last his position and his future were assured. No man ever worked harder or more indefatigably, and, be it quite understood, the incentive was not the love of money; that never has been the end of his life's scheme. He worked with all his might and main, because, as to-day, failure is inconsistent with his nature; because whatever he takes up he must perforce carry through successfully; because, where there is a goal, by sheer force of character and ability he reaches it. As a boy there was some idea of his entering the Church. If he had there is little doubt—as a well-known statesman once remarked—he would most certainly have become a bishop.

Since the day when Sir Edward Carson began to practise at the English Bar, as also from the day that he entered the House of Commons, his powers of endurance have been taxed to the utmost. Here again, perseverance and iron determination have won the day.

It is not too much to say that his is the most striking personality in both spheres at the present time. As regards his profession, as is well known, there is no one more eagerly sought after. Fortunately, too, few men can work at greater speed or at such high pressure, or possess the extraordinary facility of arriving at the heart of a case quicker. But for this fact his legal work would be overpowering. As it is, things are hard enough; and this despite the fact that he has always made it an invariable rule never to take up two cases at one and the same time.

As at the Bar, so in politics, everything is done thoroughly;

there are no "half-measures." Thus Sir Edward Carson's political career is stamped with the same hall-mark as his legal career. From the very day of his first speech in the House—which, by the bye, Mr. Chamberlain said was the best and most damaging attack he had ever listened to in a "maiden" speech—his duties in Parliament and the country have been as unswervingly performed as his work in the Law Courts. And all this—during several years past—despite the most indifferent health and at times, physical pain; and, latterly, a great domestic sorrow, the most heartrending of his life. I have said that the Ulster Leader possesses unbounded perseverance; is further evidence needed? Life for him is, and always has been, a struggle, engaged in not from any sordid motive, but rather from a sense of duty, as also for the love of overcoming difficulties and dangers—which is his second nature. With him, as Shakespeare says: "Things done are won; Joy's Soul lies in the doing." But as with all leaders of men, though courage and determination are essential characteristics, if the power to attract—the magnetic personality—is lacking, failure is inevitable. And herein lies in great part the secret of Sir Edward Carson's success. In the first place, though he can be uncompromising, sarcastic and frigid, beneath it all there is the kindest heart in the world, and a charm of manner that is irresistible. This to a great extent is the reason of his extraordinary popularity with every one in Ulster—and everywhere else for that matter! Unlike most men and like all great personalities, conceit, superiority, or whatever is understood by the word "side," is quite beyond his comprehension. He will talk to the "man in the street" with as much interest and charm of manner as to the greatest in the land. Here he is indeed no respecter of persons. And all this comes from a kindness of heart that is the very essence of his nature. I have rarely, too, met any one who was more modest, or who possessed so limited an appreciation of his capabilities. Whenever he puts foot in Ulster he is fêted and received everywhere as though he were a king. Most men would regard this—and not unnaturally—as a personal tribute. Not so Sir Edward Carson; it never strikes him in that way. He sees in the tempest of cheers that greet him; the myriad hands eager to grasp his own; the ever-[illegible] signs of devotion and confidence, nothing [illegible]

less than an outward expression of loyalty to the King; an inviolable determination to remain at all costs and at all hazards within the Union of Great Britain. "When I see these crowds of men and women," he said to me one day, "ready to give up everything, prepared to meet any danger, I feel how utterly insignificant are my small efforts as compared with their own." The fact that he makes well-nigh a hundred speeches a month; that all his time is now given up to Ulster; that his legal work is practically at a standstill—which is, of course, a great financial sacrifice—never strikes him as anything at all. Others are doing the work! others deserve the credit! he can only make speeches! and not very inspiring ones at that! This is his view of the situation.

I shall never forget a mass meeting he addressed in Glasgow at the end of last year. The great hall, that holds at least six thousand people, was packed to overflowing; it was the last speech of the Ulster campaign, and the Leader was at his best. His voice, always sympathetic, was richer and deeper—owing, no doubt, to the fatigue of the recent campaign. In a very few minutes he had the audience in his grasp; their attention was rapt. Every now and then enthusiasm broke loose; they rose to their feet, cheering again and again, to the waving of hundreds of small Union Jacks. Then he would motion them to sit down, and the speech continued. At last the end came. In a few brief sentences he reminded those present that the men of Ulster were of the same flesh and blood as themselves; that they had always been loyal and faithful subjects of his Majesty the King; and that he would never believe that the men of Glasgow would allow their own kith and kin to be driven out of the Union. The words were uttered with such depth of feeling, such confident assurance and heartfelt gratitude, that hundreds were moved to tears. Then the entire audience rose to its feet, and expressed its sympathy in cheers that lasted for close upon five minutes. And this is not a solitary instance of Sir Edward Carson's powers of oratory. Whenever Ulster and the Union are his theme he touches the heart of his audience, rousing them to a pitch of enthusiasm that is almost incredible. And the strange thing is that, despite such gifts of oratory, I doubt whether there is a single member in the House of Commons who dislikes speaking

more, or who is more nervous beforehand. Once on his feet, all is well; the getting there is very nearly physical pain.

The amazing thing about his best speeches is that they are prepared, as a rule, in less than half an hour. The speech at Glasgow, which I have just mentioned, was even more quickly thought out. Some half-dozen ideas, jotted down on the back of an envelope, are, as a rule, sufficient. Indeed, in the case of one of his most telling speeches in the House of Commons he made no notes at all.

An excellent speaker he always has been. Of late, however, his efforts have been brilliant; masterly; he has proved himself a real orator. And the true explanation of this is to be found in his all-absorbing love for his native country, as also the absolute and indelible conviction that Home Rule will be the death-knell of all that he cares for most in the world. That danger once passed; Ulster no longer threatened; the Union assured, and I should not be surprised if he retired from politics altogether.

As well might one try to write a life of the Popes in a day as to give an adequate sketch of Sir Edward Carson's career in half a dozen pages. The thing is impossible, so rich is his personality, so interesting and various his experiences, legal, political, and social. Had I space here, I should have written much as to his unbounded generosity; his great kindness of heart; his never-failing consideration for the feelings of others. It would be worth reading, as showing of what "stuff" great men are made. I intend doing so on some future occasion. One last word and I shall have finished.

As one who has been with Sir Edward Carson through his recent Ulster campaign, and has therefore, to a certain extent, been behind the scenes, I feel that I must draw attention to the perilous state of affairs in Ireland to-day. It is for ever being asserted, in certain quarters, that "bluff" is the watchword of Sir Edward Carson and of all those who follow him. Never was a cause, or its supporters, more absolutely misjudged; and unless those who persist in such statements allow their reason and common sense to prevail, political bias and feigned ignorance will bring about a state of affairs in Ulster too awful to contemplate. At present we are drifting slowly but surely to civil war. It may be that when the critical day arrives a large number of

hose who signed the Ulster Covenant will be unable, for various easons, to stand by their oath. That is possible. But however that may be—and let this be thoroughly realised—Sir Edward Carson s prepared, willingly and gladly, to sacrifice everything, brave anything, and, if necessary, pay with his life for the Cause which e is championing to-day. Let there be no mistake about that. And in addition, there will be easily found thousands of men in Ulster who, just as resolute, just as unmindful of the consequences, will follow him to the death. There need also be no mistake about that—absolutely none. Even ten thousand determined, esolute men are more than sufficient to make the working of any Act of Parliament humanly impossible. The Government may employ troops, they may shoot, but for every man that is killed fifty will rise up in Ulster—and England and Scotland—to take his place. Indignation will produce volunteers. So long as Sir Edward Carson is Leader, there will be no going back; no divisions among his followers; no bargaining of Ulster's rights. The ever of resistance has mixed with his blood and entered his bones; nothing can eradicate that now. He knows the Government dare not arrest him, for if they did Ulster would be ablaze; e equally knows that Home Rule can never be the law of the and without the most awful bloodshed. He knows all this, and so do all those who follow him; on every possible occasion e reiterates the same in his speeches. And the Government and the Radical Press know it too, perfectly well. They may talk of "bluff"; attempt to minimise the dangers ahead; say that the law will be enforced at all costs. But when all is said and done, in their heart of hearts they know that Sir Edward Carson and his followers are in grim and deadly earnest; that civil war tares Ministers in the face; and that if but one Ulster Loyalist s shot down by the King's troops the Deluge follows.

T. COMYN-PLATT.

GERMANY'S WAR OF LIBERATION, 1813

NEXT year the British and American nations intend to celebrate their centenary of peace. This year the Germans are celebrating another centenary, that of a war which has had more influence in shaping the ideals and the institutions of Imperial Germany than any other event in history. "Nations," says Ruskin, "are born in war," and the German nation was born in the War of Liberation in 1813.

A little more than six years before that date, on October 14, 1806, the Prussian army had been annihilated in the two battles of Jena and Auerstadt. The two beaten forces retiring from these fields encountered one another in the darkness, the French cavalry were at their heels, their lines of retreat were cut, and the result was the worst stampede recorded in modern history. Until that moment the Prussian army had been regarded as the finest in Europe, the worthy upholder of the traditions of the Great Frederick, and its collapse staggered mankind even more than the disaster of Austerlitz in the preceding year. The event was regarded by enlightened and far-seeing men like Sir Walter Scott as the prelude to a prolonged era of European slavery. For this overthrow of the last bulwark against French aggression was accompanied by circumstances so humiliating, by demoralisation so degrading on the part of Prussia, that the disaster was rendered more decisive and sensational than a mere defeat, however crushing, could have been.

The causes of the catastrophe and the loss of all national self-respect which followed it have formed the subject of exhaustive study in Germany. For Continental nations differ from ourselves in this respect, that if a war reveals national unpreparedness and disorganisation they do not rest until they have eradicated the disease from the body politic after a minute

diagnosis of its symptoms. They believe that "clear thinking" on these matters "cometh not save by prayer and fasting," and that the hidden springs of victory and defeat can only be revealed after an infinity of labour and of care.

After a minute examination of the state of Prussia before Jena, Von der Goltz concludes that the disaster was due to a fundamental lack of reality, a refusal to face facts, which permeated every section of the national life. The superficial critic always lays the blame upon the army and its commanders and points to the superior genius of Napoleon, but this does not satisfy our author. Nations are not destroyed because they cannot produce a genius at a given moment, and as for the army, it was "laborious, disciplined, filled with keenness, clean, smart, well-cared-for, well-exercised, and well-trained; one in which people worked, reflected, discussed military problems and wrote about them better than in any other." The signs of decadence, he observes, are not always to be seen on the surface. It was not the army, but the institutions by which it was governed, and the system in which it was trained, which led to ruin; but these were in turn due to the refusal of Government and people to see the realities of the world around them and to suit their policy to the requirements of the time. A period of extreme artificiality all over Europe had preceded the French Revolution. This was shown in politics, in art, in philosophy, and in the study of war. It was the age of sentimentalism and of the "rights of man," and that it should have coincided with such political crimes as the partition of Poland only shows its essential hypocrisy. This world of sham, mouthing the empty phrases of the "encyclopædists" and "idéologues," suddenly came face to face with a terrible reality, a nation in arms, inspired with an intense enthusiasm for the very same ideals of liberty and equality, but prepared not only to babble about them but to die for them themselves and to shed rivers of blood in their cause. France was in earnest, the other nations were not. Combination among them proved impossible. England thought more of securing her enemy's colonies than of bringing France to her knees; the other Powers were equally selfish, and the crime of Poland hung like a millstone round their necks. The distrust of Russia and her designs on that country paralysed Austria and Prussia, until

at last in 1795 Prussia withdrew from the contest. Unfortunately for her, she had sustained no crushing defeat in the field, and the latent strength that France was developing was therefore not realised. From this moment she went headlong to her fate. Slowly one by one in other countries the shams were being revealed, the day of reality was breaking, and the shadows were fleeing away. England was risking bankruptcy in order to subsidise resistance to Napoleon. Austria raised army after army with a kind of persistent, stupid heroism, employing them always at the wrong time and in the wrong manner. In 1799 and 1805 Russia threw in her lot with the allies. Still Prussia would not join the coalition. In 1805 she had the game in her hands. Napoleon had followed the allies into Moravia, it was the depth of winter, his strength was nearly exhausted; Prussia had 130,000 men under arms who could have achieved his ruin by striking at his long line of communications. Still she refrained, believing that a selfish policy of neutrality was the height of wisdom, hoping to gain the prestige of a mediator, or to acquire some scraps as the price of her forbearance. Invincible armaments might have justified such a policy; under the circumstances it was lunacy.

This false policy finds a counterpart in the ideas which prevailed on war, and the consequent condition of the army. Sentimentalism had played havoc since the death of Frederick. The prevailing view of war in the abstract was described in a contemporary set of verses which appeared shortly after the disaster in the following manner: "Formerly the greatest glory of a hero consisted in dying in battle for his country. But since the world and mankind have cultivated civilisation and philosophy, they call fighting to the death 'organising assassination.'" This is no exaggeration. That it was the duty of every man to take his share in National Defence, that a nation might even be called upon to rise as one man against the aggressor, were ideas which would have seemed only compatible with an age of barbarism. The cosmopolitan view of the rights of man seemed to them a far nobler conception, and accordingly each class strove for its rights with a complete disregard for the national welfare. Material prosperity being the *summum bonum* of human existence, it was natural that the commercial [illegible]

should attain a position of greater importance, and accordingly we find this class entirely exempted from the burden of military service, while the use of foreign mercenaries increased to such an extent that eventually the only native-born Prussians compelled to serve were a certain proportion of peasants still in a condition of serfdom. The officers were recruited from the landed gentry. *Except for these the army was entirely divorced from the life of* the nation, and the privileged bourgeois looked down on the soldier and despised the profession of arms. All mercenary armies attract the worst elements to their ranks, and to this the Prussian army was no exception; hence a barbarous system of discipline came to be enforced, with the result that desertion became so common a crime that barrack life resembled that of a prison. The soldier was an inferior being hedged round with restrictions, a potential criminal from whom the honest middle-class civilian shrunk in horror. "The spirit of the time was the principal cause of the inner weakness of the Prussian army." War was regarded as a relic of barbarism, to conduct it scientifically meant to avoid bloodshed. Hence manœuvring became a passion, mathematical rules were drawn up, by adherence to which it was believed victory could be obtained merely by manœuvre.

It is true that the extraordinary successes of the French created some disquietude, and the King especially read the signs of the times more clearly than most of his Ministers or Generals. Reforms were recognised as necessary, but were only undertaken half-heartedly or too late. There was, perhaps, more excuse for the military blindness than appears at first sight. The discipline of the Prussian army was still beyond reproach, and the fact says wonders for the qualities of the officers. To these men the steadiness and regularity with which troops could carry out complicated manœuvres in the closest formation comprised the whole art of war, and for this a machine-like discipline and order were essential. They saw in the French army the very negation of all this. The mean-looking little French infantryman, who lived on the country, who dispersed daily in search of food and forage, who plundered promiscuously, was a mere [illegible] beater, whose discipline could never stand a severe [illegible]. There were many circumstances to encourage this view. A

whole demi-brigade at Marengo had relieved itself of an unpopular set of officers by shooting them in the back; they had robbed the churches of their plate and carried off the art treasures of Italy, every form of outrage had been perpetrated on the inhabitants of the countries they had traversed. Among the Republican troops discipline had been non-existent. They had been peculiarly subject to panics, and had generally gone to pieces if defeated. Officers might lead by sheer ability, but military rank entailed no authority, and to the Prussians they still appeared the wild, ragged *sans-culottes* of the Revolution.

They ignored the overwhelming effect of Napoleon's methods of marching and fighting, the training acquired in the camp of Boulogne, and still more the fact that in France the army and the nation were one, both being animated by a spirit to which the other peoples were complete strangers, and that all the resources of the nation were organised for war. But the difference became painfully apparent the moment war broke out. So exaggerated was the regard for the comfort of the civilian population in Germany that the officers would not requisition provisions from the inhabitants until the troops were literally starving. Tents had to be carried because it was impossible to interfere with the comfort of the bourgeois by billeting the men upon them. So ingrained was the respect for the property and rights of civilians that the demoralised soldiers, flying from the field of Jena, would not pull down the fence-rails to use as fuel, preferring instead to endure the cold of an October night. And even the disaster produced little effect on the public mind, no outburst of defiant patriotism such as France levelled at the enemy after Sedan. Fortresses fell without firing a shot, war being a game where you recognised yourself beaten according to certain arbitrary rules; while in Berlin they almost fêted the invaders, every one vying with his neighbour to gain the good graces of the French commanders.

In six weeks the French armies were on the Vistula, and in order to carry on the war against Russia the people of Germany had to find the money. Requisitions of all kinds were levied on the luckless inhabitants, vast sums were wrung from them. The Continental Decrees, by which it was hoped to ruin England, ruined also the trade and commerce of the Baltic towns. [illegible]

Peace of Tilsit, by which the war was finally brought to a close in 1807, deprived Prussia of one-half of her dominions, reducing the population from nine to five millions. Even the supplications of the Queen were unavailing on behalf of the retention of Magdeburg, the great bulwark of Prussian defence. It was then that Napoleon committed the two great mistakes of his career. One was his financial policy, already referred to, which affected all classes in the community and brought home to the humblest throughout Europe the tyranny he exercised, depriving them of innumerable small comforts only obtainable through English agency, and causing fearful distress in commercial quarters. The second was the policy of humiliation pursued towards Prussia.

He published insulting bulletins about the Queen whom they adored, he treated the King as a petty vassal, his subjects as slaves. The aristocracy, whom he regarded as one of the chief causes of the war, should be humbled to the dust; "they should beg their bread in the streets." Any latent pride that might remain in the nation he sought to wound by the vulgar heroics of his proclamations, and by the insult inflicted on their national hero by the carrying away of the sword of Frederick the Great from his tomb. But the act which roused the bitterest hatred of the people was the judicial murder in 1806 of a humble bookseller, Palm, on a charge of selling insurrectionary literature. Then it was that something of the spirit of the Great Frederick awoke in the nation, all that was grandest came to the surface. There is no more extraordinary story than that of the work of regeneration traced by Vidal Lablache in his *Régénération de la Prusse après Jéna* during the darkest years of Prussian history. It must be remembered that this work meant literally the re-birth of the nation, that it entailed not only the reform of the finances, of the land system, and the entire reorganisation of the army, but a complete change also in national ideals and modes of thought, and that all this had to be carried out under the noses of French secret [illegible], often in the midst of French garrisons.

One of the first and the most far-reaching of these [illegible] was the emancipation of the serfs in October 1807. [illegible] inspired men with a new conception of the State. It [illegible]

[illegible] the privileges of the nobility and [illegible] system, which gave them complete control over [illegible] its products. "Henceforth the King alone was to be [illegible]; justice was to emanate from him, and the serf was to be as free as the product of the earth." In July 1808 the right of owner-ship was conferred on the peasants of the provinces of Prussia proper, thus creating a new class and a new support for the State. These reforms were not carried out without vehement opposition from vested interests, though the freeing of capital for investment in land soon resulted in increased prosperity for all classes. This Magna Charta of Prussia was the work of Baron Stein, one of the remarkable men whom the crisis brought to light. He had barely accomplished it when he was exiled by order of Napoleon, but he still continued from his retreat in Bohemia to direct the councils of his country.

But even more important, for it has formed the model for all Continental military systems, was the creation of the short-service system by General Scharnhorst, whose name will go down to history with that of Carnot as having put into practical shape the modern conception of the nation-in-arms, a conception which has completely revolutionised war, and has in the last few years transformed Japan and the petty Balkan States into nations of the first importance. The system was simplicity itself, and was, in fact, an adaptation of the old militia system of Frederick the Great. Forced by Napoleon's orders to maintain no more than 42,000 men under arms, and under the necessity of making strict economies owing to the ruinous indemnity demanded from them as well as the reduction of revenue resulting from the dismemberment of the kingdom, the Government, nevertheless, had the fortitude and the faith to undertake the gigantic task of training the whole able-bodied population to arms in preparation for the future resurrection of Germany. This was done by passing a certain number of men every month from the Regular Army into a Reserve and replacing them by fresh recruits. These recruits went by the name of Krümpers.* In [illegible] each company of infantry dismissed five trained men every [illegible] and incorporated an equal number of Krümpers; in [illegible]

* [illegible] Krümper = [illegible]. The term was originally used for the [illegible] maintained by cavalry regiments.

number was raised to twelve for each company of infantry, six for each squadron of cavalry, and six to eight for each company of artillery. The army still depended partly upon voluntary enlistment, and universal service, properly speaking, was not introduced till after the war had broken out; but the number of exemptions was reduced to such an extent that the great majority of the able-bodied manhood were passed through the ranks, though great numbers were dismissed after a few months' training to make room for others, and therefore could not be considered as fully trained men. A man was not considered to have qualified as Krümper until he had performed a year's service. At certain intervals these Krümpers, after retiring to civil life, were visited and inspected by Regular officers and exercised in marching and shooting.

Scharnhorst had to endure one bitter disappointment after another. The moment peace had been declared he had set about the reform of the army. It was already in full swing when Napoleon crushed it in the bud by limiting the number of troops. He then tried to organise a National Guard, but this was also vetoed by Napoleon. Again and again he made proposals to the King for the institution of true universal service with a Landwehr and Landsturm, but the latter, through fear of the feudal nobility, the civil officials, and the general distrust of Jacobinism, which this *levée en masse* seemed to entail, refused his sanction. All the old parochial forces and vested interests rose up against the suppression of serfdom, the abolition of the rights of the nobility, and the conscription. The reformers saw clearly enough that if the King was to appeal to national sentiment, all these obstacles between him and his people must be removed; but they had to deal with the most vehement opposition from those who pointed to the misery of the country as an excuse for further economy, from the officers of the old régime who pointed to battalions ruined by the enrolment of raw recruits, and by all those who would rather endure foreign domination than take the risk of appealing to the patriotism of the country. Again and again Scharnhorst and his colleague, Gneisenau, supported by other enlightened men, such as Schön and Boyen, urged the King and the Government to summon the people to rise against the oppressor. When, in [illegible], the

Spaniards flew to arms, the patriots of Prussia hailed the rising as an example for Germany. Their chance seemed to have come in 1809 when Napoleon went to war with Austria. After his reverse at Aspern the popular ferment rose to such a pitch that the King feared for the safety of his throne if he refrained from gratifying the popular desire. The heroic resistance of the Tyrolese stimulated the excitement still further. In April 180 Colonel Schill, who commanded a regiment in Berlin, suddenly led them across the frontier into Westphalia; a rising took place in Hesse, and the Duke of Brunswick and the Elector of Hesse started enrolling partisan corps at Prague. At this period the Prussian army was waiting only the signal to march which the King hesitated to give. The delay was fatal. In July the Austrians were beaten in the great battle of Wagram, and the hopes of the reformers were dashed to the ground.

The darkest period of European servitude had set in, but those who looked furthest saw the light of a new dawn already breaking. It has often been remarked that Napoleon never prospered after the divorce of Josephine, but this reason, however pleasing to the moralists, is not the true one. The campaign of Wagram had revealed a new temper in the Austrian armies and in the German peoples which he did not fail to recognise. He was profoundly impressed by the attitude of an overwrought fanatic who had tried to assassinate him at Vienna, and who, when questioned, had replied that the killing of the great enemy of Germany was no crime. That "a young man, a German and a Protestant," should have conceived such an intention astonished him. "The Italians," he exclaimed, "are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life." He hurried on the negotiations for peace. "Do not hesitate about a few millions more or less in the indemnity. I wish to come to a conclusion." When the defeated and humiliated Emperor of Austria returned to his capital his subjects greeted him as a conqueror returning from his triumphs. Napoleon understood dimly what was happening. There was something after all in the divine right of these ancient dynasties to whom the people rallied in times of misfortune. "Would the Parisians do as much for me?" he exclaimed, with all the bitterness of the parvenu. The blows he had dealt them had only forged stronger links

between the ruler and his people. Henceforth the nation was one organic whole, no longer divided into classes mutually hostile to one another, but united in a common purpose; and, as in Prussia, it was realised that the only possible system of National Defence lay in universal liability to service, the creation of a nation-in-arms, which took shape in 1808 by the organisation of the Landwehr, a Territorial Militia raised by conscription. This was real, and not sham, democracy. It meant mutual trust between all classes. The masses no longer looked upon the army as the instrument of the State for the furtherance of a policy not understood of the people, nor did the "classes" fear to arm the masses and appeal to their patriotism. It cannot be doubted that Universal Service, as it is understood on the Continent to-day, is the noblest form of military service yet devised by man, for it has rendered any other war than a really national one virtually impossible, and is the one and only bond which can hold a nation together amid the disintegrating influences of Socialism, cosmopolitanism, and of the fads which flourish in times of peace and prosperity.

The year 1810 opened with threats of further dismemberment and disarmament if Prussia failed to pay the remaining portion of the enormous contribution of war—no less than twenty-four millions sterling. If the King really wished to pay, why did he not effect further economies in his army? But if he was unwilling to pay, let him cede Silesia instead. The Ministers, one and all, signed a declaration consenting to the cession—better to lose a province than to reduce the number of soldiers; but the King recoiled from the sacrifice, and turned instead to another Ministry under the leadership of Hardenberg, whose policy was a more opportunist one, relying on coming to terms provisionally with Napoleon and biding the time for action. This meant the dismissal of Scharnhorst, but he was soon recalled, and though nominally placed in a subordinate post, was in reality the mainspring of military policy.

The project of enforcing universal service had again been rejected, all the civilian functionaries being steadily opposed to it and urging economy; but at the beginning of 1811 he obtained the King's assent to the enrolment of a larger number of [illegible] and to an arrangement by which the more populous [illegible]

would supply a proportionate number of recruits, and thus the pressure on the less populous. The system at its best many disadvantages, for the men did not know when they w be called up, and the injustice of the exemptions which still in force led to much desertion. To enforce conscription the obvious remedy, but, as he bitterly complained, he had fight all those who seek our safety in our weakness, united those who are too idle to instruct the recruits incessantly, who through military pedantry do not wish to show me indifferent appearance and drilling."

In 1811 it became evident that France and Russia w soon be at war. Scharnhorst threw all his weight into scale for a war for very existence against France. Harden opposed it. The French Alliance was a necessary evil. Scharnhorst worked away, perfecting the mobilisation arra ments, provisioning the fortresses, buying horses, procuring from England. "We must ally ourselves with Russia and or die with her," was his final answer to Hardenberg's diplon arguments. And he almost won the day. In July the was persuaded to write to the Tsar Alexander and pro to take his side in case of war without imposing any condit It was then that Gneisenau, Chief of the Artillery and Fort Section of the Kriegs-Department, laid a proposal before King for a *levée en masse*, a sort of Landsturm organised villages, these in turn to be supported by a Landwehr or mi organised in companies, legions, and brigades for guerrilla war by night, hiding arms and uniforms whenever its detachm should be in peril, making its appearance sometimes as mili bodies, sometimes as mere bands of peasants. This unive rising was to be prepared by the preaching of such men as Chi Schleiermacher, and others. Frederick William dismissed idea as the figment of an imaginative brain. "If one prea is shot," said he, "all is over." His point of view was summe in the remark, "I do not want a national war after the volutionary fashion." "Between a Hohenzollern," says V Lablache, "and a revolutionary movement no compact possible." It must be admitted the situation was sufficie desperate to have appalled a stronger man. His little mutil

bayonets. Stettin, Danzig, and the fortresses on the Oder were in their hands, Saxony was their ally, Magdeburg was held by them. Only on the north the English kept the sea open, and that was the most powerful support for the arguments of the patriots. English subsidies and English weapons were always available. Nevertheless, Gneisenau, who visited these shores in 1812, was somewhat disappointed with his experiences. Apparently great satisfaction was felt at the victory recently gained by Wellington at Salamanca, but, as he rather dryly remarked, that victory would have had a greater effect had it been won in Hanover.

In the autumn of 1811 Scharnhorst went to St. Petersburg to arrange matters with the Tsar, Gneisenau meanwhile keeping him informed of the aspect of affairs in Prussia. The absence of that indomitable spirit, the steady increase in the French garrisons, and the influence of Hardenberg were having their effect on the irresolute monarch. "They are playing a double game," wrote Gneisenau to Scharnhorst, for while the army was being strengthened the King was more lavish than ever in his protestations of devotion to Napoleon. For a moment even Scharnhorst seems to have given way to despair. "In these painful circumstances," he wrote, "it only remains for us to say a paternoster." In October the French Ambassador demanded terms so humiliating that even Hardenberg threw himself on the side of an alliance with Russia. These terms were immediate demobilisation, a secretary of the French Embassy to satisfy himself that it had been really carried out, and the retirement of Blücher. This last had the greatest effect on the public mind, for that gallant old hussar was regarded as the last hope of the country. The King had, however, now fallen into the hands of the Court party; the Queen, on whom the patriots had always been able to rely, was dead, and he was fully persuaded that national resistance would mean an internal revolution. He was not wholly wrong, for Gneisenau and Scharnhorst were desperate men, who held that if the rulers betrayed the interests of the people, the latter should take the law into their own hands. It was only natural that in the stress of circumstances the reformers should become almost republicans, and that the more conservative element, fearing Jacobinism above all things,

should consider even French domination preferable to that alternative. The nation was not yet welded together by a great and all-absorbing ideal.

Then came the year 1812, and with it the culmination of degradation. Napoleon, weary of the continual counter-proposals made by Prussia to his demands, had towards the end of February ordered Marshal Davoût, who commanded the troops in Germany, to prepare for hostilities. On the 28th came the news that the French had crossed the frontier of Pomerania. Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Boyen declared their intention of resigning if the King did not immediately leave Berlin and organise a national resistance in the provinces. On March 2 came the news that Gudin's division was marching from Magdeburg on the capital. For a moment Frederick William contemplated desperate measures. The troops were to be under arms at six in the evening; he was about to sign the necessary orders for their movements when at five o'clock a courier arrived bringing the news that the Prussian Ambassador at Paris had signed a treaty six days before consenting to Napoleon's terms.

Those terms meant nothing less than total ruin. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with France. A Prussian contingent of 20,000 men was to be provided for the invasion of Russia, a free passage was to be accorded to the French troops through Prussian territory, their generals were to have full right to requisition as they pleased. All the provisions and munitions of war which were in excess of the requirements of 42,000 men were to be delivered to the French. No movement of troops was to take place without the authority of the Emperor. The greater part of the labour of the last six years was swept away. Gneisenau and Boyen sent in their resignations. Scharnhorst was on the point of following them, but at this moment of failure and disaster the greatness of the man came out. There was still work for him to do. He might yet influence the King, he could still carry on the work of reorganisation under inconceivable difficulty and discouragement; he might prevent to some extent the encroachment of the French on the fortresses held by Prussia and on the stores he had so laboriously collected. Personal considerations were put aside and he remained at his post.

Such was the more practical side of the work of regeneration,

but all this was useless without a moral revival. The barriers had to be removed one by one. A public spirit had to be formed by giving every class a sense of responsibility, a share of some kind in the organisation of the State. The towns were given municipal bodies with considerable powers, the barrier between them and the life of the countryside was removed. Whereas formerly agricultural produce had to be brought by the peasants to the towns and sold by them, townsmen and peasants were now free to buy or sell as they pleased. While the land was no longer a monopoly of the Junkers, the tradesmen were no longer grouped in corporations and confined to the towns. All this, accompanied by the abolition of the judicial rights of the nobility, tended to weld all classes together, give them self-respect, a sense of citizenship, and the feeling that personal honour and that of the State were one and the same thing. But the reformers recognised that the idea of the State must embrace more than the Kingdom of Prussia. That kingdom was of a very modern growth, it had acquired provinces bound to it by no ties of blood or of old association, many of the patriots themselves were not Prussians by birth. The higher patriotism must embrace all Germans. It mattered little to them whether Austria or Prussia formed the rallying-point so long as the appeal for German unity was answered. It must be remembered that this idea was entirely new to that generation. Germany had suffered so much since the Reformation, and had been torn into so many fragments by religious and dynastic wars, that the idea of a common heritage was inconceivable to most men—a mere romantic ideal with which practical politics had no concern. Goethe himself admitted that he could not understand it. He grieved over the miseries of Germany, but he had no sympathy for the idea of a German nation. There was no such thing. "You may rattle your chains, but the man [Napoleon] is too great for you," was his only reply when they urged him to join the movement. But there were other and more prophetic spirits who had exalted that same idea into a religion and preached it with all the [illegible] and fire of a Peter the Hermit. Such were Schleiermacher, Fichte, and Humboldt. These men made their influence [illegible], especially in the universities and seats of learning. The ideas which animated them are expressed in Fichte's famous [illegible]

to the German nation, recalling the glorious position of Germany in the Middle Ages, its art, its learning, its trade, its moral influence in shaping the destinies of mankind. All the elements of its greatness were still there, the sources of its being were not dead but only suspended, waiting for the breath of life. Schleiermacher was not only a professor who infused the new ideals into the rising generation of students, but a preacher whose sermons electrified the cosmopolitan, easygoing society of Berlin. The efforts of these men were aided by various secret societies, of which the Tugendbund was the most famous.

As the misery of all classes increased, as the iron entered into their souls, a strange transformation took place in the popular character. Berlin in 1810 presented a curious appearance. The quarters of the nobility were almost deserted. The Opera was hardly frequented at all, it was too expensive. At the Schauspiel Theater, the only one which attracted any audiences, they continually presented Schiller's *Joan of Arc*, the public cheering every patriotic allusion. The mysticism which forms so strong a feature in the German temperament came to the surface. The public developed a strong taste for allegories, some of the more imaginative declaring that the book of the Apocalypse foreshadowed the times they were passing through.

This ferment found vent in numerous songs, of which the most famous were those of Arndt, Kleist, and Körner. Poetry of this nature has an extraordinary effect at such times. A song which "catches on" has a far greater and more permanent influence on semi-educated minds than any literature or even rhetoric. All this was accompanied by a kind of religious revival, the preachers and professors speaking of the coming call-to-arms as a new crusade, a Holy War. That beneficent nonentity, the "Supreme Being," whom it had been the fashion to worship, was dethroned, and the God of Battles reigned in his stead. He has reigned ever since in Germany.

As time went on, the national movement tended to draw closer the ties between the people and the throne. After the death of the Queen, the sympathy with the House of Hohenzollern and the devotion to her memory led the great mass of the people to rally round the sovereign as the representative of national aspirations.

The time was now come when the material and moral worth of the work of regeneration would be put to the test. During the retreat from Moscow, Count Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent forming part of the left wing under Marshal Macdonald, contrived that his command should get separated from the French, and on the plea that he was completely surrounded by the Russians concluded a separate convention with them. This event had an extraordinary effect in Germany, for it meant to all intents and purposes that half the Prussian army had gone over to the enemy while hostilities were in progress. It was an act of great courage, for Yorck was gambling on the effect it would produce in forcing the King's hand. There is no doubt it was concerted with the authorities in Berlin, and it is possible the King himself had an inkling of what was happening. Nevertheless, he immediately deprived Yorck of his command, wrote to Napoleon offering the support of 70,000 men for a fresh compaign, and even suggested a royal marriage to cement the alliance. Such conduct certainly seems sufficiently contemptible, but the truth is, no man was ever placed in a more cruel position. There was grave reason to distrust Russian designs on Poland, Austria was bound to France and might support her; under the circumstances premature action might mean nothing less than national extinction for his country.

All through January and February 1813 the King hesitated, though the flood was gradually carrying him away. On February 1 an order was issued calling up the Reserves and Krümpers. Fifty-two reserve battalions were thus formed. These men, in spite of the fact that they had all received that training which, according to Lord Haldane, is going to be given to our Territorials after war breaks out, were of very doubtful quality, and were only worked up to a state of real efficiency after a further period of some months under officers who had served their time in the Regular Army. On February 3 a decree was issued calling for volunteers. This, however, although it was responded to with alacrity, was supplemented only six days later by another which limited the exemptions from service and prescribed penalties for failure to join, so that these were volunteers only in name. Since many people believe that the British will rise as one man in a time of emergency to repel the invader, it is rather curious

to find that on examination every one of those great summonse to arms recorded by history has been enforced by compulsion Even in France in 1792 the results were so meagre that com pulsory levies were decreed within a few months of the outbreal of war. As to our own appeal for volunteers during the tim when Napoleon's army was concentrated at Boulogne, we fin that the great rush to arms which ensued was largely caused b the fact that men who volunteered escaped thereby bein balloted for the Militia, and that the ranks of the Militia coul not be filled in consequence. The truth is that voluntary servic in a time of stress is as absurd a system for raising men a voluntary taxation would be for raising revenue, and ha invariably failed.

The enthusiasm with which the appeal was greeted varie greatly, according as the district had or had not felt the ful weight of French exactions and repression. In the great town the population flocked to the authorities for enrolment; in Berlin no less than 9000 names were registered in a single day but in some of the more remote districts the peasants tore up th notices and offered active opposition to the recruiting officers The difficulties of mobilisation were enhanced by the fact tha there was no machinery for enabling the military authorities t take charge of these masses of men and provide for their con centration, equipment, and clothing. The organisation of th State still gave pre-eminence to the civilian official, and th result was confusion and waste of time.

The Volunteers and the "Free Corps" did not number, all told, more than 8500. Speaking generally, they were of a very inferior description, though some, such as the famous "Riders of Lützow," established a great reputation for daring raids on the French communications, and for such work as harassing the enemy and cutting off detachments.

This decree of February 9 also established the Landwehr on the model of that of Austria. Thus at last Scharnhorst's dream was realised, and Universal Service came into being. This Landwehr was not composed of old soldiers, as the name has now come to imply, but was a Territorial Militia of men between nineteen and thirty-one. They had to provide their own equip- ment and clothing, and many were at first armed with no better

weapons than scythes and pikes. The majority were not worth much. In certain corps where they were early hardened to forced marching and fighting, they performed towards the end of the war prodigies of valour. But these were a very small proportion. There has never been a struggle, with the possible exception of the later stages of the American Civil War, in which partially trained troops have fought better, and it is, therefore, interesting to note that although all these untrained and partially trained troops were enrolled in February or March, and the great majority certainly did not come into action till the end of August, all authorities combine in disparaging their military qualities.* The armies were followed by gangs of plunderers; discipline was in many cases conspicuous by its absence; men retired to their homes when they required a little rest and change. On the whole they fought bravely, though it is recorded of the Landwehr cavalry that "if they once began to give way no power on earth could stop them." In a word, they could not be depended upon for important military operations, though, of course, there were some exceptions to the rule. By the end of the war "the Landwehr had literally melted away." Considering they had been well over 100,000 strong, this is a remarkable commentary on the value of such troops. And yet most of them had had as much training as the Territorials will have after some months' embodiment!

The same is true of the raw French troops. Under the Emperor's eye on the field of battle they performed wonders, but neither their discipline nor their health could stand the strain of prolonged marching, lack of food, and dripping bivouacs. "Only the Guard stood firm, the rest melted like snow," wrote Napoleon after one of his hardest fights in the following year; but it was not in battle that they really melted, but on the line of march. And yet both these French and German troops were incorporated with Regulars and had their example before their eyes, and thus possessed an advantage denied to our Territorials in war, just as it was denied to the Garde Mobile in 1870.

The total number of Prussian troops in the field eventually

* As a matter of fact the Landwehr were never regarded as capable of performing the work of Regulars. They were chiefly employed in investing fortresses, guarding convoys and prisoners.

rose to 300,000, or 6 per cent. of the population, which, though it does not equal the record of the Bulgarians, is sufficiently remarkable considering the fearful difficulties of imposing a new system upon a nation, most of it after war had broken out. It is significant that the motive force of the movement had come, not from the masses as it had done in France in 1792, but from the men of light and leading, the universities and schools, the nobility and clergy; all revolutionary tendencies had disappeared,* the nation was united as never before, the people looking to their natural leaders for guidance and direction. The rest of the German peoples, inspired by this example, soon followed it; the States of the Confederation of the Rhine were carried away on the tide of German nationality, and even the Saxons, the most faithful of the French allies, finally deserted them on the field of Leipzig.

It is not possible here to give a detailed picture of the war. Its story is to Germany what that of Marathon and Salamis was to the Greeks, and the Punic War to the Romans. At first Napoleon carried all before him. He is often blamed for faulty strategy, but it was his diplomacy rather than his military genius which was at fault, at any rate in the first period of the campaign. He had completely defeated the Prussians and Russians in the two great battles of Lützen and Bautzen, and driven them into the mountains of Bohemia. Instead of following up his success, he concluded an armistice, hoping that they would agree to his terms, but they insisted on the complete abandonment of all his conquests as the only condition of peace. The delay was fatal, as it gave Austria time to perfect her armaments, and she accordingly joined the Allies in August. He gained one more great victory at Dresden, but it was followed immediately by a host of disasters. All his Marshals and Generals were beaten in succession. Macdonald was routed at the Katzbach, Vandamme was annihilated at Kulm, Oudinot was defeated at Gross Beeren, Ney at Dennewitz. Then began the last agony of the French army. He advanced again and again from Dresden to attack Blücher in Silesia, but the Allies always retired when he was present in person; he only struck his blows in the air and wore out his soldiers, for no result. They died in thousands

* The revolutionary character of the Tugendbund had occasioned grave fears, but Stein was confident that "the cannons and the trumpets will alter all that." They did.

from dysentery and lack of food; Saxony was devastated by the repeated passage of armies and could provide no more resources; his convoys were cut up by partisans; but he still clung to the line of the Elbe when all hope was gone. At length he left Dresden and marched north. His only chance of salvation lay in defeating one of his enemies before they all closed in upon him, but at this crisis of his fate a strange indecision took hold upon him. His plans changed from day to day and from hour to hour. Those about him no longer recognised the conqueror of Rivoli and Marengo. He remained for three whole days at Düben in a state of pitiful hesitation, sometimes sitting for hours scrawling Gothic characters on a sheet of paper, at others talking interminably to Marshal Marmont on every conceivable subject. Then when it was too late and the Allies had united their forces, he concentrated his whole army at Leipzig, and was totally defeated in one of the most decisive and bloody battles in the annals of war. The fighting lasted three days, and the total loss in killed and wounded reached the appalling total of 90,000. A single bridge over the River Elster providing the only means of retreat was prematurely blown up, and the whole of the rearguard were cut off. The scene that ensued was a nightmare; the river was blocked with the bodies of men and horses, over which the survivors struggled to the other side. No further resistance was made, and by the middle of November the last Frenchman had crossed the Rhine and the liberation of Germany was accomplished.

During the last two months of the war the suffering of both armies and of the civilian population had been terrible. Typhus raged amongst the French; at Dresden and Mayence especially, it carried off thousands daily. At the former place it was found impossible to bury the dead, so they were thrown into the Elbe; but such numbers died that the corpses in the streets lay so thick that the dead-carts continually passed over them. If the Allies were saved these horrors to some extent, the suffering from the incessant marching and counter-marching, the repeated defeats they had sustained, the consequent distrust of their leaders, and the fearful weather conditions, all provided a trial which only the utter desperation of the men could have enabled them to endure. There undoubtedly comes a stage in war when misery and rage together overcome the fear of death, and these men had

reached the point when no quarter is given or taken. It was the price that had to be paid for German nationality.

In the following year, September 3, 1814, a law was passed, supplemented by an ordinance of November 21, 1815, which instituted Universal Service in Prussia on a permanent basis. It was the result of the experience gained from six years of shame and three years of terrible fighting, and on that law and ordinance and on that experience not only is the German Army based to-day, but the Army of every other Great Power except England. Scharnhorst, its real author, did not live to see it. He was mortally wounded in the first battle of the war at Lützen, and died some days afterwards, his life's work to all appearances a failure, the Army he had created beaten and retiring; but his name will go down to history as the man who made the German Army, just as his staff-officer, Clausewitz, will always be known as the father of modern war, the exponent of the principles which carried that Army to Sadowa and Sedan.

It is this nation with which Great Britain is now confronted in what our Ministers term the "mad race in armaments." Curiously enough, it does not seem as mad to them as it does to these gentlemen. They have discovered by bitter experience that as it was in the days of the Peace of Westphalia in the seventeenth century, so it was in the days of the Peace of Tilsit and the Treaty of Olmütz in the nineteenth, and so it will be in the twentieth century. There is no pity for the weak in this world, and the real madness lies in sentimentality, false humanitarianism, selfishness, negligence, and, above all, fear of demanding great sacrifices from the people. When during the present year it was found necessary to make huge increases in the German Army, the Chancellor and the War Minister explained confidentially to the leaders of the various Parties in the Reichstag the reasons for the demand, and they were supported by all except the Socialists. It is painful to compare this spirit with that prevailing in our Parliament; such a solution is impossible for us, though no man in either of the great Parties is satisfied in his heart that all is well with our system of National Defence. The sense of unreality is over all, the refusal to face hard facts is tainting our national life and leading us on the road to another Jena. There is no more relation between policy and armaments than there was in Prussia: we cherish a vast history [illegible]

understand, just as they did. The balance of power is disappearing, but we count for less and less in the scale; we do not even know whether we will throw our weight into it or hold aloof. We ignore the present peril and look to others more remote. The Foreign Secretary tells us that "foreign nations have few deep plans and live from hand to mouth." But the German Army and Navy are not living from hand to mouth, and if another Bismarck should arise there will come a terrible reckoning for those who do. Another Minister tells us impressively that these burdens will produce a revolutionary movement, perhaps even in this country. His way of averting such a calamity is not to demonstrate to the people the necessity for such sacrifice in the interests of the nation, but to stir up as much animosity as possible between different portions of the community. They are reactionaries who distrust the people and, like those of Prussia, dare not appeal to them. Not only so but they actually shuffle their responsibility on to the people they are deceiving. Lord Haldane says: "A great many people asked why they should appeal in that way for the creation of a Territorial Force and why every man should not be under an obligation by law to do his duty. His reply was that when the people thought fit to declare a universal military obligation, it would be time to talk about it." Was there ever such contemptible, such mean sophistry? It is not for Ministers to tell the people what the requirements of national defence may be; it is for the people to discover them for themselves under the tissue of misrepresentation and humbug with which they have obscured the subject. Most of them quote phrases evidently culled from Mr. Norman Angell about "the financial interdependence of nations," the unprofitable nature of war, and the march of civilisation. War, according to them, may not be impossible, but it will do nobody any good, and it is so cruel as to be "unthinkable." The latter word occurs frequently in such discourses. Now this is just what the doctrinaires and the idealists and all the really up-to-date people believed before the French Revolution. They did not go quite so far as Mr. Norman Angell, but they believed that war would in future be practically bloodless and that, as all men were brothers, all reason for war was gone. Philanthropy and Social Reform became a fashionable craze, just as they are to-day. Imagine what one of these gentle philosophers would have thought had

he been told that in a few years' time in the capital of the most enlightened and civilised nation on earth a gang of ruffians would, after abolishing the Monarchy, the Church, and all the higher orders of society, organise a system of such indiscriminate and wholesale slaughter by means of an ingenious machine for cutting off heads that eventually a regular aqueduct would have to be constructed for carrying off the blood! And further, that this same enlightened nation would then seek to demonstrate the truth of its peculiar theories by overrunning in succession all the Great Powers of Europe, the invasion in each case taking only a few weeks to accomplish, the system of warfare employed being more sudden and overwhelming than any recorded in history.

But, of course, all this was quite "unthinkable." So is war to-day. The heart of man is no longer "desperately wicked," but filled with angelic intentions, and we have "progressed" so far by means of international commerce since those days that every lesson of history will be reversed solely for our benefit; and so we go on with "paper organisations" for the Canadian Militia and invasion enquiries in which officers are selected to give evidence on the Territorials solely because they profess to believe that that force is a blend of Napoleon's Old Guard, Wellington's Light Division, and Cæsar's Tenth Legion all rolled into one. And thus "the last grim joke is entered in the big black book of jobs."

The Army is as little exercised in many of the essentials of warfare as was the Prussian. We cannot billet troops upon the inhabitants, and therefore shall have to learn it after war breaks out, just as they did; and the supply of troops in the field has as yet hardly been practised, the transport on manœuvres being only a fraction of what it will be in war. We train the individual soldier, but not the masses of men required for modern war. Generals and staffs have little practical experience; and, as in Prussia, this results in keen officers exalting the minutiæ of training into a fetish.

If there was any sense of reality in Government circles, would it have been possible for our First Lord of the Admiralty to suggest to such a nation as the German that it should reduce its naval armaments in proportion to ours? Their only reply was that they did not "live from hand to mouth," a sufficiently crushing retort.

[illegible] sight of our shame, through the [illegible] light of a new day."

The Pan-Germanism of to-day is but the inevitable [illegible] their history. The ideals of 1813 have assumed a wider [illegible]. The unity of all the German-speaking peoples [illegible] tained; it is to them the only means of resisting the pressure of [illegible]her races. Not only is "a place in the sun" necessary for the [illegible]ture existence of Germany, it is also necessary for the world. [illegible]cording to General Bernhardi, that German hegemony should [illegible] established in Europe. Her culture and learning are essential [illegible] a world distracted by the rival claims of science and religion [illegible]hich she alone has found the means of reconciling with one [illegible]nother. All this may seem far-fetched, but such ideas may [illegible]rove a powerful lever in the hands of a strong Government and [illegible]mong a people fully persuaded that they are in a situation of [illegible]reat peril, and intensely jealous of the position acquired by [illegible]thers.

However this may be one cannot but feel in looking back on that history that their determination to spare no effort or sacrifice in the accomplishment of their destiny, and in preparation for what a day may bring forth, has every historical precedent on its side.

What historical precedent is there for a voluntary system or a Territorial Army? It must not be thought there are none. On the contrary, the story of such institutions is recorded on the saddest pages of military history.

The first has invariably failed in every emergency, both on the Continent and in Great Britain. As to the second, such armies have always "melted like snow."

It was not alone the suffering of Prussia which caused its regeneration. This would have been impossible had not the way been prepared long before the disaster by an intellectual movement pointing the way to national revival. If we are to avoid the same fate, the only hope lies in preparing the way [illegible] similar revival in this country to-day.

[illegible]

STREATHAM PLACE

Readers of those famous *Roundabout Papers*, now regarded as the matured expression of Thackeray's literary idiosyncrasy, may possibly remember that in one of them the author gives an account of two essays he had intended to write but afterwards abandoned. The first was designed to deal with the mysterious shooting affray between Major Murray and the money-lender in Northumberland Street, Strand, which, in 1861, struck terror to a public already overstrained by the nightly "sensation headers" of Mr. Dion Boucicault (Myles-of-the-Ponies) in the popular Adelphi drama of the "Colleen Bawn." On reconsideration, this subject was rejected as "too glum and serious" for the semi-playful treatment demanded. The other, handled in the manner of *Gulliver's Travels*, would have found its pretext in the then-recent adventures of Mons. Paul Du Chaillu in Gorilla-land. "It was to have contained" (and particular attention is directed to the nice discretion of the adjectives) "all the deep pathos of Addison, the logical precision of Rabelais, the child-like playfulness of Swift; the manly stoicism of Sterne, the metaphysical depth of Goldsmith; the blushing modesty of Fielding; the epigrammatic terseness of Sir Walter Scott; the uproarious humour of Sam Richardson; and the gay simplicity of Sam Johnson." It must be admitted also that the scenario supplied is exceedingly attractive. But it so fell out that before the piece had taken its elaborated form in type its author was himself burlesqued by the photographers as "A Literary Gorilla," and narrating this particular form of fable became obviously out of the question.

According to Lady Ritchie's introduction to the *Roundabout Papers*, these were not the only things her father had jotted down as likely themes for what he called his "pavement [illegible]

In his diaries for 1861–2 are found, as a suggestion, "On Burning Old Books," a salutary but sacrilegious operation, which still occupies the controversialist. Another was to have been "On Bread and Butter," also a burning question; a third "On Titles (magazines, novels, &c.)"; while a fourth might have been prompted by the obituary notice, carefully transcribed from the *European Magazine* for 1815, of Martha Gunn, the famous old Brighton bathing-woman who had been privileged to "dip" the youthful Prince of Wales (George IV)—an office presenting unusual opportunities to a light-hearted satirist. But the memorandum which, for the moment, most attracts us, is for an essay on "Streatham. Mrs. Thrale. Thrale. Johnson, &c." Here, it might be imagined, was an ideal subject. One of the volumes Thackeray most fondly cherished—almost as fondly as his bedside *Montaigne*—was a cheap and battered old double-column *Boswell;* and in his works he had only dealt casually with Johnson. Of necessity Johnson is not included in the *English Humourists;* and he is but historically mentioned in the *Four Georges*. In the *Luck of Barry Lyndon*, he is shown discussing "a rhyme for Aristotle" with its unworshipful hero, whom Goldsmith has introduced to him at Button's Coffee-house; while he figures fitfully (and not always sympathetically) in the pages of *The Virginians*, "a big, awkward, pock-marked, snuff-coloured man"—now lumbering heavily along Fleet Street, now gulping endless cups of tea at Mrs. Brown's Tart-shop in Tunbridge Wells, now tendering the unanswerable criticism of slumber to George Warrington's reading of the tragedy of *Carpezan*. But the picture of him by the author of *Esmond* in the Southwark brewer's Surrey home, where for some "twenty years of a life radically wretched" he was at his best and easiest; and where his "dictes and gestes" were scrupulously chronicled by two such clever observers as Hester Thrale and Frances Burney—is a loss to literature not easily repaired.* If we are rash enough to attempt the venture here, it is assuredly from no spirit of emulation, or even of imitation.

* In 1861 Abraham Hayward published the second edition of his *Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*, one object of which was to traverse Lord Macaulay's version of the Johnson-Piozzi controversy. Thackeray knew both Hayward and Macaulay and for this reason, perhaps, never [illegible]

In the eighteenth century, the dispersed district now call[illegible] Streatham was represented by a straggling village, remarkab[illegible] chiefly for the heathy open spaces* in its vicinity, and for th[illegible] valuable cathartic properties of the water which its medicin[illegible] spring supplied freely to the hospitals of the metropolis. Streatha[illegible] Place, known familiarly to the "Brighthelmston Flying Machine[illegible] as "Thrale's," and still existent when Thackeray wrote, woul[illegible] probably have been roughly described by its inmates as lyin[illegible] on the right hand of the high road to Croydon, about six miles fro[illegible] Westminster Bridge. To-day, when it has completely di[illegible] appeared, its site may be precisely defined as occupied b[illegible] "Streatham Park," a network of short roads lying to the sout[illegible] of Tooting Bec Common. It was a large white, three-storie[illegible] house, with a projecting centre and wings, standing in a well[illegible] timbered enclosure of about a hundred acres, with the "cattle[illegible] poultry, dogs, all running freely about, without annoyin[illegible] each other." Of the interior we know little. But we hea[illegible] incidentally of a music-room where Dr. Burney gave lessons o[illegible] the harpsichord; of a cheerful library adorned with portrait[illegible] by Reynolds, which was sometimes used as the breakfast-room [illegible] of an adjoining study into which it opened; of a sunny saloo[illegible] hung with sky-blue, looking on a lawn, and of a dining-room wher[illegible] Hogarth's and other prints were "pasted on the walls" [panels ?[illegible] Outside, in the spacious grounds, were high-walled kitchen-gardens[illegible] with pineries and ice-houses; and round the whole—as at Stow[illegible] —ran a gravelled walk of nearly two miles in extent. Ther[illegible] was a lake, or spring-pond, with an island, to which—perhap[illegible] in imitation of the "Duck Island" in St. James's Park, wherео[illegible] Mr. de St. Evremond was the first Governor—its proprietor and contriver had given the name of "Dick's Island." This, w[illegible] learn, was planted with laurels which Johnson watered. We als[illegible] hear of a walk that went by his name; of a laboratory where h[illegible] conducted hazardous chemical experiments; and of a court o[illegible] the low entrance-gate to which he leaned and swung and read Fontenelle's Memoirs. Last, but not least, there was a "[illegible] cool summer-house" where one could write in comfort or, li[illegible] Miss Burney, study the soothing pages of *Irene*. In days wh[illegible]

* Not entirely free from "gentlemen of the pad," to whose "habits of [illegible] Johnson refers as late as 1782.

he environs of London were less charged with [illegible] [illegible] tmosphere which broods round an overgrown city, [illegible] Place must have been one of the most delightful of rural re- irements—a veritable Sans-Souci, with the added advantage of *sans-gêne*.

Its owner at this date was a wealthy young brewer, Henry Thrale, whose town house was in Deadman's Place (now Park Street) in the Borough, next the Old Anchor Brewery.* This had come to him through his father, Ralph Thrale, under whom, as manager for an uncle, Edmund Halsey (whose daughter married Lord Cobham of Stowe), the business had prospered prodigiously. Ralph Thrale had become M.P. for Southwark; had married his daughters to persons of condition, and had educated his only son at Eton and Oxford. In October 1763, being then thirty-five, Henry Thrale married Miss Hester Lynch Salusbury, thirteen years his junior, a very clever, if somewhat strong-minded young Welshwoman of good family, with a fortune of £10,000. Miss Salusbury's father, an erratic and irascible parent, had disapproved the match, which was promoted by her mother. In December 1762, however, he died suddenly of apoplexy; and ten months later, she was precipitately married to Mr. Thrale by her mother and her uncle, Sir Thomas Salusbury, a widower, who was himself in a hurry to marry a widow:

> My uncle went himself with me to church, gave me away, dined with us at Streatham Park, returned to Hertfordshire [Offley Place, near Hitchin], wedded the widow, and then scarce ever saw or wrote to either of us; leaving me to conciliate as I could a husband who was indeed much kinder than I counted on, to a plain girl, who had not one attraction in his eyes, and on whom he never had thrown five minutes of his time away, in any interview unwitnessed by company, even till after our wedding day was done! †

A bride with brains and a fortune certainly deserved a better fate, though the result of this hasty conjunction was not so disastrous as might have been expected. Miss Salusbury, how- ever "plain" in her own estimation, was certainly not personally unattractive; and she was, moreover, an exceptionally lively, witty, and for those days, singularly learned young lady. [illegible] being proficient in French, Spanish, and Italian, she had [illegible]

* The Old Anchor Brewery, if not actually on the site of the Globe [illegible] have been in close proximity to it (*Autobiography*, &c., ii. 22).

† *Autobiography*, etc., 2nd ed. ii. 22.

carefully instructed in Latin, logic and rhetoric by a precep
four times her age, Dr. Arthur Collier,* with whom her relatic
must have somewhat resembled those of Charlotte Brontë a
M. Heger. "A friendship more tender, or more unpollut
by interest or by vanity, never existed"—she tells us. "Lo
had no place at all in the connection, nor had he [Collier] a
rival but my *mother*." Dr. Collier's influence lasted until s
married, after which we hear no more of him. With her husba
her accomplishments went for little; though, being a fox-hunt
with a pack at Croydon, he should have appreciated her excellen
as a horse-woman. Tall, dignified and of good address, b
taciturn, slow, and undemonstrative, it was Mr. Thrale's misfortu
that in addition to a liberal education he had enjoyed a t
liberal allowance in his youth, which had converted him into
phlegmatic man of pleasure, with a fair prospect of becoming
he eventually became, a confirmed *bon-vivant*.

His wife was at first a mere chattel, kept in seclusion
Streatham, or inspected periodically in the Borough by her larg
handsome sisters-in-law. There she learned that her willingne
to reside in Southwark had been the determining cause of h
being selected by her husband as his helpmate, his previous lad
loves having declined to inhabit that unfashionable locality on an
terms whatever. When her first child (afterwards Lady Keitl
was born, she became of rather more importance. Then ensue
what proved to be the turning-point in her life. Thrale was no
averse from company, especially at dinner; and he was quit
intellectual enough to relish good conversation, and the give-and
take of discussion. Among the rather miscellaneous bachelo
friends who still haunted Deadman's Place was the actor an
dramatist, Arthur Murphy, who, since the days of his *Gray's Inn
Journal*, had been well known to Johnson. The Thrales wer
much impressed by Murphy's accounts of the great man's soci
gifts, and became desirous to make his acquaintance. This
Murphy eventually brought about by causing him to be invited t
dinner in order to meet Shenstone's protégé a certain rhymin
cobbler named James Woodhouse, who was then attracting publi
attention, and concerning whom Johnson was supposed to hav

* He was the son of Arthur Collier the metaphysician, and brother of the [illegible]
[illegible] who accompanied the Fieldings to Lisbon.

expressed some curiosity. Accordingly, at four o'clock on a Thursday in January 1765, the meeting took place. All Mrs. Thrale remembered of the day's talk was, that Johnson exhorted the budding versifier, if he meant to be a good writer, or what was more worth, an honest man, to "give nights and days to the study of Addison"—counsel he afterwards repeated to the world at large in the *Lives of the Poets*. Murphy had prepared his host for Johnson's peculiarities of figure, dress and behaviour, and the new associates liked each other so well that on the following Thursday (the shoemaker being suppressed) Johnson dined again in the Borough; and for every successive Thursday during the winter repeated his visits, gradually becoming in Mrs. Thrale's words, "their constant acquaintance, visitor, companion and friend." Later on, he followed them to Brighton, where, at "the west end of the town" and opposite the King's Head in West Street, the Thrales had a little house; and missing them, wrote "a letter expressive of anger" which has not survived. To pacify him, Murphy was again invoked; and his visits to Southwark became more frequent than ever. When, in 1766, he fell ill, and was confined to his lodgings in Johnson's Court, Thrale and his wife went to see him; and finding him miserably distressed in mind, as well as in body, persuaded him to quit his close habitation for Streatham Place. Here, staying some three months, he remained until October, during the whole of which time he was devotedly nursed by Mrs. Thrale. "I undertook the care of his health [she says], and had the happiness of contributing to its restoration." No wonder that ever after, town-lover as he was, he delighted in "the comforts and conveniences" of this haven of peace and plenty; and though he playfully rallied his hostess "for feeding her chickens and starving her understanding" in the country, fully recognised its value as a happy escape from the petty vexations of his Fleet Street domesticity and the "scolding-matches" of Mrs. Desmoulins and "Poll" Carmichael.

From June 1766 then until October 1782, Streatham Place was Johnson's summer residence; and when he did not make the journey in his host's post-chaise, he must have [illegible] occupied a seat in the coach that started either from the Old George Inn in the Borough or the Golden Cross in the Strand. With his friends of the Mitre and the Turk's Head, his [illegible]

grations from Middlesex to Surrey became a byword. Strahan
mplained to Boswell that the Thrales had absorbed him; and
ldsmith echoes the impeachment in the *Haunch of Venison*
ere he makes his pinchbeck feastmaster speak of Burke and
Doctor as guests who

eternally fail,
The one with his speeches, the other with Thrale.

d no wonder! In that delightful white house which was not
far from the roadway but that one could see the early bird-
tchers on Tooting Common, he must have had almost every
mfort that opulence could extend to an ailing and unusually
wieldy man between sixty and seventy. He had, obviously,
s own attendant, for it is on record that his black servant,
ancis Barber, married one of Mrs. Thrale's maids. There was,
sides, a watchful valet always ready to bustle after and in-
rcept him at the parlour door when he neglected to change his
cond best wig before he went to dinner; and as he mounted
dward, the same vigilant attendant followed him with another.
is chief apartment was the roomy library, for which he had
lected many of the books, and in which he received his friend
nd casual visitors, with full licence to entertain them at dinner
he thought fit. It was in the library that the proofs of the
ives of the Poets were read aloud at breakfast by Mrs. Thrale
s they arrived from Nichols the printer; it was in the library
hat he "spoke *Ramblers*" to an attentive audience. When he
'planned a life of greater diligence" he retired to the summer-
house, of which Clarkson Stanfield made a picture in Murray's
Johnsoniana, and indulged his inclination as long as the fit
lasted. As for the commissariat, it was unimpeachable—as
it naturally would be in the house of the "*Amphitryon où l'on
dîne*"; and it must have more than satisfied the standard of
the man who told Burke he had reached that critical age when
nature "requires the repairs of a table." His "crosses," more-
over, can scarcely have been graver than the "smoky chimney"
of the too-wealthy pietist of whom Wesley writes in his *Diary*.
If Mrs. Thrale's mother, Mrs. Salusbury, who must have been as
inveterate a newsmonger as Addison's upholsterer, sometimes
wearied him by her incessant enquiries as to "What the *Dutch*
intend, and what the *French*," he could at least (and he ap-

parently did) revenge himself by concocting bogus paragraphs about fresh partitions of Poland, intended specially for her delectation and mystification. She seems to have been the only person with whom he got on indifferently at Streatham Place; and it is pleasant and characteristic to think that as she became infirm and hopelessly broken in health, he softened and grew kind. Thrale he seems to have really respected. He had certainly a higher opinion of his host's character and abilities than has survived; and he mourned his death with genuine sorrow. "I am afraid of thinking what I have lost," he wrote. "I never had such a friend before." At this time he had read the will; and can scarcely be accused of that "dash of interest to keep his fondness warm," which has been attributed to him.*

Arthur Murphy, who, as will be remembered, had introduced the Thrales to Johnson, subsequently wrote an "Essay on the Life and Genius" of the latter which compares favourably with his earlier and more perfunctory attempt on behalf of Fielding. It was prepared to take the place of the clumsy and discursive official account prefixed by Hawkins to the 1787 edition of Johnson's works. Murphy was manifestly well acquainted with both parties; and it might reasonably have been expected that he would have enlarged upon the amenities and diversions of Streatham Place. But beyond stating that Johnson's head-quarters from 1766 were fixed at Streatham; that an apartment was perpetually reserved for him there; that the library was enlarged on his account; and that parties were constantly invited from town to meet him—beyond these generalities Murphy attempts no account of the Streatham circle. Boswell, who did not make Mrs. Thrale's acquaintance until later, is far more vivid and particular; and he is the first to give any adequate idea of Johnson's position in his new environment, and of the nature of his relations with his entertainers. His initial visit was in October 1769, when he found his illustrious friend in "every circumstance that can make society pleasing." "Though quite at home," he

* He wrote eulogistic epitaphs on Thrale and Mrs. Salusbury in Streatham Church. It was while at service there in 1777—says Steevens—that he received his first application from the unfortunate Dr. Dodd. But, apart from his confessed irregularity as a churchgoer, he could not have been a very regular attendant at St. Leonard's, as he generally quitted Streatham for the week-end to preside over the Sunday dinners of his Fleet Street "menagerie."

was yet "looked up to with an awe, tempered by affection, and seemed to be equally the care of his host and hostess. I rejoiced at seeing him so happy." After a preliminary salvo of sarcasms against the Scotch, which the compliant Boswell calls "good-humoured," but which must have been most embarrassing in the presence of a new-made friend, the conversation turned to literature:

> Mrs. Thrale disputed with him on the merit of Prior. He attacked him powerfully; said he wrote of love like a man who had never felt it; his love verses were college verses; and he repeated the song "Alexis shunn'd his fellow swains," etc., in so ludicrous a manner, as to make us all wonder how any one could have been pleased with such fantastical stuff. Mrs. Thrale stood to her guns with great courage, in defence of amorous ditties, which Johnson despised, till he at last silenced her by saying, "My dear Lady, talk no more of this. *Nonsense can only be defended by nonsense.*" *

The conversation then shifted to Perdita's song in the "pastoral drama" adapted by Garrick from *The Winter's Tale.* Mrs. Thrale praised (though she slightly misquoted) the line "They smile with the simple, and feed with the poor." Johnson who, for the sake of argument, could be as literal as Monsieur Jourdain, at once objected against this. It would never do. "Poor David! Smile with the simple; What folly is that? And who would feed with the poor that can help it?" No, no, for his part let him smile with the wise, and feed with the rich. Boswell was busybody enough to repeat this to Garrick, and wonders that he was annoyed. He tried to console the ruffled Roscius by comparing Johnson to Horace's pushing ox, with the hay on his horns. "Ay," said Garrick vehemently, "he has a whole *mow* of it." Mrs. Thrale's not unnatural comment on this is, "How odd to go and tell the man!"

The accounts by Boswell of his visits to Streatham Place are, however, scanty and unimportant. In 1778, when he went "by the coach," he records a desultory conversation in which Johnson is made to utter words of wisdom on the topic of truth-telling in narration, the oblique motive of which appears to have been to enable Boswell to deplore the deviations from exact authenticity

* Hill's *Boswell*, 1887, ii. 78. He took the same ground in the *Lives of the Poets* (Hill's ed. 1905, ii. 202): "In his [Prior's] 'Amorous Effusions' he is less happy; for they are not dictated by nature or by passion, and have neither gallantry nor tenderness." But—with every deference to the critic—all Prior's love-songs are not [illegible] [illegible] Shepherd."

of his predecessors, Sir John Hawkins and Mrs. Thrale. On another occasion he relates the ill-success of his first endeavours to secure the assistance of Pope's executor, Lord Marchmont, for Johnson's life of Pope, then in progress. Johnson, it is evident, either resented Boswell's officious intervention, or shrank from incurring an obligation of which the utility might be doubtful. However, a year later, when he came expressly from Streatham to see Lord Marchmont, he was "exceedingly courteous," and told Boswell (who of course accompanied him) that he would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come—an admission which, nevertheless, did not prevent him from severely neglecting to make use of his henchman's notes of the interview. Boswell seems frequently to have dined in the Borough, if he did not often do so at Streatham Place. And in the Borough, as at Streatham, it certainly "snewéd of mete and drynke." The Thrale table was, in fact, a tradition. Writing later of a grand feast at "The Ship" at Brighton, Miss Burney speaks of it as "nothing to a Streatham dinner;" and in these ascetic days, when we are assured by the Faculty that only the most moderate of menus can possibly "keep us out of Harley Street," the brewer's bill of fare suggests nothing so much as the heterogeneous banquet in Swift's *Polite Conversation*. Johnson (as Garrick might well have retorted!) had excellent reasons for preferring to "feed with the rich."

Besides being casual, Boswell's Streatham memories are always coloured by his jealousy of the clever woman whose vivacious *Anecdotes* had anticipated his own more ambitious *Life*. But with August 1778, Boswell was succeeded by a chronicler whose record—at all events at first—was entirely rose-coloured. From Fanny Burney's *Diary* of her visits to the Thrales in that, and the following year, we get a far more intimate picture of the life there than can be obtained elsewhere. To the successful young author of the just published *Evelina*, everything was delightful; and every wind blew her praises in her eyes. Dr. Johnson, who, at her father's house, some seventeen months before, had appeared to her in the light of an extraordinarily uncouth and unmannerly eccentric * was now—although [illegible]

* Here are some sentences from her first impressions written to her [illegible] Crisp, a few days after the event: "He [Doctor Johnson] is, indeed, very [illegible] is tall and stout, but stoops terribly; he is almost bent double. . . . He has a [illegible]

was still conscious of his "cruel infirmities"—transformed into a benevolent and beatific patron. He took a fancy to her at once; paid her elaborate compliments, direct and indirect; and was unwearied in his commendation of her novel. "Richardson," he declared, "would have been really afraid of her; there is merit in *Evelina* which he could not have borne. No; it would not have done! unless, indeed, she would have flattered him prodigiously. Harry Fielding, too, would have been afraid of her; there is nothing so delicately finished in all Harry Fielding's works as in *Evelina*." To comprehend this hyperbole, one has only to recall the equally high-pitched laudation which Fielding bestowed on the *Arabella* of Mrs. Charlotte Lenox. These great men, Fielding and Johnson, were not ashamed of commending what pleased them; and they rejoiced in the "noble pleasure of praising." But with all allowances for the over-emphasis of partiality, there can be no doubt that the Doctor showed his best side to his new friend. Dr. Goldsmith (he said) was his last hero; he had had none till his little Burney came.

Yes: at Streatham Place he was decidedly *en belle humeur*: and although the almost ferocious frankness of his dislikes and the equally energetic candour of his goodwill were frequently out of all proportion to the occasion, it must have been delightful (when you were uninvolved) to listen to his caustic comments on Wilkes and Garrick, his anecdotes of Boyse and Savage, his *boutades* at Mrs. Montagu and Sir John Hawkins, his chaff of the colourless Mr. Crutchley and the inoffensive Sir Philip Jennings Clerke. And if it was vexatious to find your costume dissected by a critic who, blind of one eye and scarcely able to distinguish colours with the other, had yet an uncanny knack of discovering anything wrong, it was surely impossible to resist his grave enjoyment of the fantastic vagaries of the anomalous Bet Flint, or his solemn speculations on the desirability of making the unprecedented

method of frequently twirling his fingers, and twisting his hands. His body is in constant agitation, *see-sawing* up and down; his feet are never a moment quiet; and, in short, his whole person is in *perpetual motion*. His dress, too, considering the times, and that he had meant to put on his *best becomes*, being engaged to dine in a large company, was as much out of the common road as his figure; he had a large wig, snuff-coloured coat, and gold buttons, but no ruffles to his shirt. . . ." (*Early Diary*, 1907, ii, p. 153.) The passages indicated as omitted appear to have been subsequently softened or modified, for which reason they are not reproduced here.

addition of a roasting-jack to the *batterie de cuisine* at Bolt Court. That he must have been at times distressingly mute and uncommunicative ("the ghost that never speaks until it is spoken to, and sometimes not even then!) is undeniable; it is clear also that, particularly when he was ill, he was often inexcusably rude and over-bearing. But you never could tell when the latent spring of tenderness would be unsealed; and his sudden kindnesses had all the restorative consolation of a burst of sunlight in bad weather. "I am always sorry when I make bitter speeches [he told Mrs. Thrale], and I never do it but when I am insufferably vexed." And then he would assure her that she had borne his scolding like an angel; or that she never talked nonsense; or that she had as much sense and more wit than any woman he knew—things which made her (quoting Miss Burney) wish "to go under the table." As regards Miss Burney, he said to her face: "I admire her for her observation, for her good sense, for her humour, for her discernment, for her manner of expressing them, and for all her writing talents." After that, talk of "approbation from Sir Hubert Stanley!"

Many visitors who deserve more notice than those who have been already mentioned, came and went at Streatham Place during the Johnson-Thrale period. But it is not always bishops such as their Graces of London and Peterborough, or aristocrats such as Col. Holroyd and Lord Mulgrave, or great ladies such as Mrs. Crewe and Mrs. Boscawen—who fall easiest under the pen of the describer. One of Fanny Burney's most finished portraits is that of the prude-coquette, Miss Sophy Streatfield of Tunbridge Wells, whose gift of shedding tears at will lent so much fascination to the lackadaisical beauty which subjugated her host; another is that of Mr. Seward, the author of *Biographiana*, and as blasé as Sir Charles Coldstream in *Used Up*. But the lions of the Streatham circle were fortunately perpetuated by the brush of Reynolds, thirteen of whose works decorated the library. From the Burney *Diary*, we can almost recover their exact positions. Mrs. Thrale, and "Queenie" (the eldest daughter), at full length, hung over the fireplace. This was the largest picture. Mr. Thrale himself

> —from intruders defending his door,
> While he wishes his house would with people run o'er,

surmounted the entrance to his "study," an apartment which, in regard to its equipment, one always fancies must have resembled that of Major Ponto in the *Book of Snobs*. This is, however, a possible injustice, for he had done decently at Oxford. The remaining portraits, three-quarters like Mr. Thrale's, were ranged above the book-cases. They comprised Thrale's early friends, Lord Sandys and Lyttelton's brother, Lord Westcote, Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Murphy, Garrick, Baretti, Sir Robert Chambers and Reynolds himself. Dr. Burney, one of the last executed, ends the list. Mrs. Thrale, as might be expected, did not like her own portrait. There was "really no resemblance," she said, "and the *character* is less like *my* father's daughter than Pharaoh's." The same view appears in the rhymed description she wrote of it:

> In these features, so placid, so cool, so serene,
> What trace of the wit or the Welshwoman's seen?
> What trace of the tender, the rough, the refin'd,
> The soul in which such contrarieties join'd?
> Where, tho' merriment loves over method to rule,
> Religion resides, and the virtues keep school;
> Till when tir'd we condemn her dogmatical air,
> Like a rocket she rises, and leaves us to stare.

She wrote similar verses for all the gallery—of very varying merit and admittedly dashed with satire. To her firm ally, Murphy, she is too kind; to Goldsmith and Burke unsympathetic. She was not hard enough on the cross-grained and vindictive Baretti. Of the conversation of Reynolds, she writes:

> Nothing in it o'erflows, nothing ever is wanting,
> It nor chills like his kindness, nor glows like his painting.
> When Johnson by strength overpowers the mind,
> When Montagu dazzles, and Burke strikes us blind,
> To Reynolds well pleas'd for relief we must run,
> Rejoice in his shadow, and shrink from the sun.

Garrick is conventionally treated. Last comes Johnson:

> Gigantic in knowledge, in virtue, in strength,
> With *Johnson* our company closes at length;
> So the Greeks from the cavern of Polypheme past,
> When, wisest and greatest, Ulysses came last.
> To his comrades contemptuous, we see him look down,
> On their wit and their worth with a general frown;
> While from Science' proud tree the rich fruit he receives,
> Who could shake the whole trunk, while they turn'd a few leaves.

Th' inflammable temper, the positive tongue,
Too conscious of right for endurance of wrong,
We suffer from Johnson, contented to find
That some notice we gain from so noble a mind;
And pardon our hurts, since so many have found
The balm of instruction pour'd into the wound. . . .*

In April 1781 Thrale, who had for some time been in failing alth, and whose tastes as a gourmand had grown morbid, died ddenly of apoplexy, brought on by over-eating.† His death, th its consequent reduction of his widow's income, materially ered the state of affairs at Streatham. Mrs. Thrale speedily und that the expenses were "ruining her," and that it was impssible to go on in the old lavish way on two thousand a year. ne situation naturally became strained on both sides. Johnson mself was ill and nearing his end; and with his entire conrrence the house was let to the Prime Minister, Lord Shelburne, r three years. Johnson's leave-taking of the spot so long miliar to him was sad enough. On Sunday, the 6th October, 782, he attended service at St. Leonard's for the last time. *Templo aledixi cum osculo*, he writes. And then he characteristically and ethodically sets down in detail and in Latin the items of his last inner: "Roast leg of lamb wit spinach chopped fine, the tuffing of flour with raisins, a sirloin of beef, and a turkey poult; nd after the first course figs, grapes not very ripe owing to the bad

* *Autobiography*, etc., 1861, 2nd ed. ii, 179. The last six lines, in which Johnson s not very fortunately compared to "rectified spirit, sublime alcohol," are omitted. The "Streatham Gallery" was sold in 1816, with the house—the largest sum realised, £378, being for Johnson's portrait. Watson Taylor bought this, and it afterwards formed part of the Peel Collection. Mrs. Thrale and "Queenie" went eventually for 78 guineas to Mr. S. Boddington, a "rich merchant," at whose sale in 1868 they passed to Louisa, Lady Ashburton, by whom the picture was exhibited in 1888 at the Grosvenor Gallery, No. 163. The rouge with which, according to Mangin's *Piozziana*, Mrs. Thrale sought to dissemble the ravages caused by a too early use of cosmetics, was as faithfully reproduced by Reynolds as by S. P. Roche in her Bath miniature thirty-six years later; and by its unavoidable contrast with the youthful freshness of her daughter, then about seventeen, may unconsciously have added to her distaste for the picture. The portraits of Garrick and Burney were bought in 1816 by Dr. Charles Burney, of Greenwich, and in 1905 were in the possession of the late Archdeacon Burney, of Surbiton. (*Diary*, etc., of Mme. d'Arblay, 1905, vi, p. [illegible].)

† Lest this should seem too severe, let the unwilling witness, Johnson, speak. Two days before Thrale's death he felt constrained to say to him at dinner: "Sir, after the denunciation of your physicians this morning, such eating is little [illegible]" (*Autobiography*, etc., 1861, 2nd ed., i, 139.)

season, with peaches—hard ones. I took my place in no joyful mood, and dined moderately that I might not at the least fall into the sin of intemperance." On the following day, having early "packed up his bundles," he made his "parting use of the library." "I read St. Paul's farewell in the Acts, and then read fortuitously in the Gospels." *

"*Streathamiam quando revisam?*" had been the closing words of his Sunday entry. He was never to see it again when he set out on the morrow to join Mrs. Thrale at Brighton. He was then ill, for he notes that he had to rest "four times in walking between the inn and the lodging." And he was eventually to have a greater grief in the later loss of that friendly and enlivening intercourse which had meant so much to his easily dejected and gloomy nature. Already, in 1780, Mrs. Thrale, during her husband's lifetime, and on Fanny Burney's introduction, had made the acquaintance of Gabriel Piozzi, an Italian musician, "with gentle, pleasing, unaffected manners," and of unblemished character. As time went on they became mutually attached. Before 1782 matters had gone so far that she had determined to marry him. Her daughters—to whom their father had left £20,000 each—were opposed to the match, as indeed were many of her friends; and after a struggle, in January 1783, she bade him farewell. But it was beyond her powers; her health began to suffer; and Piozzi was recalled from Milan. Finally, on the 23rd July, 1784, with the tacit consent of her children, she married him according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, to which he belonged. A second marriage took place on the 25th at St. James's, Bath. Johnson, as might be expected, regarded the whole affair as "ignominious." He expostulated in terms which she describes as "unmerited severity," and she defended herself and her future husband with much dignity and spirit. Johnson's rejoinder, in a more temperate tone, contained the familiar recognition of "that kindness which soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched." To this she returned "a very kind and affectionate farewell." When she left for Italy she was in truth too happy to care much for opinion public or private. Her first marriage had been *de convenance*; her second was of affection, and she never repented it. Piozzi managed

* Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 1897, i, [illegible].

her affairs with admirable skill and economy, and she nursed him in his last days with the utmost devotion. After his death, in March 1809, she wore mourning for the rest of her life.

As the title imports, this paper has been more occupied with Mrs. Thrale's house than with Mrs. Thrale. Those who desire further information respecting this gifted and remarkable woman will have to seek it in the oft-quoted volumes of Abraham Hayward and in the additional material contained in Mr. A. M. Broadley's interesting *Doctor Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, which has the advantage of a learned "Essay Introductory" by Mr. Thomas Seccombe. In regard to Streatham Place, however, it is needful to add that, on returning to England, the Piozzis inhabited it from 1790 to 1795. They endeavoured at the outset to reconstruct the old hospitable life; but, in spite of coloured lamps and covers for seventy people, the attempt did not succeed. The conditions were changed, and the cost beyond their means. They moved to a villa "in the Italian style," which Piozzi built on his wife's property near Denbigh. When he died, Streatham Place, which by this date had become Streatham Park, seems to have been a white elephant to his widow. In November 1814, when her tenant was Count Lieven, she speaks of having new-fronted the house, and new-fenced the hundred acres at a cost of £6500. In 1816, as already related, she sold it, books, pictures and all. Its last owner was a Mr. Phillips, by whom, in 1863, it was pulled down. There is a Thrale Road still on the old site; and, in 1832, Thrale Almshouses were erected by Lady Keith and her sisters.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

WELT POLITIK: GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN*

In examining the relations of Germany to Great Britain it is impossible to avoid being somewhat discursive and redundant. We have to consider the various aspects of Germany's relations to the countries surrounding her and the dominating conditions of her European policy as a whole, the immediate bearing of the Triple Alliance on the question, the ever-increasing naval power of Germany and the pressure exercised on naval policy by the German Navy League, the question of oversea operations, the commercial and fiscal relations of the two Empires, the personality of that fascinating and commanding figure, the German Emperor, and the influence of the Social Democratic Party. On all these various matters much has been said and written from different and differing points of view, and if I make use of what has already been published I only do so in order to focus attention on that aspect which immediately concerns us, namely, the place of Great Britain in the "Welt Politik" of Germany.

In last month's *National Review* we together made, as it were, the periplus of Europe, and I endeavoured to describe the forces which, while they weaken the Triple Alliance, nevertheless give more and more an aggressive attitude to German policy. I shall now have to show how those same forces tend towards a clash of interests and a political collision with ourselves, a result due to Germany's ambition to attain what she regards as that position in the world commensurate with her population, power, commerce, and natural aspirations.

Finally I shall endeavour to demonstrate that the conditions

* The first part of this study appeared in the September *National Review* under the title "Welt Politik."

for us must be either strenuous preparation for defence, supplemented by a drastic change in our fiscal system, or an all-round settlement of differences and interests by mutual compromises and concessions—which many readers of this Review may regard as illusory.

Since the Franco-German War the Continental foreign policy of Germany has generally been dominated and shaped by two overmastering ideas—a Pan-German aspiration to absorb all German peoples, and a haunting fear of Russia—which the Government have exploited. As regards the former, the first and principal objective of the Pan-Germans, according to Professor Treitschke, is the absorption of the whole Rhine Valley down to the sea.

> Germany, whom Nature has treated in a stepmotherly manner, will be happy when she has received her due and possesses the Rhine in its entirety. . . . It is an indispensable task for German policy to regain the mouths of that river. A purely political union with Holland is unnecessary, but an economic union is indispensable.

It is argued by German writers that the attainment of this object can only be secured by *force* and that Germany can only acquire such a predominant position in Europe by first crushing England and wresting from her the rule of the sea. To the advocates of peaceful international arbitration they reply that "the institution of Courts of Arbitration is incompatible with the very nature of the State. Only in questions of minor importance would it be possible to obey the rulings of such a Court. In vital questions arms only can give the final decision."

The struggle for existence must mean war, at least economic war. Indeed, Bismarck's protective tariff of 1879 was the beginning of an economic war against England, one that "has already succeeded in crippling our industries and in transferring industrial prosperity from Great Britain to Germany." That economic war still continues. Even now

> Germany is assiduously working for a Central European Customs Union in which she means to be the most favoured and sole purveyor of manufactured articles. The Germany is striving to recreate in time of peace Napoleon's Continental system against England. Through German action our markets on the Continent have already been spoiled, and before long they may be completely closed against our manufactures unless we meet force by force.

German hostility to Britain is, perhaps, mitigated by a

fear of Russia. She cannot afford to be hostile to both at the same time, as well as to France. Her policy therefore is to sow dissension between England and Russia.

> All attempts on the part of Russia and Great Britain to settle their differences and to arrive at an understanding are viewed with the most serious alarm by Germany. For this reason the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian understanding is considered to be one of the greatest calamities by Germany, and it is hoped that it will not last.

Thus we see that even as regards such essentially European concerns as German policy in connection with Holland and Russia she is brought face to face with the world-wide power and interests of England, and that the arbitrament of war appears to be the only solution of the problem. Then when we go further afield into the colonial and fiscal aspects of the subject the same conclusion is apt to assert itself. Take the questions of over-population and emigration. German population increases by nearly a million a year. This hitherto has been met by the wonderful industrial activity in modern Germany; but in a few years the supply of population will exceed the demand, and then the tide of German emigration will inevitably again flow out.

The necessity of providing against this contingency is fully recognised by all classes. The existing German colonies do not offer any real outlet for white men; hence Germany's ambition to acquire colonies in climates where white men can thrive and multiply. Such favoured regions have all been absorbed long ago. Germany has entered the field too late to establish peaceful possession of suitable vacant territories. Expansion in this direction can only be obtained by conquest, and as England and America practically hold or control all such countries, except Morocco, North China, and Asia Minor, an anti-British and anti-American movement has for years been encouraged by both Government and Press in Germany.

One might quote quite a number of apposite extracts on this theme, but I will repeat only a few:

> We consider a great war with England in the twentieth century as quite inevitable. The experience of all time shows that colonial empires are more fragile and less enduring than continental empires. We do not require a fleet against France or Russia—only against England.

> German colonial ambitions can only be satisfied after Germany has secured supremacy on the ocean.

These ideas have inspired some of the Kaiser's most famous phorisms:

That trident must be in our fist!
Our future lies upon the water!
We are in bitter need of a German navy!
I protect the merchant. His enemy is my enemy!

Even so considered and formal a document as the preamble to the German Navy Bill of 1900 says:

Germany must have a Fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest Power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that Power.

Then again, what says Professor Delbrück?

England insists upon being the only great commercial and colonial Power in the world, and is only willing to allow other nations the favour of owning small fragments as enclaves wedged in helplessly between her possessions. This it is which we neither can, nor intend to tolerate.

There can now be no doubt that previous to the Boer War Germany looked to South Africa as a possible field for colonisation and political supremacy. German literature and German journalism of that period were unanimous on that point. Moreover, it is clear that German aspirations in South Africa were not confined to the ruling and official classes. In 1899 an influential German Labour periodical enunciated the dictum:

That Germany be armed to the teeth, possessing a strong fleet, is of the utmost importance to the working man. What damages our exports damages them also, and working men have the most pressing interest in securing prosperity for our export trade, be it even by force of arms.

Thus we see Emperor and Government, Press and Professors, all preaching the same doctrine—the need of colonies, the creation of a strong navy, the overthrow of British maritime supremacy—with the result that it would seem to be the opinion of the whole nation that a resort to arms is in the end inevitable, nor does any sensible German consider war an impossibility or an absurdity, for educated Germans are, as a rule, practical men who regard facts from a logical point of view, not sentimental doctrinaires with theories to propound.

One of the most authoritative German military writers is Field-Marshal Baron Von der Goltz. Let us note in abbreviated form what he has to say on the subject:

We must contradict the opinion that a war between Germany and Great Britain is impossible. Great Britain is forced to distribute her fleets over many seas in peace as well as in war. . . . In that necessary distribution of her strength lies Great Britain's weakness. Germany is in a better position. Her navy is concentrated . . . besides, numbers decide as little on the sea as they do on land; numerical inferiority can be compensated for by greater efficiency. . . . As places are not wanting where England's defences are weak, it would be a mistake to consider a landing in England as a chimera. The distance is short enough if an admiral of daring succeeds in securing supremacy on the sea for a short time. . . . Germany has arrived at one of the most critical moments in her history, and her fleet is too weak to fulfil the task for which it is intended. We must arm ourselves in time with all our might and prepare ourselves for what is to come without losing a day.

The views that Von der Goltz expressed a dozen years ago are to-day the views of all Germany. Indeed, most Germans are fully persuaded that they can only hope to acquire suitable colonies if their fleet is strong enough to cope with that of Great Britain.

The proof that these opinions are really those of the German people lies in the phenomenal success of the German Navy League, which is a huge semi-official organisation whose power and influence are probably greater than that wielded by any political party in Germany. The League was founded in 1898 with a view to influencing the electorate and so exercising an irresistible pressure on the Reichstag. There are more than 4000 local branches of the Navy League. It has also about a hundred branches abroad, some of which, notably that at Cape Town, have been valuable contributors to the Central Fund. It is somewhat curious that Cape Town should once have taken such an interest in the German naval propaganda!

According to *Die Flotte*, the organ of the German Navy League, there are now more than a million members of the League, while *Die Flotte* has a larger circulation than all other German monthly periodicals combined. It amounts to 370,000 copies, which is more than double the *aggregate* circulation of such leading journals as the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, and the *Berliner Tagblatt*. The popularity and wide-spreading influence of *Die Flotte* and the Navy League are true measures of the views and aspirations of the German people. From a contemplation of German naval aspirations, our thoughts are naturally directed to the defence of our own shores. The feasibility of invading us rests on the hypothesis that "a superior

British fleet capable of defending us from invasion may at the critical moment have been lured away or be seriously occupied in another quarter of the globe, for Britain cannot permanently tether her fleet to her front door and convert her ships into floating coast fortifications."

The essence of maritime warfare is mobility; therefore the fleet must be free to move, and we must entrust the defence of our coasts to the land forces. A too great reliance on the fleet might be fatal, for

Germany may even be able to challenge our fleet on the high seas. She has already immobilised our entire naval resources and confined our naval power to the seas in the immediate vicinity of our coast, the more so as we have neglected our coast defences and home army. Thus Germany is making it impossible for us to assert our rights in any quarter of the globe without Germany's permission.

In fact, Germany has already chained the once ubiquitous British fleet to British waters! Assuming that it is so, and that the superior British fleet cannot therefore be lured away, are oversea operations possible for Germany? Hear what the Germans themselves say. As the British Army is weak,

an opponent who is considerably weaker on the sea and who concentrates his forces and keeps them in a state of readiness can expect a temporary success. Therefore in case of a war Germany should endeavour to throw part of her army on the English coast and thus shift the decision from the sea on to the enemy's country. . . . If a landing has taken place, even a victorious naval battle is useless to the defender unless he disposes of armies sufficiently strong to meet the invader with success.

It is absolutely necessary that the strength of our German navy should be developed so far that the security of the troops, during a possible crossing is certain and that it is able to defeat, or at least to detain, any hostile fleet which the opponent may collect at *the moment* when the landing operation is contemplated.

These doctrines are in accordance with the experience of the Romans in the Punic Wars, and the Germans do not ask for *permanent* command of the sea; they are content with Napoleon's conditions—favourable weather and twenty-four hours of daylight.

The transport from our North Sea harbours should be effected in little more than thirty hours. The English coast offers extensive stretches suitable for landing. The country contains such great resources that the army of invasion could permanently live on those resources. . . . The invading force must live on the country, and it must economise to the greatest extent its forces. It cannot afford bloody victories; therefore, if possible, attacks on fortifications must be avoided. The chief thing is the celerity of the

operations. . . . Quick and energetic operations with closely concentrated forces on the line of least resistance are absolutely necessary for the success of landing operations.

The above extracts are from the pages of *Operationen über See* by Von Edelsheim, of the German General Staff, and as his treatise may be considered fairly authoritative, I should like to quote what he says on the subject of simultaneous landings, a subject which has recently attracted the hopeful attention of some of our parliamentary strategists who, out of consideration for the somewhat nebulous condition of the Territorial Army, now rely on the capacity of that force to repel minor raids rather than demand of it the duty of crushing an invasion of not less than 70,000 men, which till quite recently was regarded as its *raison d'être*.

If the opponent disposes of considerable forces a simultaneous landing at several spots seems questionable. . . . If several places of debarkation are chosen the protection of these places towards the sea requires many ships of war, the scouting towards the land is made more difficult, and the enemy will easier be able to attack in superior numbers the separate units of the landing troops. Lastly, the unity of the command at the beginning of the operations will meet with great difficulties. Therefore it is recommended to select only one spot for debarkation.

The military logic of this reasoning is incontestable and completely knocks the bottom out of the fashionable theory of the simultaneous raid. What we have to prepare for and to render hopeless is a landing in force at some point within a few days' march of the metropolis. A modern enemy armed with modern weapons cannot afford to play the part of Hannibal and amuse himself pottering round England devastating its turnip fields and burning its cities. He will endeavour rather to follow the example of Scipio in the second Punic War, and an invasion, if it ever comes, will be a dramatic episode, short, sharp, and decisive with whichever side victory may lie. Anyhow, the six months' grace demanded for the Territorial Force will not be vouchsafed to us. There is indirectly another factor involved by an invasion, namely, the food-supply of England. There are seasons when the stock of wheat stored in Great Britain barely suffices for a month's consumption, so that even a short interruption of the grain traffic would most certainly cause a famine, with all the disastrous consequences a famine would entail. "Hence naval supremacy is now more important to Great Britain than it has been at any time of her history."

I have dwelt at some length on the naval and invasion aspects
the case because we have in England a large and influential
hool who contend that a supremely powerful navy is all that
e require, and that no invasion is possible so long as we maintain
ch naval supremacy; but when we come to consider what that
eans, we seem quite unable to decide whether it is "two keels to
ie" or "a 60 per cent. margin," so that we are pinning our faith
a superiority the measure even of which we cannot determine.

At all events I hope that I have succeeded in showing:

(1) That Germans consider the destruction of British maritime supremacy as essential to the realisation of their ambitions, and that its destruction can be brought about by a *successful* invasion, just as the annihilation of Carthaginian maritime supremacy was secured by Scipio's invasion of Utica and his great land victory at Zama.

(2) That in German opinion an invasion is not impracticable even if England is, generally speaking, superior at sea.

(3) That to ensure success *local and temporary* naval superiority is all that is required.

(4) That invasion will take the shape *not* of a number of detached minor raids, but of one strong concentrated effort.

If the above deductions are correct, the corollary that we
quire adequate and efficient land forces to meet an invasion
respective of naval superiority seems unanswerable.

Let us now turn to what may be briefly described as the fiscal
de of the question, for it is perhaps in that direction that we
ay scent the greatest danger to peace, while at the same time
e have the paradox that it is precisely in our fiscal arrangements
at we may find our surest weapon of defence. No one will
ny that the phenomenal commercial and industrial progress
Germany dates from 1879—the year in which she adopted
Protection" as a cardinal element of her policy. A few figures
ill, I think, carry conviction on this point.

"In 1880 Great Britain produced 150 per cent. more coal
d 160 per cent. more iron ore than Germany. In 1909 Great
itain produced 60 per cent. less iron ore than Germany, whilst
r superiority in the production of coal had sunk to 20 per cent."
value Germany's mining production increased from under

19 million pounds to over 97 millions. More striking still are the figures of steel production. In 1880 Germany produced only 624,000 tons, while in 1908 the output had increased to eleven million tons or sixteenfold, whereas in the same period Great Britain only quadrupled her production.

In 1880 Great Britain consumed 74 million tons of coal more than Germany. In 1909 she consumed 8 million tons less. In 1880 Great Britain produced 5 million tons of pig iron more than Germany. In 1909 she produced 3 million tons less. . . . Since the introduction of Protection Germany's coal consumption has quadrupled, and her iron consumption has quintupled, while her engine-power has grown no less than sevenfold. . . . During the same period, whilst her mining and manufacturing industries have increased about sevenfold, there has been no decay in agriculture. On the contrary, her soil produces now twice the quantity of corn, oats, and potatoes, and five times the quantity of sugar it produced before the introduction of Protection.

In 1907 Germany, compared with Great Britain, had nearly double the amount of cattle, and more than five times the number of pigs. The potato crop was eight times as large as that of Great Britain! "During the period 1880–1910 Germany's manufactured exports have increased by no less than 200 per cent., those of Great Britain only 70 per cent."

It seems needless to give further quotations and statistics, for whether we regard the question from the point of view of employment, or wages, or cost of living, or savings, or national investments, the rapidly increasing prosperity of Germany is incontestable. For him that hath eyes to see or ears to hear it is obvious. Every recent visitor to Germany who also saw it thirty odd years ago must be amazed at the astonishing progress made in the interval, and that progress is in no way slackening. It is advancing by leaps and bounds. The ever-increasing magnitude and activities of the transport service, whether by rail, or sea, or canal, show beyond the possibility of doubt that "Protection" has not been detrimental to German prosperity. But this prosperity is in a great measure dependent on the policy of Great Britain, for it is the open door of British markets throughout the world that has ensured the success of Germany's commercial policy. Without those markets, without the generous premium afforded by British Free Trade, German trade, German prosperity, German industry would all languish, and Germany would no longer be able to meet that lavish expenditure on fleets and armies which now enables her to set the pace in armaments to

Europe, and constitutes a standing menace to the peace of the world. The reversal of England's Free Trade policy would be the death-blow to German ambitions and would relegate Germany to a secondary place in the world of commerce. "Every German economist knows that, given equal conditions, Germany could not industrially compete with Great Britain." This is due not to any inherent superiority of the Briton, either as a trader or an artisan, but

owing to the inferiority of Germany's *natural* resources, and especially to her lack of harbours and to the vast distances which separate her industrial centres from the sea. . . . The introduction of Protection in England and of preferential tariffs throughout the Empire may bring about the economic and political decline of Germany, and it seems not impossible that Germany is building her fleet with such feverish haste in order to oppose a Pan-Britannic Zollverein.

Thus we see that even from a fiscal point of view Germany is dependent on the goodwill and favourable policy of England, and that just as it is England who blocks the colonial expansion of Germany, so it is England above all who has it in her power to shatter her commercial expansion. As the abandonment of Free Trade by England is so great a danger for Germany, and as the federation of the British Empire means the abandonment of Cobdenite principles, is it surprising that Germany dreads such federation and that she exerts all means to prevent it?

The unification of the British Empire would destroy Germany's colonial ambitions. As she fears such unification she tries to prevent it. That policy has found its strongest expression in her attempts to prevent the Dominions, and especially Canada, giving a fiscal preference to the Motherland.

The correspondence of 1897–1903 between the two Foreign Offices shows clearly that "it was Germany's intention to prevent the federation of the British Empire on the basis of preferential trade throughout the Empire," and if the reader has any doubt of the truth of this assertion, I can only refer him to chap. vii of Mr. Ellis Barker's *Modern Germany*, wherein is given a précis of the diplomatic duel between the two countries over the question of Canadian commercial policy.

I have said that it is just this fiscal question which, perhaps, presents the greatest danger to peace. The nervous apprehension and the audacious, almost impertinent, interference with our domestic affairs which the Canadian incident discloses fully

confirm the correctness of that assertion. But if our natural desire to foster trade, to develop our industries and to rivet the Empire together in commercial bonds is to be regarded by Germany as a provocative policy, how much more must it seem inimical to German ambitions when the subject is examined from the point of view of its effect during a state of war? German trade and German industry depend more and more every year on oversea commerce, and as in war our present naval supremacy and our strategical position enable us to annihilate that oversea trade, more especially if the Dutch and Belgian ports are included in our scheme of blockade for German goods, it follows that prolonged operations must exhaust the financial resources of the German Empire, and render the continuance of the struggle as ruinous in its effects as was the old Napoleonic War. With this sword of Damocles ever hanging over Germany's head, is it not natural that Germany should incline towards a bellicose policy which, if successful, would relieve her from the ever-present nightmare of British maritime supremacy? No wonder that nearly every German becomes a member of the Navy League! No wonder that she wants "a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest Power would involve risks to the supremacy of that Power"! Unless she can come to some satisfactory arrangement with England, she must continue her shipbuilding policy, if not with the idea of invasion, at least with the hope of being able to neutralise our naval superiority.

I now come to what is perhaps the most compelling as well as the most natural motive for German hostility to England. Germany wants her place in the sun; she wants elbow-room for her ever-expanding population.

> Every vigorous State pursues two aims: to enlarge its dominions and to preserve its independence. Every healthy nation, like every healthy tree, endeavours to grow.

As already shown in the course of this article, if Germany must enlarge her borders she can only do so at the expense of other nations; but in whatever direction she casts her eyes she finds herself blocked by the power or the policy of Great Britain, who is thus, quite unintentionally, pushed into the position of being her principal antagonist, while she is also the one most capable of satisfying German longings for territorial expansion.

A much advertised author, who is, I believe, the manager of

he Paris Daily Mail, has dwelt on the sheer impossibility of a tate profiting by annexations from another State, but I observe hat in trying to prove his case he generally restricts himself to iting the effect of annexing self-governing colonies like South Africa nd Canada, and in so doing he has discreetly evaded all direct eference to possessions such as Burma, or Ceylon, or Nigeria, or he Malay States. It is true that in another part of this much oomed brochure he somewhat qualifies his contention by admitting that when a State occupies territory, not for conquest, "but or police purposes," that State does profit thereby, and he quotes ndia and Algeria as cases in point; but even then he proceeds to rgue that the profit is moral rather than real and that otherwise Germany is benefiting as much as England is by her conuests without having the trouble and expense of administering hem. One cannot presume to suppose that an author so idactic in his opinions and assertions can be oblivious of the act that the equal trade opportunities of Germany in India nd other British possessions depend almost entirely on our ltruistic Free Trade policy, whereas in the French colonies, here Protection is exercised, his contention is absolutely opposed o the ruthless evidence of statistics. Moreover, apart from the irect evidence of national advantage adduced by trade returns, t can be incontestably shown that India and other British ossessions not only give profitable employment to a vast number f British subjects as such, but that England derives through hem an immense annual income in pay, pensions, dividends, and ther profits. No one nowadays supposes that, even if Great Britain were absolutely crushed, her enemies would be so rash r so foolish as to attempt to annex self-governing colonies like Canada or Australia; but if Great Britain does acquire solid dvantages from her possession of countries such as Burma, Ceylon, and Malaysia, or from the command of strategic points ke Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, or Hong Kong, it is inconceivable why Germany or Japan should not derive like advantages if ither were in possession. India is perhaps a case apart, as the ifficulties attending the administration of so complex, so populous, so restless, and so progressive an Empire are bewildering, and probably no nation would now care to face them with all their nxieties and uncertainties; but there are many other British

possessions throughout the globe which, either directly or directly, immediately or potentially, suggest an immense fiel profit and employment for the growing population of Germ while at the same time they would be easily controlled and w considerably enhance the prestige of Germany as a world-Po Apart from professional illusionists and peace-mongers, ordinary British Philistine will, I think, agree with me th consideration of the question from the "colonies" point of is a very real and serious matter, however distasteful its cussion may be both to pugnacious Germans and degene Britons. It is just one of those unpleasant practical difficul in international affairs which have to be faced.

There is one factor in the problem of "Welt Politik" in relation to England to which frequently is attached an imp ance that is, I think, scarcely justified. It is the pers inclinations and ambitions of the Kaiser, to whom is so o attributed envy and hatred of England and the Machiavel design of humiliating the British Empire for his own aggrand ment. No one, except perhaps some few of those in his immed entourage, can possibly know his real views and aims; but all world is aware of his commanding intellect, his omnifar activities, his intense patriotism, his religious fervour, and deep sense of kingly duty. How, then, can one possibly ima that a great ruler of his exalted mood and rare talents wo wilfully steer the ship of State into the uncertain maelstrom world-wide war merely to satisfy personal ambitions or so aims?

However rash and impulsive the Kaiser may appear to from some of his stirring speeches and inflammatory phrases, one can assert that he has ever been otherwise than mindfu the interests of his people and of the supreme importance preserving peace with honour in Europe. I allude only to aspect of the case because of the thoughtless credulity and fairness with which he is so often attacked in this country elsewhere, as the sole disturber of the peace of the world.

Finally I must refer to the bearing of Social Democracy this question. The astonishing progress of the party since 18 the fact that considerably more than one-third of the total in Germany has been cast for the Social Democratic Party,

f many Englishmen to infer that the ever-rising tide of Social emocracy will effectually curb the aggressive designs of the erman Government, and that the voice of democracy will be ised against war. This view, I fear, is only a delusion and a ous hope.

In the first place, owing to the German electoral system, umbers are not the decisive factor in representation.

Germany is a democratic country only in outward appearance. She possesses uni rsal manhood suffrage, plural voting is practically unknown, and the principle of e man one vote is strictly carried out. So far as the voting goes, Germany is the most mocratic country in the world. But here the democratic character of Germany's litical institutions ends.

The electoral distribution of the country and the electoral rstem are so arranged that out of 397 members of the Reichstag, ie last elections only gave forty-three members to the Social emocratic Party, though the party polled 4,250,329 votes out ' 12,206,808. This result is due to the subtle and far-seeing olicy of Bismarck, who when he framed the electoral laws as determined that in spite of manhood suffrage "the Reichstag ould be powerless to influence the national Government and lministration, which was to remain in the hands of an all-powerful ureaucracy."

Bismarck was no believer in the cant Radical doctrine, that ll men are born equal. The fact is, however numerous the erman Social Democrats may be, their power is in no way ommensurate with their numbers.

Though universal suffrage exists for the Imperial Reichstag, it little helps German mocracy, for the German Parliament has far less power over the Government than d the English Parliament under Charles I. . . . Parliament in Germany has no ntrol whatever over, and hardly any influence upon, the policy of the Empire and upon s administration. Its sole duty is to vote funds and laws.

But apart from this,

ocial Democracy in Germany will not provide an antidote to the anti-British, ex nsionist, and naval policy of Germany, because the German working population have liberately and emphatically endorsed the economic policy of the Government, which licy benefits the producer rather than the consumer and the middleman, as in England.

hat is to say the German democrat believes in Protection and xpansion as conducive to his own interests.

I now come to the most difficult portion of my task, namely, o set forth the conclusions which even a brief summary of the ase like this article must compel one to draw.

The first conclusion is that there can be no permanent stability in European alliances and *ententes*, however sincere and loyal they may be in their inceptions and objects. One and all depend on changing circumstances and shifting interests. According to Bismarck: "All contracts between great States cease to be unconditionally binding as soon as they are tested by the struggle for existence. No great nation will ever be induced to sacrifice its existence on the altar of treaty fidelity." He foretold that the Triple Alliance would come to an end if the relations between Italy and France should become amicable, and that Italy might then turn against Austria if she felt herself quite secure from French aggression. As I attempted to show last month, Austria-Hungary is rapidly ceasing to be German in its tendencies and its policy. It is being dominated by Magyar fears or driven by Slav influences. In the recent Balkan disturbance Austrian and German interests have not been altogether identical. At the same time, Austrian and Italian policy has not always coincided, and all the Great Powers have only been brought into line by a common desire to avert a European war and by a wise mutual sacrifice of their own particular interests. As I have indicated, Italy is a growing and progressive nation, Italy has been rejuvenated by political unification, but Italy has still unsatisfied ambitions. "Between Italy and Austria there exists evidently not a community but an incompatibility of aims and interests." As the Austrian Admiral Chiari wrote in 1911:

> Without hesitation one can prophesy that our ally in peace will be our enemy in war that Italy will rather be found on the side of our enemies than on our side, that we shall have to meet the combined armies of Russia, Italy, Servia, and Montenegro.

It only requires the condition indicated by Bismarck, namely, an Italian understanding with France, to complete the situation, a situation which might perhaps be quickened into life by the formation of a Mediterranean League. Already "for all practical purposes the Triple Alliance is dead. By attacking Turkey Italy has avenged herself upon Germany and Austria for the Congress of Berlin, which gave Tunis to France and Bosnia to Austria." Germany has lain somewhat low of late, though we may be sure she has been active behind the scenes. The events of the past few weeks indicate an inclination on her [illegible]

extend a friendly hand to Roumania and Greece rather than to support her allies. Holland, as we have shown, may be forced by geographical circumstances and commercial interests to re-enter the Germanic Confederation. New problems of statecraft will arise, but the true aim and interest of all States will still be the same—the maintenance of European peace.

My second conclusion is that Germany feels more constrained than ever to rely for her existence on armaments, and that the constant augmentation of her naval power is part of a policy which is obviously approved by the whole nation, from autocratic Emperor to Socialist workman. Further, that Germany looks to naval power to render feasible oversea operations, whether the necessity for them arises in the Gulf of Finland or across the North Sea, and that through the result of such operations Germany hopes for the acquisition of a colonial empire and world-power. Also that whatever may be asserted regarding the futility of conquests and annexations, Germans have no belief in such theories.

The third conclusion is that so long as Germany goes on arming and developing her naval power we must do likewise, and that it is not sufficient merely to assure maritime superiority. We must fit our land forces to meet the occasion, and as the Army has its own specific and historic rôle, that of offensive war *outside* the British Isles, we must make a thorough and sustained effort to put our home Army on a sound and efficient basis. None but the foolish or thoughtless will say it is premature or needless to do so, considering it was only last April that Sir Edward Grey told us in warning tones that the Scutari Agreement had only been reached *just in time*. In other words, we were on the brink of a European war in which we too might possibly have been involved. Apart from all other elements of international discord, if a new Eastern problem arises through some untoward catastrophe at Constantinople or some Armenian or Syrian question of vital interest to Russia or Germany or France it may not be easy to arrive at an agreement *just in time*.

There are only two unpromising alternatives to the lamentable conclusion that preparation for war on both sides is inevitable: by Germany in order to gain her place in the sun, by England to ensure her continued existence as a Great Power. These alter-

natives are the adoption of a drastic change in our fiscal policy, or an all-round settlement by conference, compromise, and concession between Great Britain, Germany, and France. As regards the former alternative, I said a few pages back that "it is perhaps in that direction that we may scent the greatest danger to peace, while . . . in our fiscal arrangements we may find our surest weapon of defence." Let me explain this enigmatical paradox. I tried to show that it was our open markets which ensured the success of Germany's commercial policy, so that German prosperity in a great measure was dependent on the continuance of our Free Trade policy. If we forsook that policy, German trade, German industry, and German employment would all suffer to such an extent that it is doubtful if she could any longer afford her huge present and prospective military and naval expenditure, and she might have to abandon all idea of rivalling us on the seas, more especially if Imperial Federation accompanied Tariff Reform. So disastrous a prospect might easily drive Germany out of sheer desperation into war. Therein lies the danger to which I refer above, but it is one which has to be faced as we cannot subordinate our fiscal policy to foreign interests. We might through Tariff Reform bring such pressure to bear on Germany that she would modify her antagonistic policy and seek some *modus vivendi* by which *fair* trade for *both* parties could be secured. Therein lies our weapon of defence!

Failing some solution on these lines, what is the other alternative? It is an all-round settlement by conference, compromise, and concession between Great Britain, Germany, and France. Is such an understanding possible? "During the decade 1890-1900 British diplomacy consistently strove to abolish all differences with Germany in all parts of the world," and in January 1889 Bismarck said in the Reichstag:

> The preservation of Anglo-German goodwill is after all the most important thing. ... see in England an old and traditional ally. No differences exist between England and Germany. . . . I wish to remain in close contact with England also in colonial questions.

It would seem on his high authority that agreement is not incompatible with German interests, while it is certainly not our fault if the traditional allies have drifted apart.

The Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian ententes were brought about, not by King

Edward, but by Germany herself, by her anti-British policy. Germany forced Great Britain to enter into arrangements with Germany's opponents.

Those *ententes* are our settled and accepted policy. We must stand by our friends, and so long as they are loyal to us there can be no agreement with a Germany which is hostile to France or inimical to the interests of Russia.

Great Britain during its long course of colonial expansion has acquired many possessions of which some can conceivably be exchanged for others of equal or greater prospective value to us without a needless sacrifice of national sentiment or Imperial interests. The first great principle to observe in effecting exchanges of territory is that they are made with a view to removing present or future causes of disagreement. The second is that race rights and prejudices are not violated.

As regards the specific case of Germany, it is only within the last few decades that the German Empire has embarked on a course of colonial adventure, so it is only now that conflicting interests are arising between England and Germany in the colonial sphere. The policy of both should be to avoid all causes of disagreement as far as possible, and where such causes exist to establish a *modus vivendi* which shall be mutually acceptable. Any discussion or agreement on these lines would, however, be futile unless France were a party thereto. Indeed, France is more nearly concerned than we are; for such a policy of mutual exchanges and concessions would be specially advantageous to her as removing an ever-present dread of war, whilst a general agreement would be conducive to a sane national development of each of the contracting Powers. I shall not venture to describe in detail the lines on which agreement might be reached, as it is only in the Chanceries of the Powers that all the conflicting factors of so complicated a subject could be discussed with any reasonable degree of knowledge; but I would submit for the consideration of the lay reader what appear to be some of the possible spheres for the application of the principle and in doing so I would premise that England, France, and Germany are all equally interested in coming to a settlement and that therefore it is convenient to treat the whole collectively. What does Germany want? What does France? What does England? What can each barter for what she desires

Germany wants Walfisch Bay with its good harbour in order to complete German South-West Africa. She also aspires to the formation of a spacious and homogeneous West African Empire in place of circumscribed and scattered colonies. She wants, too, the recognition of her predominant interests in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Northern Syria in connection with the Baghdad Railway. She probably also desires a West Indian island to serve as a port of call on the Panama route, but I will not attempt to discuss all these cases.

England is weary of expansion and recoils from all aggressive schemes, but nevertheless she badly wants a right of way from Tanganyika to Uganda to permit of the realisation of Cecil Rhodes's great idea of an all-British route from the Cape to Cairo, and she wants a clear recognition of her position in Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf.

France wants above everything else a rectification of her Eastern boundary. If she cannot hope for the old Rhine frontier, she can never cease to yearn for reunion with Lorraine. Lorraine is the master-key to the whole problem!

On the other hand, what can each offer to the other? England, without making any vital sacrifice, might easily give Germany a rich belt of territory between the Benue River and the Cameroons, through which the latter colony could obtain easy access to the sea for her hinterland either by way of the Benue and Niger to Bonny or by the waterway leading to Old Calabar, while the surrender of Walfisch Bay would be of immense importance to German South-West Africa. Possibly the Union might have to be compensated by some small rectification of the present unnatural and arbitrary frontier.

Germany on her side might transfer to us the block of wild country between Uganda and Tanganyika, a tract which is worthless except as a line of communications between north and south.

As regards France, Germany could, without imperilling her strategical position, surrender Metz, on condition of its dismantlement, together with all the country west of the Vosges, with its strong French sentiment and its ineffaceable French traditions. In exchange France might give the French Congo, Ubangi,

populous, and rich area considerably larger than all France in place of a small French department which, while it remains in German hands, is a perpetual and irritating raw to French sentiment and pride. Dahomey might also perhaps be included in the negotiations, as that French settlement is rather isolated and its transfer would give a useful and convenient extension to the prosperous little German colony of Togoland.

Germany, it is believed, has already, under agreement with Great Britain, obtained certain preferential claims in Angola. Similarly, doubtless France and England could surrender any preferential rights they may have in the Belgian Congo, except in the Katanga district, where Rhodesian interests would be affected. Germany would then be free to make what arrangements she pleased with both Belgium and Portugal and so acquire a special sphere of influence for German commercial enterprise. She would thus be the proud possessor of a German West African Empire which with its sphere of influence would extend from the neighbourhood of the Niger to the Orange River, and from the Atlantic to the watershed of the Congo and the Nile—a vast area covering more than thirty-five degrees of latitude and twenty degrees of longitude, an area greater than India and comparable to all Europe, excluding Russia.

I need not pursue the subject further. It is one of give-and-take, one that admits of many solutions beneficial to all if approached on all sides in a reasonable and conciliatory spirit with a firm intention of removing mutual causes of contention and mistrust. I would add that I have not here referred to Russian interests as Russia is not concerned with the specific case of an African settlement; but where European or Asiatic interests are involved she becomes just as much a principal as Germany or France or Great Britain.

I have tried to state the whole case as briefly and fairly as possible, without either animus or insular prejudice, and I have, I hope, fairly demonstrated the difficult military position in which Germany is placed by reason of her relations with the States which surround her, as well as the commercial and fiscal disadvantages of her situation both in peace and war. Finally, I have pointed out the manifest conclusion that unless a prudent and forbearing diplomacy on all sides can come to the rescue, and that quickly, we must [illegible]

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or later, but inevitably, drift into collision with Germany, and that, consequently, there is no safe course for us but to prepare strenuously and ceaselessly for the dread arbitrament of war. As the *Times* said only a few weeks ago in a leader on "Europe's Armed Camp":

> We cannot delude ourselves into the idea that England can afford to maintain her armaments at the old standard, while others have determined to raise theirs to new and far higher standards. If the balance of power is to be preserved, we must preserve our place in it, and that place is relative to the place of others. All the world deplores the growing cost of national defence; but it is beyond all question the cost of freedom and of safety. It must be paid, and paid promptly, if those blessings are to be secure.

This, indeed, is the real and inward lesson for us from a study of "Welt Politik." It is for those who have the power and ability to arouse and educate the masses to a perception of the danger, or for those who have the position and authority to influence the governing classes, to bestir themselves before we are caught by the desolating hurricane which threatens all Europe.

The blind policy of the ostrich is sheer madness. A foolish reliance on some stroke of undeserved good fortune to save us from the logical consequences of natural forces and national or racial developments will only precipitate the convulsion. It is only conciliation, moderation, and a prudent wisdom exercised on *all* sides, not on ours alone, which can ultimately save us from war, and that only if by patriotic self-sacrifice and resolute preparations we make it clear that a resort to arms is too perilous an adventure and that force might prove fatal to the hopes and ambitions of those who employ it.

WATCHMAN.

A PHILISTINE FISHERMAN'S EXPERIENCE

With a groan of distress at my ignorance and a general feeling of despair for future success I closed the latest book on dry-fly fishing, turned out the light and rolled over to go to sleep.

I was to catch the early train next morning at Waterloo, and had been eagerly looking forward to the first day of the season on a Hampshire stream known to me from boyhood. In order to be thoroughly up-to-date I had prepared myself with a course of literature, and the result was that the enthusiasm usually preceding the first day of the season was dimmed by dark misgivings. I soon fell into an uneasy slumber.

It was a perfect summer morning when I reached the door of the cottage I knew so well. A bright sun shone from a cloudless sky, and the lightest of zephyrs from the south hardly stirred the sedges; the dew-drops hung like jewels from every blade of grass. The Major seemed hardly so genial as usual; his clothes were cut to a more austere pattern and his face was more closely shaved; in short, there was something priestly about his appearance which I had never noticed before.

We sat down to breakfast and he remarked that the men would be ready at ten-thirty, before which time there could be no proper rise in May. Something in his attitude prevented me from questioning him; I had never been accompanied before by a man, and he spoke of "men"; and usually we rushed out the moment our coffee was swallowed. Gravely we finished our meal.

At ten-thirty my rod was ready, with a blue quill fixed to the cast, and I stood waiting with my basket and net slung on my back. After looking me over with a critical and dissatisfied air, my host said that he did not really mind my rod having rings and fastenings which had long been proved to be inferior, or my

net being a foot too short in the handle, but he must ask me to put on a longer cast. The weather was calm and bright, and a cast of less than four yards would keep the fish down for several days after its use. As for my blue quill, no fly at all like it had been seen on the water, and it would certainly scare the larger fish. Reluctantly I changed the cast and removed my favourite fly. This done, the Major looked at his watch and said it was time to start; he would take me to the men who would assist me and tell me of the rules of the stream. The rules were new, but absolutely necessary in view of the unsportsmanlike conduct of some of his guests, one of whom had recently killed as many as four brace of fish in one day.

We joined the men, whose appearance filled me with misgivings. They were dressed alike, something in the manner of German Foresters, and wore the same severe ecclesiastical expression as their master who introduced them to me as Dr. Silas K. Black, and Mr. Jeremiah Q. Brown, Professors of Entomology and Biology in the University of Poliopolis, Pa. Brown carried three nets of different materials and sizes and a large mahogany box; Black a prodigious basket with six compartments and a telescope on a tripod; they both wore spectacles. Wishing me a pleasant day the Major left us.

The sight of the river filled me for a moment with the old boyish enthusiasm, and I spotted a rise before I even reached the bank. Forgetting my host's injunctions, I was just putting on my old friend the blue quill when I felt a touch on my arm and saw a horrified expression on Brown's face; Black was engaged in embedding the tripod in the mud and focusing the telescope on the ring made by the rising fish. A fly came sailing by and Brown deftly secured it in the smallest net made of white ramie fibre, with a telescopic handle capable of extending fifteen feet. The fly looked to me very like my blue quill, but Brown said it must be examined and took out of the mahogany box a microscope which he proceeded to adjust on a small platform. The fly was declared to be a female specimen of Baetis Rhodani in the sub-imago stage of development.

Completely bewildered, I asked to be allowed to try my blue quill, but the Professor said it was out of the question. Rule No. 6 distinctly laid down that no fish was to be caught

except on the exact imitation of the fly upon which it was feeding. My blue quill did not fulfil that condition. Besides, it had not yet been ascertained what the fish was actually taking; it was more than possible that it was feeding on something different from the female of Baetis Rhodani in the sub-imago stage of development. Mr. Jeremiah Q. Brown would soon settle this point.

The latter gentleman was now peering through the telescope in an attitude which, to me in my enraged condition, was an almost intolerable temptation to give a swinging spank. I refrained; he straightened himself and stated that the fish was certainly taking an insect similar to the one examined. My box revealed nothing which could be admitted under Rule No. 6; but the basket contained the imitation required, and at last I was actually casting over a rising fish.

The first cast was a little short, and it was not till I had made several more that the fly alighted satisfactorily, but was ignored by the fish. I was drying the fly preparatory to another effort when the Professor arrested my arm and said decisively that the fish must now be left quiet. Rule No. 9 absolutely forbade "hammering," and Rule No. 8 defined this process as casting more than six times over the same fish in ten minutes. I had already cast six times in much less than that period.

There was nothing for it, and we proceeded up-stream; it was already past twelve, but fish were moving and again we encamped below a good trout on the rise. The telescope was erected, but a prolonged gaze did not reveal the nature of the insect which was being taken and we passed on. More flies were examined and correctly named by the Professor, but it was not till two-thirty that I again put my fly on to the water.

The second or third cast the fly pitched right but turned over on its side. The fish was just moving up to take it when the rod was jerked up, and the Doctor reminded me in a stern voice that I was on a dry-fly stream. Rule No. 1 forbade the taking of trout by any means except the dry-fly; my fly was not properly dry, at any rate not cocked, and, had I landed the fish, I should have been bound to return it to the water and pay a fine of £1 for having infringed the rule.

The fish, of course, was scared, but we found another soon

after feeding on the male of the Centroptilum luteolum in th final, or imago, stage. He was in an awkward place as ther were some high thorn-bushes just behind me and he was lyin near the opposite bank. However, by stepping into the wate which was not deep, I could avoid the bushes without disturbin the trout. I had one foot already on the shallow when th professors rushed at me together and dragged me out. Rul No. 10 forbade wading under any circumstances whatever, i ruined the spawning beds, disturbed the ephemeridæ an trichoptera in the nymph stage of development, and was altogethe a most unsportsmanlike proceeding. The fish could easily b reached from the bank by the left-handed horizontal fore-switc cast, of which I was no doubt a master. I tried the fish fron the bank and lost my cast in the bushes.

Under the circumstances I was not sorry when Dr. Blac pulled out his watch and said it was three-thirty, after whic hour trout did not rise in May. There were several rising at th moment, but I was too dispirited to argue the point and retire dejectedly to the house. We were met by the Major, who receive a detailed account of the day's sport from the professors, on of whom had been taking short-hand notes during much of th day. The Major did not appear altogether pleased, and sai that there was, of course, no evening rise so early in the yea and that the fish must absolutely have a rest the next day afte having been disturbed in the way they evidently had.

I was just exploding into an outburst of fury when I felt m shoulder shaken and heard the voice of my servant saying "Time to get up, sir." Good heavens! Was it possible that i was all a nightmare? I tumbled out of bed and just caught th train. The wayside station and the drive were as in my dream but the Major received me with a shout. "Come on, old boy we must hurry up over breakfast; you never know when th fish will begin to move."

I caught five brace that day on my blue quill.

FRANCIS LINDLEY.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *September* 10, 1913

WITH the passage by the Senate yesterday of the Tariff Bill the first results of the Democratic victory of last year will soon be felt. The Bill is now "in conference." The American parliamentary system differs from the English in giving the Senate equal authority with the House in legislation. The Constitution provides that "all Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," which gives the House the sole power to initiate tariff legislation; but the Senate has the same right to amend a Tariff Bill as any other measure. This privilege of amendment is always freely availed of by the Senate. The Constitution is silent in regard to the origination of money Bills—Appropriation Bills as they are usually termed in America—but by common consent, and following the English parliamentary practice, Appropriation Bills are first introduced into the House and passed by that body before being acted upon by the Senate. When a revenue or money Bill reaches the Senate it is regarded rather as a suggestion and as expressing the judgment of the majority of the Lower House than as a mandate to the Senate. That body takes the Bill and puts its own impress upon it. It sends the House Bill to Committee precisely as it does an original Senate Bill, the Committee amends the Bill to suit its own views, the Bill is then reported to the Senate, where any Senator is privileged to offer as many amendments as he cares, and the amendments are incorporated in the Bill if they can command the necessary majority vote. In a revenue Bill the Senate may raise or reduce duties, transfer articles from the free list to the dutiable or vice versa; it may even, as it did on one occasion, strike out the whole Bill after the enacting clause, thus preserving the fiction of the Bill having "originated" in the House, and writ

in an entire new Bill in the form of an amendment. In a money Bill it can do the same thing. It reduces or increases appropriations, it strikes out certain items and adds others. Unlike the House of Lords, the power of the Senate in legislation is equal to that of the House of Representatives.

After the passage of a Bill by the House that has last acted upon it, the Bill, if amended, goes back to the House in which it originated, and that body may accept the amendments *en bloc* in which case the Bill is disposed of and it goes to the President for his signature; or some of the amendments may be accepted and others rejected; or the Bill may be ordered to lie on the table and remain unacted upon, which is notice that the House is offended at the way in which its Bill has been treated by the other body and will make no effort to reconcile the differences. But this seldom happens unless the majorities in the two Houses are of opposing parties and the Bill is a party question and for political reasons it is deemed better to have the Bill fail than to secure its passage by compromise.

Practically every Bill of any consequence "goes to conference," to use the technical term, before it becomes a law. To adjust the changes that have been made in a Bill by the one House after its passage by the other a conference is held. The conferees, either three, five, or seven on a side, but usually three, are appointed by the Vice-President on behalf of the Senate and the Speaker for the House, the majority from each body representing the majority party; and although there is no standing order governing the selection of conferees, under long-established custom they are members of the Committee having jurisdiction over the subject-matter, and almost always the chairman of the Committee and its ranking members are selected as the majority members of the conference, and the senior members of the minority side of the Committee represent their party.

A conference Committee, under the rules, is limited in its action. Its object is to bring about harmony between the items in dispute between the two Houses. That is its sole function. It may not touch any item in which no change has been made, nor may it add any new matter to the Bill or take anything away that is in it. If, for instance, a rate in the House Bill was made 30 per cent. and the Senate raised it to 35 per cent.,

r altered the wording of the paragraph, all that the conferees can do is to try to agree on either of the rates, or to compromise, or they may refuse to yield; but it would not be permissible for the conferees to agree on a rate of duty lower than 30 per cent. or higher than 35.

The system of legislation by conference has many advantages and almost as many serious disadvantages; the disadvantages are so numerous and so flagrant that it has many times been said Bills are not framed in Committee or passed by the two Houses, but they are "made in conference," which in a sense is too often true. Frequently items are put in Bills with the knowledge that "the Bill will be straightened out in conference"; men who know the mysteries of legislation secure the adoption of an amendment because it gives them something to "trade on" in conference. From the beginning a conference is a matter of compromise, bluff and diplomacy. Usually it is not difficult for the conferees to reach an agreement. When the two Houses are of the same political party, four of the six conferees will represent the majority and two the minority, and the majority men will stand together for party reasons. This, of course, assumes the Bill is of a contentious or party character; a non-partisan measure is easily disposed of.

A conference Committee is the agent of the two Houses, not its master. When the Committee has reached an agreement, or has only partially agreed, or is hopelessly at odds, it reports back. In the case of an agreement the matter is ended, the report of the Committee is adopted and the Bill is passed, although it is within the province of either House to refuse to accept the report. When the conferees are so wide apart that neither compromise nor concession is possible, their respective Houses can give them instructions; and in that case they no longer have free latitude of action, but must carry out their instructions to the letter. Bills have been known to fail in conference, but not often, as practical considerations require the passage of important measures, and differences can usually be adjusted. As a whole the system works fairly well, but whether it would prove successful in other countries is a question. In America it is necessary because the two Houses have co-ordinate powers.

The Tariff Bill is not expected to be delayed in conference very long, and when President Wilson affixes his signature to the Bill, thus making it a law, which in all probability will be done before this is read, for the second time in twenty years there will be a Democratic tariff law on the statute-books.

The last Democratic tariff became law in 1894. It was a Bill that so little carried out the principles of tariff reform to which the Democratic Party was pledged, according to the view of President Cleveland, that he refused to sign it. In the United States the President can either sign a Bill, thus indicating that it has his approval, or veto it, which shows that it has his disapproval, and the Bill fails to become a law unless Congress passes it over his veto; or he can permit it to become law without his signature, which is the President's way of making it known that while the Bill may have some good features, and therefore ought not to be vetoed, he cannot give it his full endorsement by signing it. While the Bill was pending in Congress Mr. Cleveland wrote to Mr. Wilson, its author, that the changes made by the Senate were an abandonment of Democratic principles and "means party perfidy and party dishonour"; and after the Bill had passed and was presented to him he wrote again that while he could not sign the Bill, he would not separate himself from his party "to such an extent as might be implied by a veto." The Wilson law is popularly supposed to have been economically disastrous to the United States. There were hard times following its enactment, and whatever went wrong was laid on the back of the Democratic "free trade" law. Perhaps that law had to carry a heavier burden than was fairly its measure, and causes other than the changes in the rates of duty contributed to the evil days that followed; but, whatever the true reason, it was popular belief that the high protection of the Republicans invited prosperity, while the low tariff policy of the Democrats was certain to bring disaster. So firmly rooted was this belief that it kept the Democrats out of power until the country grew tired of Republican prosperity and longed for a change to see what the effect would be.

What the effect will be we shall begin to know a few months hence, and nations will watch with keen interest, for it may have an enormous influence on the trade and commerce of the

whole world. If it is true, as some of the old-school Republicans declare, that the United States cannot protect the home market from foreign competition without the barrier of a high tariff, then again the country will pay for its folly, and to-day, as in the day of President Cleveland, men will go hungry and the distress will be deep and bitter. But is it true? Not if the Democrats know their ground. The high tariff, they say, has pampered and coddled manufacturers, who have relied more on the protection of the tariff than on efficiency, economy and organisation. In Europe one constantly hears of the system of American shop-management, of the labour-saving devices, of the effort to save time and labour and thus cheapen the cost of production; and in this country one is constantly told that manufacturers are wasteful and stupid and that they must learn to practise small economies and do business on a closer margin if they would compete in the markets of the world. Until a few years ago nearly all American manufacturers were so busy in satisfying the home market that they were indifferent to the export trade.

Now they see the value of foreign business, and the competition they will be forced to meet at home by the reduction of the tariff will, Democrats say, so stimulate them that they will not only be able to retain possession of the domestic market, but they will also be able successfully to meet the foreigner on his own ground. If that is true—and we shall soon know whether it is—either Europe will have to brace up or the United States will industrially dominate the world. The American manufacturer has conducted operations on a large scale; high wages forced him to run at high speed with a great output so as to reduce as low as possible overhead charges and manufacturing costs. His units of costs, if economists are to be believed, are still too high because he was not content with a moderate profit, but looked forward to making a great fortune in a few years. The millions made by the manufacturers of iron, steel, cotton, leather, type-writers and, more recently, automobiles are cited in proof. It is constantly said that the American pays a fictitious price for everything, and that while high prices bring about high wages and the higher scale of living for which America is famous, wages would still remain relatively high if the manufacturer was satisfied with a more modest profit.

The men who have framed the new tariff law say the United States is about to enter on a period of prosperity such as it has never known. The American manufacturer with his huge plant and extensive facilities, these men say, need have no fear of rivals if he shows the same intelligence, careful management and use of his opportunities that Europeans do. He has the advantage of a still sufficiently high tariff to keep the home market for his own, and the demand thus created justifies him manufacturing on a larger scale than foreigners. The American cheap automobile is referred to as a case in point. A profitable export trade has been developed because the demand for moderate-priced automobiles in the United States is so much greater than in any other country that the American manufacturer can produce cheaper than foreign rivals and put his cars on the foreign market at a price to meet competition and still yield him a fair profit. The manufacture of automobiles being a comparatively newly established industry in this country, the factories of the great makers are equipped with the latest machinery and other labour-saving devices, and the process of manufacturing is so highly organised and specialised that it is carried on under the most favourable conditions to secure efficient and economical results. If all manufacturing was similarly efficient the manufacturer would have nothing to fear, he could continue to pay high wages and reduce the cost of his product, and he could find a foreign market for his surplus. This, the advocates of the new tariff say, will follow. They admit that some of the small manufacturers, especially those who are using antiquated machinery or processes, or who are slack in their methods, may suffer inconvenience until they readjust themselves to the new conditions; but the manufacturers who have kept abreast of progress, especially those who are doing business on a large scale, will really be better off a year or two hence than they are to-day.

It sounds almost like the millennium, and one may well look with suspicion upon the politician who offers the political millennium. The Democrats must, of course, "make good," to use an Americanism. It is their political salvation. They will be politically damned for another decade or so if they prove false prophets. The Democratic fiscal system is now on trial. If it brings the country prosperity the country will like it immensely

[illegible]

No excuse or explanation will suffice. Every[illegible] that is bad the Democratic tariff will have to answer for. The Republicans, of course, are patriots and wish no harm to the country, but they would endure with pious fortitude the visitation of divine wrath on the heads of the Democrats.

Is the United States about to inaugurate a new political policy as well as a new fiscal policy? Europe has so long been led to believe that the Monroe Doctrine is as much a part of American polity as its Supreme Court or Congress that it comes rather as a surprise when leading newspapers treat the famous Doctrine with scant reverence and flippantly declare that it has outlived its usefulness and may conveniently be thrown into the limbo of forgotten things. A newspaper of such high standing as the New York *Herald*, in discussing Mexico, suggests that the United States might with propriety call an international conference to deal with the involved affairs of that turbulent republic.

That the Monroe Doctrine will not be abandoned is a fairly safe prediction, but Mr. Wilson takes a somewhat different view of the scope, intent and obligations of the Monroe Doctrine from some of his predecessors, especially Mr. Roosevelt. The Doctrine as enunciated by President Monroe in his Message to Congress in December 1823 was simply the announcement of the policy of the young republic to protect itself against European encroachments or aggressions, and the crux of the declaration is to be found in these words:

> We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] Powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Several of Mr. Monroe's successors affirmed the [illegible] principle of Monroeism, but it remained for Mr. Cleveland [illegible]

to enlarge the scope of the Doctrine when he permitted Secretary Olney to send his famous Venezuela dispatch to Lord Salisbury, in the course of which he used the now historical phrase: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." If the Monroe Doctrine were relaxed, if "European Powers may convert American States into colonies or provinces of their own," the position of the United States, Mr. Olney argued, would be imperilled and European Powers would be able to acquire a base of military operations directed against the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine, as it was first given to the world by its American author, imposed no obligation upon the United States to keep the peace in Spanish America, but if the United States maintained the right to resist European colonisation it was in duty bound to enforce contractual and other obligations entered into by countries that were notoriously indifferent to the solemnity of their agreements. It came to be accepted that while the United States would resent European interference in the affairs of Latin America, it reserved the right to interfere whenever it saw fit, and especially when interference was in the interests of the United States.

In his Message to the Senate recommending the ratification of the Dominican treaty providing for the collection of the revenues of that republic by the United States, President Roosevelt said: "It has for some time been obvious that those who profit by the Monroe Doctrine must accept certain responsibilities along with the rights which it confers." He laid down the principle that "an aggrieved nation can without interfering with the Monroe Doctrine take what action it sees fit in the adjustment of its disputes with American States, provided that action does not take the form of interference with their form of government or the despoilment of their territory under any disguise." He pointed out that the seizure of a Custom-house was in effect a possession, even although only a temporary possession, of territory, which made the United States a party in interest because of the Monroe Doctrine.

In accordance with the general principle that the United States exercises the right of supervision over Central America

it has landed marines to suppress revolution and has dictated the choice of Presidents. During the Japanese scare of last year, when Japan was accused of intriguing with Mexico, Mr. Lodge secured the adoption of a resolution by the Senate declaring that the possession of any harbour or other place "in the American continents" by a non-American corporation or association which has such a relation with its Government as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes would be viewed with grave concern by the United States. As this was simply a Senate resolution it did not require the action of the House or the approval of the President, and is to be regarded merely as an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate, but it indicates that at the time of its passage the Senate had a majority not in favour of curtailing the scope of the Monroe Doctrine, but so greatly expanding it that the purchase of a harbour in Mexico by an English or German commercial trading company would be considered by the Senate ground for American resentment.

Mr. Wilson is inclined to construe the Monroe Doctrine literally and according to the text. He has taken occasion to make it known that he has recently re-read his predecessor's Message and he does not find anything in it that requires the United States to play the policeman in the Western Hemisphere. "Is it not the duty of the United States to police Central America?" he was asked; and he suggested to his questioner that he should read President Monroe's Message and find out precisely what he wrote; and from the quotation I have given it will be seen that Monroe went no farther than to serve notice on Europe that the colonisation of the American continent would be resisted by the United States as dangerous to its peace and safety.

The fact is, of course, that the Monroe Doctrine is such a loose and ill-defined principle or declaration of policy that it can be subjected to any construction to suit a particular exigency. "What is the Monroe Doctrine?" I once asked Mr. John Hay, when he was Secretary of State. "What is it?" he replied with a smile. "It is anything that any President or any Congress or the American people may care to make of it; and fortunately we do not have to be more specific than that."

So far as Mexico is concerned it is impossible at this time to say what the outcome will be of the negotiations now in progress, but it is not easy to understand why Mr. Wilson's policy should have met with such hostile criticism in Europe, and that hostility can only be explained by ignorance. Europe's interest in Mexico is commercial, not political, and commerce can only be carried on successfully when a country is unvexed by revolution or political turmoil, the Government is strong enough to preserve order, and the people are at peace and engaged in their ordinary pursuits. It makes no difference to the European whose money is invested in Mexican properties whether Diaz or Madero or Huerta is President; it does make considerable difference to him if railways or plantations or mines in which he has shares are destroyed or forced to suspend operations. President Wilson is anxious to restore normal conditions not only for the benefit of the Mexicans, but for the advantage of all foreigners who have money invested in Mexico. Mr. Wilson has been accused of being conciliatory when a vigorous policy was demanded. But what does a vigorous policy mean? In this case it means war under the high-sounding name of intervention; and the people who are clamouring for war—the commercial interests—show their folly and would be the greatest sufferers from war. A country at war, especially a country on whose soil is a foreign army, must use all its energies to repel the invader and can give little attention to its commercial development. There would be great destruction of property, nor would any discrimination be made. Property owned by Englishmen would be destroyed in the same way as the property of Americans and Germans, and this destruction would go on for so many years that investors would be ruined. It is obvious that Mr. Wilson's course is not only eminently wise, but that he is acting in the best interests of every one who has money invested in Mexico. It is, of course, not certain that in the end he will not have to intervene in Mexico, but every consideration urges that he should resort to intervention only when other methods have been tried and failed. That is the policy he is pursuing, and in the end it may be seen that "conciliation" was the true measure of statesmanship.

Politics in the United States, as I have before had occasion to observe, are always uncertain and usually defy calculation,

but never were they more mystifying than at the present time. Yesterday an election was held in the State of Maine to fill a vacancy in the Congressional representation caused by the death of Mr. Goodwin, who was elected at the General Election last November as a Republican. The Third Maine District has always been a Republican stronghold, and at one time it had as its representative Mr. James G. Blaine, for many years the idol of the Republicans, twice Secretary of State, and an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency. Although the Maine Progressives supported Mr. Roosevelt for the Presidency in opposition to Mr. Taft, they combined with their opponents on the Republican candidates for members of Congress, and after a stiff fight Mr. Goodwin pulled through with a majority of about a thousand; but Mr. Wilson carried the district on the "Presidential ticket" by a lead of about 1400 over Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Taft ran some six thousand votes behind Mr. Roosevelt. Yesterday the Republican candidate for Congress was elected by a majority of about 600 over the Democrat, whose vote was practically the same as that polled by Mr. Wilson ten months earlier; while the Progressive vote was seven thousand less than Mr. Roosevelt's.

That the Republicans are jubilant and the Democrats sorely disappointed is natural, but the Progressives are amazed, bewildered, too dazed to offer coherent explanation, if any explanation other than the returns is needed. To have lost 50 per cent. of their strength in less than a year and to see their bitter rivals gain 100 per cent. is a problem in political arithmetic that may well defy solution. One election is not sufficient to justify a conclusion, although it sustains the belief of Republicans that the Progressive Party is fast disintegrating and the next contest for the Presidency will be a square fight between their party and the Democrats, with the Progressives a disturbing but not a serious element. But that is three years in the future, and who would be so foolish as to speculate on what may happen in American politics three years hence?

Theoretically democracy is splendid, or ought to be, but when a concrete illustration is given of its workings one is forced to question whether anything is gained by an intelligent minority being subject to the rule of the unintelligent majority. We have been given a nauseous example of the stupid perversion of the

mob in the proceedings growing out of the arrest of Thaw in Canada. The man is a murderer and has been judicially pronounced insane, but the people of the eastern part of Canada have made a hero of him and would, if it were not for the intelligent saving remnant, not only have liberated him but honoured him had they been given an opportunity. To these Canadians Thaw is a martyr and the legal representatives of the State of New York, his legal guardian, are persecutors and would be tarred and feathered, and perhaps lynched, if the mob dared.

Canadians are no different from Americans, or from democracy elsewhere. Thaw's sympathisers are the men who elect members of Parliament and Ministers; they constitute that awful thing "public opinion," before which Ministers bow in humility and to which the demagogue caters. In a vague sort of way we have known how stupid public opinion is; now we have it clearly forced upon us how little importance is to be attached to the voice of God as it is supposed to be expressed through the throats of the majority. The average intelligence in Canada is not lower than elsewhere; the people of Quebec are fairly representative of those of their same mental habits in other countries, so that the disgraceful spectacle that has been seen in Coaticook in the province of Quebec is not a sporadic outburst of mob insanity, but is typical of mob democracy. The same thing has happened in the United States and in England. It is democracy triumphing over reason.

One may further ask whether the time has not come to define legal ethics. Can a lawyer without wrench to his conscience take a fee to overthrow society? Is it permissible for a lawyer to enable a murderer to escape his just punishment? Of guilt or innocence there is no question. Thaw's lawyers are not engaged to defend an innocent man. Their sole business is to make a sport of the law.

A. MAURICE LOW.

HOW TO WIN THE WESTCHESTER POLO CUP

THE interest that has been aroused in International sport by the proposed subscription for the Olympic Games warrants a little reflection upon the offer made by Lord Ashby St. Ledgers to challenge for the Westchester Cup, which was so nearly won by the Duke of Westminster's team of British polo players this summer. The matter is a trifle more urgent, since the Duke of Westminster in his open letter to the Press referred to International polo as one of the games in which British supremacy had been lost. It is quite possible to discuss the St. Ledgers proposal without entering upon the field of controversy that has arisen over the suggestion of an Olympic fund. Polo does not come within the purview of those who are opposed to national support in the Olympic struggles, as it is a game almost entirely free from professionalism as this term is applied to other field sports. Yet although it is without this blight, yet it has suffered in its International aspect, and is still in danger of suffering from that indifference to preparatory detail which is the worst, even though the most engaging, of the faults of British sportsmen.

To understand what is in the writer's mind it will be necessary briefly to analyse the effort that was made by the Duke of Westminster to win the International Polo Trophy at Meadowbrook this year. The Duke of Westminster guaranteed a certain number of match and practice ponies, and the expenses incurred by the same in their passage to and from America. He also was nominally responsible for the selection of the team that was destined to battle for the cup. In the matter of the actual collection of the ponies, he had the services of one of the most

experienced polo players in the country. There was, however, no effort made to mount the team entirely from animals under the control of the stable. For the most part the ponies that actually played on the British side at Meadowbrook were not the property of the Duke of Westminster, but were lent to the team in the public interest. Of these, not unnaturally, several were owned by the individual members of the representative team. There is no quarrel with this system, as it is too much to expect that any individual sportsman should be put to the enormous expense of purchasing the twenty best polo ponies of any year in order that the stable of the International four should be under one control. What is meant, however, is that the movement to win the cup was not sufficiently spontaneous in the British polo playing world to allow of the absolute cream of the pony flesh being at the disposal of the selected team of champions. It is not difficult to find the reason for this. The Westminster effort was spoiled by this same engaging fault of haphazard endeavour. It began at the wrong end. It laboured to get together a stable first and then as a final effort to fit a team of players to the existing stud. This is wrong. The team complete with their captain should be chosen first. This selection made and approved by the representative bodies of the polo playing world, the matter of the ponies should not present any serious difficulties.

The history of the great games at Meadowbrook this year, when the Westminster effort was defeated by the narrow margin of 2¾ goals in 16 chukkers furnishes incontestable proof of the writer's contention. The team which represented England played together as a team for the first time on their arrival in America, and they were not thoroughly tested as a team until they lined up for the first game in the International contest. This is what the writer terms haphazard endeavour. Let us take the composition of the British team. To begin with the captain. This all-important post was filled by Captain Gerald Ritson. Was Captain Ritson selected by reason of his qualities for keeping a team together or solely upon his brilliancy as a player in that part of the field from which it is possible to control the game? The answer to this question the writer cannot give. It is, however, certain that the team was

not built round the captain, as every good polo team should be, and this leads the writer to suspect that his selection to command was of the nature of a *pis aller*. Captains Leslie Cheape and Noel Edwards were undoubtedly selected on the merits of their play in the International matches two years previously. Two years is a long time in the life of a polo player. Form is often in polo a fickle wench. In the case under discussion it certainly was, as Captain Noel Edwards had to stand down in the second match. Captain Vivian Lockett was a late love in the selection of the team. Until he reached America he had only met the team with which he was to play in opposition. It is said, with what truth the writer cannot say, that up to the throwing in of the ball to begin the first match the team themselves looked upon Captain Lockett as the weak vessel in the combination. Yet it was Captain Lockett's almost faultless play in both the matches that saved the team from overwhelming disaster. All this, in the opinion of the writer, proves definitely that the whole effort, as far as the team was concerned, was haphazard and truly typical of the nonchalant attitude of those interested in British sport. As Mr. Naylor, the Duke of Westminster's stud groom, is reported to have prophesied as he led the British string of ponies into the field, "it was not the ponies, but the players, that would lose England the cup." All this, be it said, is no reflection upon any of the players. They played with the best that was in them. It was not their fault that they were an eleventh-hour combination.

It is the hope of the writer, as it must be of all sportsmen, be they polo players or otherwise, that Lord Ashby St. Ledgers in his promised endeavour will not fall into the same errors that ruined the chances of the Westminster effort. In sporting language the cup, if played for *next year*, should be a gift to the challengers. The reason for the assertion is absolutely clear. The American team, familiarly known in the United States as the Big Four, is the creation of Mr. Harry Payne Whitney. After Mr. Foxhall Keene's American team was beaten in 1902 by Hurlingham, Whitney took American polo in hand. He retained the brothers Waterbury from the old International four, and introduced himself and Mr. Devereux Milburn into the new representation. He himself brought his immense wealth and quality as a

captain into the team. As a result the Big Four trounced Hurlingham in 1909 and carried the Westchester Cup across the Atlantic. The same Big Four defended it admirably against the team which Captain Hardress Lloyd took over in 1911 and just managed to ward off the attack made upon it this year. The Big Four is a peculiarly constituted team. To begin with they revolutionised the game as it had hitherto been played. The brothers Waterbury introduced a style of loose poaching game which was only operative when the offside rule as played under British rules was abrogated. From the first Whitney proved himself a captain of extraordinary ability, which made up for his inferiority in actual play. In Milburn the world found perhaps the finest back that has yet been seen. This team, possessing all the advantages of supporting wealth and unlimited opportunities for playing together, presented an almost invincible front to the haphazard efforts that were made by this country to defeat them. After their first success, in 1909, they had created the great asset of confidence in their own prowess. This was fostered by the commanding abilities of the captain. Each member of the team knew the weakness and strength of the other's play, and the forward game which the Waterburys had inculcated was rendered almost overwhelming by the extraordinary genius of Milburn as back in combination with a No. 3 who understood the American game as well as did Whitney. It has, however, been suggested earlier in this paper that form in the polo field is a fickle wench. Polo in America has, during recent years, seen such an impetus, mainly through the interest attracted to it by the International games, that there has not been a lack of young blood coming along, boiling to test the pulse of the Big Four. Although these aspirations are altogether healthy, yet they are often ill-balanced. During the preparation of the Big Four against the arrival of the challengers this year there was deep and bitter criticism of the old defenders' form. So biting was this criticism that Whitney had, perforce, to take stock of the aggregate age of his team, and to admit that eyes were failing and the fires of youth diminishing. For a week, just ten days before the matches, it was understood that the Big Four had "stood down" and that a new team rallied round the veteran Foxhall Keene would defend the cup. Then,

again, at the eleventh hour, owing to an accident to Foxhall Keene, a substitution had to be made. The Big Four was recalled into the arena.

How they justified the recall is a matter of recent history. Each man in that team fought with the knowledge that he had the criticism of exhausted faculty to play down. The team nobly responded to the effort, but as the players rode off the ground they knew that the Big Four had played their last International match: had won their last fight. Whitney knew: they one and all knew that which was hidden from the vast majority of the spectators, namely the microscopic margin which had brought them victory over what was really an unformed British team. They knew that the fraction of a goal that spelled success in the second match had enabled them to snatch victory out of defeat: that while they themselves had "cracked" under the supreme effort they had made, the British team had found themselves, was a momentarily improving combination, and that had they been able to play a third game they would have galloped over the Big Four. Whitney is a wise man. His wisdom has been the *deus ex-machinâ* of the Big Four, and he will never again captain a team to defend the cup. Of the Big Four he has captained so redoubtably only Devereux Milburn will remain amongst the next defenders.

It is for this reason that the writer maintains that if a British team challenges for 1914 the cup is theirs by gift. The intimate analysis is as follows. The centurion's cloak, which Whitney has relinquished, will fall upon the brawny shoulders of Mr. Louis Stoddard, who was first substitute in this year's matches and who took the place of Monte Waterbury when the latter broke his finger in the first match at Meadowbrook. Although the team which was to have replaced the Big Four this year was captained by Foxhall Keene, it is unthinkable that this veteran player will again be entrusted with the defence of the cup. Louis Stoddard has many fine qualities as a polo player. He has a long purse and does not grudge expenditure in the purchase of ponies. He is a hard and almost brutal rider in the game, and hits a long straight ball with very considerable accuracy when he has a clear field. He does not possess, however, any of the finesse of a great player, and has not yet exhibited any of those qualities requisite in the captain

of an International team. Being a player of but moderate judgment it is doubtful if he will have sufficient acumen either to select the best team or to control them after selection. As matters stand at the present moment he will probably have forced upon him as his associates Mr. Rene La Montagne, Mr. Malcolm Stevenson and Devereux Milburn. The satisfactory placing of this team in itself is a Chinese puzzle. It presents the problem of dovetailing into a team four players who themselves believe they are capable of playing equally well in any position in the field. Those who have watched their form closely, however, know that on the true form of the players it will be a team that is made up of two rough, dashing Numbers 1 and one perfect and one indifferent No. 4. Judging by the distribution intended during the short reign of Foxhall Keene as captain, the American defending four in 1914 (if the International matches be played) will be La Montagne No. 1, Milburn No. 2, Stoddard No. 3 and Malcolm Stevenson back. In 1914 this is a four which any good British regimental team should be able to beat. Though Milburn in any place, in any game must be an asset, yet at No. 2 he is at least two goals less value to his side than when he plays back. Stoddard at No. 3 would have to change the whole character of his game, which the writer believes to be an impossibility. Malcolm Stevenson, though perhaps the best horseman amongst first-class American polo players, is on this year's form only a very moderate back, and he showed none of that promise for improvement that one might have expected in a young runner-up of the Big Four. Form, however, is capricious amongst polo players, and with polo going ahead as it is in America the conditions foreshadowed here for 1914 will probably have vanished by 1915. By then a new Alexander may have arisen to take the place of Whitney, and the many country polo clubs may have produced players, each in his individual place in the game, of the same calibre as Milburn. If this should prove to be the case then we in this country must be prepared to say good-bye to the Westchester Cup for ever.

It is for this reason that the writer would urge Lord Ashby St. Ledgers to make his effort next summer. But although it has been suggested that the cup will be a gift in 1914 and that a good regimental team should be able to win it, yet this does not mean

that the same haphazard efforts should continue that have marred our pretensions in the past. It must be remembered that Louis Stoddard's team will have the best pony flesh at their command that wealth can secure, and that there is a brutal dash in the American conception of the game that is deadly until it is countered and rendered innocuous by steady combination and imperturbable science.

Lord Ashby St. Ledgers must first choose his captain. The success and failure of his enterprise will depend upon this selection. It is suggested that his choice is likely to fall upon —— ——. This, in the opinion of the writer, would be little short of a calamity. Although on English grounds ——'s demonstration of the game has shown great brilliancy, it is of too individual a character to warrant his choice as the pivot of a great side. Moreover the inherent desire he has for personal possession of the ball would spell failure on the Meadowbrook ground. The writer, if he were in the position to choose the team for 1914, would spare no pains to induce Captain Hardress Lloyd to again accept the supreme authority. From this point the captain should be given an entirely free hand. If, however, he could take the following team: Captain Grenfell 1, Captain Ritson 2, Captain Hardress Lloyd 3, and Captain Lockett back, and had them mounted as well as the Westminster team was mounted this year, he would have no difficulty in defeating the Stoddard combination as the writer has estimated their quality in 1914.

RIKHAB.

FROM BOGOTA TO BEDFORD

MR. LLOYD GEORGE's public services have been few and far between during the past year, and even his warmest admirers are somewhat perturbed by the spirit of procrastination and hesitancy which marks his movements. He was billed to burst the feudal system a year ago, but on one pretext or another he has continually postponed this beneficent operation, though it is now positively asserted—unless, of course, another war in the Balkans should intervene—that the great man will commence his great work at Bedford on October 11, a day redolent of sinister memories, being the anniversary of that fatal Friday afternoon in the House of Commons when time alone compelled Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. to economise the truth about their Marconi ventures. They confined themselves to indignantly repelling the foul insinuation that they might conceivably have gambled in British Marconis. They omitted to inform the House of Commons of their American "investment"—indistinguishable except in the eyes of casuists from a British gamble. They momentarily gained their object of fooling Parliament, of fooling the public, of fooling the Press. But, be it never forgotten, they did not fool the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, who holds a lower record in the Marconi scandal than any other Minister, for the simple reason that he occupied a higher position and consequently has had a greater fall. Everybody outside the Hush-up Press can appreciate the conduct of Sir Rufus Isaacs (Lord Chief Justice elect), Mr. Lloyd George (Premier elect), and Mr. Herbert Samuel—who disrated a minor official of the Post Office for doing on a trifling scale substantially what his colleagues had done on a great scale—in misleading the country into believing that no Minister had ever touched any Marconi share. As public memory is short and the anniversary of the Festival of Truth is at hand it may be

as well to reproduce the text of Ministerial utterances which after all give us the measure of Ministerial character. Politicians who have done this once will do it again until it becomes second nature.

The Postmaster-General (Mr. Herbert Samuel):

Neither I myself nor any of my colleagues have at any time held one shilling's worth of shares in this Company, directly or indirectly, or have derived one penny profit from the fluctuations in their prices. It seems shameful that political feeling can carry so far, that lying tongues can be found to speak and ears found to listen to such wicked and utterly baseless slanders such as these. This Committee (i.e. the Marconi Committee) which will be appointed, will enquire into every aspect of this question, and members of the Government will be most ready to appear before it. Every member of the House may have full confidence that while every part of this transaction will come under the searchlight of examination, it will be shown that there is no uncleanliness in any quarter.

The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs):

Let me go to the next charge, which is, I think, a worse charge. It is that some member of the Government not named, but hinted at—some member or members of the Cabinet—knowing that these negotiations were taking place, knowing that there was a contract in contemplation, and thinking the shares would go up when the announcement of the contract came to be made—the price of the shares being then 14s. or 15s. and eventually rose to £9 after the announcement of the contract was made—thereupon, and in consequence of the information which some member of the Government had got, bought shares in this Company at a low price, in order to sell them at the higher price when the contract was announced. I desire to say frankly, on behalf of myself, that that is absolutely untrue. Never from the beginning, when the shares were 14s. or £9, have I had one single transaction with the shares of that Company. I am not only speaking for myself, but I am also speaking on behalf, I know, of both my right hon. friend the Postmaster-General, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in some way or other, in some of the articles, have been brought into this matter.

Mr. Lloyd George (Chancellor of the Exchequer):

The hon. member said something about the Government, and he has talked about "rumours." I want to know what these rumours are. If the hon. gentleman has any charge to make against the Government as a whole or against individual members of it, I think it ought to be stated openly. The reason why the Government wanted a frank discussion before going to Committee was because we wanted to bring here these rumours, these sinister rumours, that have been passed from one foul lip to another behind the backs of the House. . . . I came here this afternoon because I had heard what was said outside. I have waited carefully, and not a single member on the other side of the House, or anybody else who has taken part in this Debate, has ever hinted at anything. The only member who has hinted completely dissociated himself from the rumours. The hon. member (Mr. Lansbury) is the first one who has said so; I demand that his charge shall be formulated.

In no country in the world except in England in her decadence could Ministers have behaved thus and retained office. When these speeches were made not only were two of the speakers substantial holders of Marconi shares, but the third, the Postmaster-General, was aware of the fact, and honour among colleagues, if nothing else, should have prevented him from trespassing upon the territory of Mr. Ure, the Lord Advocate of Scotland. Still worse was the conduct of the Prime Minister, chief guardian of the integrity of the Government and principal trustee of the traditions of our public life, upon which he can expatiate as eloquently as anybody, but to which he has dealt the deadliest blow they have sustained in his lifetime. Never again need any one believe anything said from the Treasury Bench.

Mr. Asquith has been treated in the "usual Unionist quarters" as though he had been an innocent victim of his colleagues' duplicity, and his friends are positively pathetic upon the cruel manner in which he was "let in" by the Marconi group. Needless to say there is not a particle of truth in this legend. There is, however, a special reason for minimising Mr. Asquith's offence in certain Unionist circles where the magic word "Coalition" is regarded as worthy of a wider significance than it bears at the present moment. Those who euphemistically term themselves "the best men of both parties" to console themselves for having a following in neither anticipate the happy day when they may form a combination inspired by two objects, namely to retain office and to sell causes. Naturally it does not suit these hungry souls, to whose schemes Mr. Asquith's co-operation is essential, that our Panama Premier should be unduly discredited, so they and their newspaper henchmen zealously draw impossible distinctions between Mr. Lloyd George and his titular leader, though to the impartial onlooker, so far as Marconi is concerned, it is a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other. Indeed it may turn out when both the Murray mystery and the Marconi mystery are finally cleared up, or "cleaned up," to use the more appropriate expression of Oilybank, the Prime Minister may come out worse than his Chancellor of the Exchequer, even though he did not take a valuable tip from a Government contractor.

On his own showing Mr. Asquith's case is bad enough. The declarations of his colleagues, printed on a previous page, speak

for themselves. When the *Matin* revelations proved those utterances to be an ingenious combination of *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi* everybody imagined, and Radicals vociferated, that Mr. Asquith had been kept completely in the dark concerning the American Marconi flutter, and that whatever might be his faults he was incapable of gambling with the truth or tolerating such action by his colleagues. It was incredible that the Premier should have sat by and sanctioned speeches conveying the opposite of the facts. However, we are losing our illusions one by one. We now know from Mr. Asquith's own lips that he was aware of the April speculation of his Marconi colleagues so long ago as August 1912; that he dissuaded Sir Rufus Isaacs from taking proceedings against his traducers—obviously because there would be a risk of the American transaction being disclosed, while there was a hope of its being permanently hushed up. Although not present at the October Debate Mr. Asquith knew and approved of the dirty trick played on the public by his colleagues, as he cynically informed the House of Commons during the Marconi debate last June that "when I read the declarations, which I did, of my right hon. friends (*i.e.* of last October) they seemed to me to be *perfectly natural, proper, and full*" (my italics). We wish any of the obsolete Mandarins of the Unionist Party who regard an Asquith Coalition as affording their solitary hope of attaining office joy of their new leader. The policy of such a Government would presumably consist of "the Ministerial Right to Speculate."

I began by observing that Mr. Lloyd George had rendered few public services of late. It would, however, be unjust not to acknowledge that in his belated passion for accuracy, and his hyper-sensitiveness towards criticism, he has put a useful spoke in the wheel of the Hush-up Press—which anticipated devoting the autumn to selling Ulster to the Molly Maguires—by recalling the central episode of the great Marconi mystery.

Mr. George's political methods are too simple to impose on a Welsh Baptist: "Blacken your opponents' characters by a foul and filthy stream of lies. Weep whenever you are criticised, and pose as a great and good man whose love of the people arouses the animosity of the enemies of the people who are engaged in a devilish conspiracy to destroy the uncrowned King of Wales."

In a healthy and vigorous speech in the middle of August, which might be usefully imitated by mealy-mouthed parliamentarians, Lord Wolmer, who has brains and pluck—an uncommon combination in politicians—emphasised the indecency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in taking a valuable tip from a Government contractor and then trying to brazen it out as an injured innocent. Lord Wolmer was reported in a compressed version of his speech as having suggested, not that the favoured trio might have realised £30,000 (as a matter of fact they might have realised infinitely more) but that Mr. Lloyd George alone might have pocketed that sum on his avowed speculations in American Marconis. Mr. Lloyd George characteristically ignored the main issues raised by Lord Wolmer, which were not exclusively arithmetical, and a useful interchange of letters occurred between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his critic—on which both parties are to be congratulated, Lord Wolmer for telling Mr. Lloyd George to his face what all decent people think of him, and Mr. Lloyd George for frustrating the tactics of the Hush-ups, the success of which depends upon the permanent burial of the Marconi controversy, and with it the cause of Clean Government.

Poor old Hush-ups. They have had a very bad time. They are in for a worse one. They expend themselves barking up the wrong tree and have become a public laughing-stock. They should confine themselves to the "Mystery of the Pearl Necklace" or "Flying Upside Down." Politics is off their beat. They affect to despise Mr. Lloyd George for continually "giving away the show," but despicable as has been his conduct throughout the Marconi controversy it is less despicable than the conspiracy of silence on the part of so-called "responsible" Unionist newspapers which have ceased to exercise any serious influence on any serious Unionist, and are reduced to the ignominy of having their legs pulled by one or other member of the great Ministry of Mendacity, and of having their praises sung by Panama politicians.

What of the arithmetic of Marconi shares, on which Mr. Lloyd George lays such untimely stress when he sees a chance of scoring a debating point and of giving a lead to that portion of the Cocoa Press whose tips are not exclusively derived from the alluring Captain Coe. What did Lord Wolmer say, and what might he have said? Mr. Lloyd George professes to be overflowing with

accurate information concerning the performances of previous Unionist Ministers, which, *ex-hypothesi*, would put him right with the public apparently on the ground that two blacks make a white. But when Lord Salisbury suggested that these diatribes against the Cecils should be reduced to facts, Mr. Lloyd George conveniently crossed the Channel. He might have gone on urgent business to Bogota, but he apparently got no farther than Boulogne. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be as full as an egg of meat of the misdeeds of ex-Ministers. If any of them took private and particular tips from Government contractors which they marketed on the Stock Exchange pending the parliamentary ratification of a contract, we should be glad to have the names of the culprits and full details of the incident. Would Mr. George seriously maintain that such a lapse on the part of one of Cæsar's former wives justifies the moral débâcle of the present harem ?

He may or may not have information to disclose concerning his predecessors. If so let us have it without further ado. In any case he can give us valuable information concerning himself and his colleagues hitherto withheld from the public to which the country is entitled, considering the scurvy manner in which it has already been treated. Before the close of this article I shall hope to convince even Mr. Lloyd George that matters cannot remain where they are, and that if Oilybank is to remain at Bogota, Boilingworth * should take up the parable at Bedford. Lord Wolmer committed the enormity of being misreported as saying that Mr. Lloyd George might have made £30,000 out of his American Marconis, whereas the speaker actually said that the favoured trio (Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Master of Oilybank, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer) might have made that sum. They certainly might, and a great deal more, had Sir Rufus Isaacs done his duty by his colleagues, instead of allowing himself to be obsessed with distinctions without differences. Ministers might just as well have made a brilliant coup while they were about it, getting into American Marconis on the ground floor and getting out at the fourth floor, instead of feebly creeping in at the first floor and trickling out at the cellar. To have misused

* A compendious name for Mr. Illingworth, the successor of Oilybank as Chief Ministerial Whip.

such a golden opportunity of making a fortune is eternally discreditable to an old Stock Exchange hand like the Attorney-General. It stamps the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a financial nincompoop, and it proves the Master of Elibank to have been totally unfitted to control the huge secret funds which form the corner-stone of Radical politics.

Mr. Lloyd George's attack on Lord Wolmer took the form of a letter from "Brynawelon, Criccieth, August 21, 1913," complaining of a report of a speech delivered by the latter on the previous Saturday (August 16), stating that "I had been 'detected . . . in a transaction which I venture to say no Chancellor of the Exchequer that had ever sat in Downing Street has ever been guilty of before—that is to say, accepting a tip from a Government contractor out of which he might have made £30,000, and the only reason why he did not was that he wanted to make more and held on too long.'" Mr. George selected this "as a fair sample of the general accuracy of the statements you made in the course of this speech. As you do not seem to have condescended to explain to your audience how I could, under any conditions, have made £30,000 out of my two purchases of 1000 *shares each* * (neither, by the way, being bought from a Government contractor) perhaps you would not mind clearing up the matter for my information. I actually lost some hundreds by these two transactions; it would therefore interest me to know how I might have cleared £30,000."

Lord Wolmer explained in reply that he had not seen the report of the speech referred to, "and it is not perfectly accurate, as I included Lord Murray and Sir Rufus Isaacs in the statement I made concerning your speculations in Marconi shares. The quotation you made should read, 'Mr. Lloyd George was detected . . . in a transaction which I venture to say no other Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever sat in Downing Street has ever been guilty of before—that is to say, he and his friends accepted a tip from a Government contractor out of which they might have made £30,000, and the only reason why they did not make anything was that they wanted to make more and held on too long.'" Lord Wolmer added this "is a perfectly true statement. On April 9 last year, Sir Rufus Isaacs was offered American Marconi shares

* My italics.—L. J. M.

by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs as a 'good investment' at $1\frac{1}{16}$. On April 17 Sir Rufus purchased 10,000 of these shares at £2. On the same day you and Lord Murray joined him in this transaction with knowledge of the facts, taking 1000 shares each, but no money exchanged hands. On April 19 the price of the shares touched £4, so that if you had sold out your shares then you would have made £20,000, or if the Attorney-General had taken full advantage of his opportunities and bought at $1\frac{1}{16}$ the profit out of Mr. Godfrey Isaacs' tip would have been, as I have said, £30,000 or thereabouts." *It might have been nearer* £300,000.

Lord Wolmer gave Mr. Lloyd George, as he seemed to want it, a detailed account of his own individual transaction, with which we are not concerned for the moment, though he showed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in buying 1000 shares at £2 from the brother of a Government contractor on the strength of a tip which had come from that contractor, on April 17, and selling 357 of those shares two days later at £3 6s. 9d., while on April 20 Mr. Lloyd George sold 500 more at £3 7s. 0d., making a total profit of £743 with 143 shares still to his credit, had cleared "not a bad windfall of unearned increment for three days' speculations."

Not being satisfied with this, however, on May 22 Mr. Lloyd George made another speculation, with borrowed money, of 1500 shares at $£2\frac{5}{32}$ (Lord Wolmer could not understand why Mr. Lloyd George spoke of this second transaction as confined to 1000 shares) which he had never been able to sell at a profit because the price had fallen, but "I have much too great a respect for your intellect to suppose that you went into the transaction with the intention of losing money, and so the only reason why you did not make money was because you did not sell all your first shares at the top of the boom and held on to the others while the price fell."

There we will leave the controversy as between Lord Wolmer and Mr. Lloyd George, who only made matters worse by his subsequent letters. It was obvious that Lord Wolmer could never have suggested that Mr. Lloyd George might have made £30,000 out of 1000 or 2000 American Marconis, but as there has been so much confusion concerning this affair, and as Mr. Lloyd George's inaccuracy, for example in describing a purchase of 1500 shares

as a purchase of 1000 shares seems incurable, it may be worth while examining the potentialities of a transaction which, as we know on the high authority of the Prime Minister, the Coalition Press generally and the Hush-up Press in particular, to say nothing of the House of Commons, reflects absolutely no discredit whatsoever on the Ministers involved.

It is common knowledge that Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Rufus Isaacs and the late Chief Whip of the Party, stand, if possible, higher than ever before in the confidence of their colleagues, and that Mr. Asquith is only awaiting the appropriate moment to appoint the Attorney-General to the exalted office of Lord Chief justice of England.

The Asquith Ministry lives, or rather exists, on the hypothesis that there was nothing wrong or in any respect censurable or regrettable in the conduct of the Marconi group in utilising a valuable tip from a Government contractor and in buying 10,000 American Marconis at £2 on April 17, 1912, whereas the general public could only secure a small proportion of the same security one or two days later at the opening market price of £3 5s. Somewhat pathetic and utterly futile efforts were made before the Marconi Select Committee by distressed Ministers to pretend that inside knowledge from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs gave no advantage to its recipients over outsiders, and that anybody who seriously and intelligently tried could buy American Marconis for £2 when Sir Rufus Isaacs made his purchase from Mr. Harry Isaacs for that sum. Unfortunately—and misfortune has dogged almost every Ministerial footstep throughout this affair—in seeking to exonerate themselves by endeavouring to show that £2 was the "market price" they damned the trusteeship of the Radical Party funds, because if the trustee could in his private capacity and on his own account secure 1000 American Marconis at £2 on April 17, the alleged "market price," he should surely have done better for the Party whose funds he administered than buy 2500 of the same security at £3 5s. on April 18? Many of the readers of the *National Review* are presumably trustees. They would scarcely care to be in the position of purchasing shares for themselves at a reputed "market price" of £2, and shares for their *cestui qui trust* twenty-four hours later costing 50 per cent. more. They would, to put it mildly, feel negligent as trustees in having missed

"the market" of £2 in their fiduciary capacity which they had secured for themselves. At any rate they would be most anxious to come forward, indeed they would insist on explaining their conduct to those whom it concerned. They would decline on any ground to remain imbedded at Bogota, no matter how profitable the business on which they were there engaged, when a question affecting their personal honour required their presence here. There is this further mystery in the Murray case, namely, that it was established in evidence before the Marconi Select Committee that ordinary applicants for American Marconis could only obtain 15 per cent. of their applications on April 18 or 19 when the market opened and the valuable knowledge of insiders became public property. Therefore in order to obtain the 2500 shares allotted to the Chief Whip of the Party as the trustee of the Party funds, it would have been necessary for the Master of Oilybank to apply for about 15,000 shares which involved pledging the Party funds to the tune of, say, £50,000 in an American Marconi Company at a time when *the* Marconi Company's contract was still being negotiated and in any case awaited parliamentary ratification. Alternatively one is disposed to ask, one will continue to ask, and the question will have to be answered, either by the Oilybanks or the Boilingworths of the Party, Was the Chief Whip a favoured individual who could command all the shares he asked for? If so, why? Because according to the *Westminster Gazette* and other well-informed organs, the American Marconi Company had no connection to speak of with the English Marconi Company and therefore as little interest in the impending contract as, say, the Baltimore Railway or the *National Review*. Why then should the Chief Whip of the Coalition, upon whose good offices parliamentary ratification of a contract with which the American Marconi Company had no connection whatsoever largely depended, occupy a privileged position in a totally different company in allotment if not in price? The Marconi Select Committee hastily closed its proceedings in order to prevent these and other equally awkward questions from being asked, but, as we have already insisted, they will be asked nevertheless, and they will be answered. If Oilybank is too coy to revisit these shores, his apostolic successor, the reluctant Boilingworth, will be compelled to cease slaughtering unoffending

game in Scotland and give his attention to these matters. After all Boilingworth was a co-trustee, and though as he has told us he was ignorant of the pregnant fact that the Coalition was, so to speak, "in Marconis," there are other matters meriting his attention even if his name was used in vain.

It is an immense advantage to be on solid ground in discussing an intricate business. Among the features beyond controversy, accepting for the moment the Ministerial creed as proclaimed by Mr. Asquith, is the character of the General Manager of the Marconi Company, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, who, besides being the chosen candidate of the Coalition in an Essex constituency is one of the many Bayards *sans peur et sans reproche* who have figured in this affair. Mr. Marconi is needlessly lachrymose about Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. Why these tears? Mr. Isaacs is one of the most popular and weighty members of the National Liberal Club, who has fought a successful fight for a fundamental principle, and he is entitled to far more congratulations than he has received. Hitherto idiots imagined that Government contractors must not give tips convertible into cash to members of British Governments with which they were negotiating contracts, and that any one contravening this imaginary convention would inevitably lose his contract. Mr. Isaacs has taught us otherwise. He has given the tip and he has kept the contract. Indeed the whole machinery of the Coalition was enlisted to force it through a reluctant Parliament—the reluctance being demonstrated by the fact that apart from official speakers hardly any one had a good word to say for it. That is no mean achievement.

In the years to come, as the Ministerial right to speculate develops, contractors will realise that the more Ministers they place under obligation and the more valuable those obligations, the more certain will be their prospect of getting Government business. The principle of Cabinet solidarity will be invoked as in the present instance. It will be unnecessary to tip everybody, but so long as an integral block of Ministers are compromised, whose resignation would endanger the Government, there can be no safer proceeding on the part of an ambitious commercial magnate. And with the deterioration which is likely to set in of the standards of our public life it will become an ordinary operation of business with companies seeking official contracts

or monopolies which may not improbably crystallise into the mot "To the Minister a tip—to the Contractor a contract." But for some years, at any rate, the contractor will be compelled to exercise some discrimination. At the present day, for instance, it might be safe to compromise Mr. Lloyd George, but it would be dangerous, even were it possible which it is not, to compromise Mr. John Burns, who is hardly "in the Ministerial swim" and whose colleagues would have been only too glad to get rid of him had he occupied the shoes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The reader will understand that we are making no reflections on Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, who is entitled, in the interests of his Company, to exploit the politicians who at present misgovern this country. If any injustice has been done him it is by his own friends and not by those who oppose the Marconi monopoly and dislike Marconi methods. For a variety of reasons we object to the British Government having any dealings with that Company, and it is only fair to give notice to all concerned that whenever a Unionist Government enters office strenuous opposition will be offered from our side to the continuance of what may be described as the Marconi policy.

But what pitiable bunglers his Majesty's Marconi Ministers were! What a miserable figure they cut beside Mr. Godfrey Isaacs! He, after all, was engaged in big business conducted in a large spirit. Too much attention has been devoted to Sir Rufus Isaacs' paltry action on April 17, 1912, in buying a mere bagatelle of 10,000 American Marconis from his elder brother Mr. Harry Isaacs, which avowedly came from Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, and on which the chivalrous and confiding Sir Rufus allowed Mr. Harry to net a substantial profit approaching £10,000. Happily the money remained in the family. On the other hand, too little attention has been paid to the historic lunch between the brethren on April 9, when Mr. Godfrey Isaacs (who is reputed to have more brains in his little finger than the rest of the family in their entire anatomy) made a proposal equally gigantic, generous and unimpeachable according to the accepted creed of the Coalition. The reader will be unable to appreciate the episode unless he firmly grasps two principles, namely, whereas it would be an act of moral turpitude according to current canons—which are liable to vary with current events—for British Ministers to

speculate in British Marconis, it is an act of integrity and virtue to invest in any other Marconi shares, particularly Americans, especially if you have been at some pains to conceal the fact from the public. Indeed, the greater the speculation in American Marconis the greater the merit of the Minister, and why the Order of Merit has not been more freely distributed among this group we are at a loss to understand. On the other hand, the smaller the speculation the smaller the merit, and it is precisely here that Mr. Asquith's colleagues so lamentably failed us.

At the Isaacs lunch on April 9, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, who sees things steadily and sees them whole, recounted his triumphant tour in the United States and glowingly depicted the brilliant future of the reorganised American Marconi Company, which he was about to launch in London, as the American public, for one reason or another, was somewhat "fed up" with wireless finance for the moment. It was a dazzling vision which we may feel sure lost nothing in the telling. Mr. Godfrey was most anxious that his brothers should share the good thing. He had already "placed" an immense number of these new American Marconis, in fact several hundred thousand out of the 500,000 for which he had made himself responsible, and he still held about 100,000 knowing that he could have other packets as he wanted them. It was this 100,000 which—unless I misread the evidence—he offered to his brothers on April 9 at the tempting price of $1\frac{1}{16}$, say £106,250. It would not have been surprising, considering the relative positions of the brothers, had the Attorney-General, who is a very wealthy man, taken 80,000 or even 90,000, leaving Mr. Harry Isaacs the balance of 20,000 or 10,000, as the case may be. Instead of which Sir Rufus appears to have refused to take any at this time, while Mr. Harry took the surprisingly large number of 50,000, to which he added another 6000, making 56,000, costing about £59,000, which he promptly paid up in June of last year. The poor-spirited Sir Rufus, having rejected this magnificent offer, feebly bought a beggarly 10,000 from Mr. Harry a few days later, allowing the latter, as I have said, to make nearly £10,000 out of the Attorney-General's hesitancy. If American Marconis had been an improper investment for British Ministers, it would have been just as wrong to buy 10,000 at £2 from one brother as 80,000 or 90,000 at $1\frac{1}{16}$ from another.

But it is common ground for the moment that the transaction was irreproachable. We are all familiar with the opinions of Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George and the Prime Minister on this score, while the House of Commons has formally censured those who have criticised Ministerial Marconi speculations. It was as right as rain. The more American Marconis bought by Ministers, the better, and we confidently anticipate the moment when other Front Benchers will disclose their transactions in other Marconi companies. What is really indefensible and inexplicable is that Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Master of Elibank and Mr. Lloyd George should have bought so few when they might have bought so many, and should have paid so much when they might have paid so little. We refuse to join in placing them on a pinnacle of virtue. Little venture, little have. It is however satisfactory to know that the Isaacs family did not lose through the futility of Sir Rufus, who for some reason unintelligible to the plain man unversed in these affairs only paid his long overdue cheque (on the miserable 10,000 he bought from Mr. Harry) on January 6 of this year, though, as I have stated, Mr. Harry had paid up in June of last year. Sir Rufus' cheque appears to have been drawn about five days after the Master of Oilybank disappeared to Bogota—an incident with which it obviously had no conceivable connection.

Now, if the Attorney-General had done his duty like a man and taken up 90,000 shares of the 100,000 offered by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs on April 9 at $1\frac{1}{16}$—had he then given one-tenth to each of his intimate friends, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Whip of the party, and had the trio been content to sell on April 18 or April 19 at the price paid by the Radical party, namely £3 5s., they would have netted a clear profit of £2 3s. 9d. per share, which, unless our arithmetic is as faulty as that of Mr. Lloyd George, would have amounted to approximately £196,875, of which the share of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be *ex hypothesi* one-tenth, *i.e.* nearly £20,000, and that of the Master of Elibank ditto. Had they sold out at the boom figure of £4 which American Marconis topped at one moment their gains would have been proportionately greater, and even the funds of the Party of Progress might have received a useful addition if 2500 shares bought at £3 5s. a-piece had been disposed

of at an "unearned increment" of 16s. per share the following day. Every one who shares the view of the Coalition majority in the House of Commons of the American Marconi transaction cannot resist condemning Ministers for losing money where they ought to have made handsome, not to say magnificent, fortunes in a business recognised by the twenty Caesar's wives comprising the Asquith Cabinet as in accordance with the loftiest traditions of Gladstonian politics.

This is all plain sailing, but the fascination of the Marconi mystery lies in its unending surprises. The Pearl Necklace is nothing to it. We never seem to get anywhere near the bottom, and experts calculate that only about 10 per cent. of the truth has so far been discovered or disclosed. As Mr. Lloyd George's correspondence with Lord Wolmer indicates a scrupulous and sensitive desire for facts possibly the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be disposed to assist in unravelling some of the outstanding problems. The man who could throw most light upon them obstinately remains in Farthest America, and we have to be content with sensational cablegrams or wireless accounts of the prodigious coups he is effecting in one congenial community after another. Meanwhile his friends here, of whom Mr. Lloyd George is the most conspicuous, should not allow a spotless reputation to suffer by default. Moreover, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is developing a hyper-sensitive conscience, owes something to himself as regards a branch of the mystery upon which the general reticence has been almost audible. The Marconi Select Committee were so terrified of touching it that the shutters were promptly put up before any portion of their Reference had been discharged. There is consequently no organised focus of inquiry where seekers after truth can resort, so one is compelled to consult Mr. Lloyd George. It is useless to consult Sir Rufus Isaacs, who displayed an infinitely greater capacity for making irrelevant speeches about his personal honour than for answering plain questions.

The public were deeply moved by the pleasant and intimate friendship of those affectionate colleagues, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and the Chief Whip, who seemed to share a common home, who travelled together, who thought and ate in common and embarked on common

speculation. Sir Rufus Isaacs' one idea when he had a good thing was that his friends should participate, and he was even prepared to finance them by taking up shares for which they need not pay at any particular time—perhaps the most convenient and attractive form of investment. One can hardly imagine an open-handed plutocrat who regarded £50,000 as a mere trifle pressing poorer friends for payment in the incredible event of the "good thing" going wrong. There seems to have been much talk in Downing Street about American Marconis in the spring of last year, and in some quarters Sir Rufus has been blamed for enticing his colleagues into a venture which, owing to a chapter of accidents, proved politically disastrous, and though enthusiastically applauded by the Coalition and the principal Cocoa organs, it has undoubtedly caused some inconvenience to the cause of Progress and may not inconceivably be the reason why the British Government fights shy of the Panama Exhibition.

Frankness and probity are admittedly the chief characteristics of the Master of Elibank, and Mr. Asquith almost broke down while paying a tribute to that noble nature in the whitewashing Debate. Here then is another mystery, or rather one of many mysteries, which requires clearing up. The Attorney-General afforded his two colleagues an opportunity of acquiring—without any hurry about payment—a thousand shares a-piece in the American Marconi Company on April 17, two days before the flotation, at the moderate price of £2. It would not be disputed by anybody that it was only on account of the connection of the Isaacs family with the Marconi Company and with the Government that Sir Rufus Isaacs' colleagues found themselves in a position to make such a promising "spec." At any rate we have the Master of Elibank securing for himself on April 17, 1000 American Marconis for £2000 through the instrumentality of his intimate friend Sir Rufus. On April 18, the following day, this same Master of Elibank, in his other capacity of Administrator of the Radical Party funds, instructed his brokers, Messrs. Montmorency and Co., to whom he had brought much Party business (they appear to have been the brokers of the Murray family before their association with the Party of Progress) to purchase 2500 American Marconis, which was duly done at £3 5s. per share, the opening price fixed by the jobbers. This

further transaction was only disclosed through the acciden bankruptcy of Lord Murray's friend, Mr. Fenner, who has arily disappeared, and some powerful motive must rest Peer from explaining what on the face of it is an amazin an invidious transaction. However, the man of "integr he was described by Mr. Asquith, has his own standards priety and honour and regards the pursuit of oil concessio raison d'être at the present moment.

But the matter cannot be allowed to rest there, others are obviously involved, even though they ma elected hitherto to fry and ignore the fact. It incredible that the Chief Whip of the Party, who was in one common venture with the Chancellor of the Ex and the Attorney-General, should have concealed fro intimate friends the fact that he was also buying a larg of American Marconis for the Party, at the ordinary publ at a total cost of £8000 which, for aught we know, was the of an undesirable knighthood! I am not concerned moment with the second transaction of the Party funds w curred later. What one is interested to know is whet Lloyd George, putting aside Sir Rufus Isaacs, was or was nc of the fact that the Radical Party funds were being investe inseparable friend the Master of Elibank in American Ma We know the newspaper answer—we have had it alr reference to observations in last month's *National Revi* cerning the administration of Radical Party funds— that Ministers know nothing about such matters—a so inadequate reply considering that one of the most impo Ministers, namely the Patronage Secretary, who is res for the management of the Party in Parliament and has hand in distributing honours, is the chief controller funds. One certainly cannot imagine that men living intimacy of this devoted trio, with a substantial stake in A Marconis, should have remained ignorant of the fact tha their number was making another large investment in th security. Taking men as they are this would be a su incident, and considering the public position occupied by t viduals in question one is entitled to know whether the Ch of the Exchequer was aware that his friend was, so to speak,

the Party into American Marconis during the negotiation of the Marconi contract with the Parent Company, which would subsequently require Parliamentary ratification. Again one is tempted to enquire the extent of Mr. Asquith's knowledge on this and kindred subjects when the Master of Elibank so precipitately retired from public life in August 1912 and was recommended for a peerage by the Prime Minister—the explanation vouchsafed to the common public jackass being that his father's estate required his unremitting attention.

Yet another question which in the absence of the Master of Elibank must be addressed to Mr. Lloyd George. Both he and Sir Rufus Isaacs have made great play with the fact that their energies were exclusively absorbed in the settlement of the coal strike in the early part of last year, which occupied them by night and day. It was the coal strike that prevented the Chancellor of the Exchequer from taking any serious interest, or indeed any interest whatsoever, in the negotiations between the Marconi Company and the British Government for an Imperial Wireless contract. It was the coal strike, again, which prevented the Attorney-General from fully realising his folly in sending a booming telegram to the Marconi Banquet in New York on March 17. In fact the coal strike dominated the entire situation. It was a great anxiety to the Government, though a convenient excuse for negligence. But the coal strike had another and not less interesting aspect as Mr. Lloyd George may easily ascertain by enquiries among his friends of *la haute finance*. All alarming episodes afford golden opportunities to those "in the know," and many a fortune has been made by early knowledge of an earthquake, a shipwreck, a battle, or some other human catastrophe, as also from such blessings as the conclusion of a peace. The coal strike last year was a decidedly alarming episode. It had an instantaneous effect on many stocks and shares, *e.g.* Home Railways. A prompt settlement or an indefinite prolongation of the struggle might be turned to most profitable account by lucky persons privy to the negotiations between the Government, the owners, and the miners. There have been unpleasant rumours that inside knowledge was converted into cash not by Ministers but by friends of Ministers, who might conceivably have picked up a useful hint from some artless

member of the Government as to the prospects of peace or the reverse. The present Cabinet is full of "leaky gents" surrounded by hungry parasites. Money was probably made which ought not to have been made. Here I refer to rumour, though to rumour which bears the appearance of truth.

There is, however, something more than rumour. With the lax standards now stereotyped by our first paid Parliament it would perhaps be rash to say "every one will agree" to this, that, or the other. But the other day, before the Coalition became Marconied, every one would have agreed that while a Government was bending its energies on settling a coal strike it was manifestly improper for the Chief Ministerial Whip necessarily in the closest touch with the negotiations—and controller of the Party funds—to invest any portion of those funds in home railway stocks which might be materially affected one way or the other by the conduct of the Government at this crisis. The episode is rendered all the more noteworthy by the fact that the Master of Elibank, though a professing Cobdenite and an avowed admirer of Lloyd George finance, seems in making his Party investments to have had an almost insurmountable aversion to placing Cobdenite funds in Cobden's country, or in any country within the Lloyd George orbit. This makes an investment in Home Railways during the coal strike all the more curious. The Master is beyond the reach of question, so we are constrained to seek the help of his intimate friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. When the oracle of Bogota is mute, the oracle of Bedford should bestir himself. Was Mr. Lloyd George aware that the Ministerial Chief Whip was giving instructions for the purchase of British Home railway stock during the coal strike which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General were engaged in settling? The language is carefully chosen. The Master of Elibank appears to have been anything but a competent trustee, as is shown by the fact that he is a creditor—*i.e.* the luckless Party is a creditor—of the absconding Fenner, to whom he brought the Party business, for a very substantial sum. The goods, *i.e.* the Home Railway stock, may consequently never have been delivered by the Party broker to the Party banker, but that does not affect the issue. The intention, the instructions, are sufficiently indicated by the Master of Elibank's "Trust

account," and the dates are suggestive, while the correspondence is anything but dull. As a humble student of public affairs I seek information of those primarily concerned.

Was Mr. Lloyd George kept in the dark by his co-speculator the Master of Elibank in American Marconis on April 17 concerning the latter's subsequent venture as trustee of the Party on April 18? Secondly, was Mr. Lloyd George aware of the Party investments in Home Railways during the coal strike which Ministers were engaged in settling?

Had Mr. Asquith any knowledge of these and kindred matters when he recommended the Master of Elibank for a peerage. What was the precise position of Mr. Illingworth, co-trustee at the time and now Chief Whip?

To refresh their memories, if they have forgotten the facts and to facilitate their task if they were ignorant of the administration of the Party funds—though Mr. Illingworth presumably signed transfers—I would mention that the stocks in question were:

Date	Amount	Stock	Price	£	s.	d.
March 6, 1912,	10,000	Midland Pref	71⅞-¼	7198	15	6
"	5000	Gt. West Ord	118½	5955	0	6
"	1000	"	117⅞-½	1190	0	6
"	20,000	Nth. British Df.	31⅛-¼	6382	5	6
"	2000	"	31 11/16 ⅛	639	14	6
		Total		£21,365	16	6

As already suggested the goods may never have been delivered, but the contract notes were duly forwarded and the stock appears to have been paid for by cheques on the Party funds on March 14, 1912, for the respectable sums of £7145 1s. and £14,220 15s. 6d. When my preliminary questions are answered I hope to ask others. In fact, Ministers should be kept busy throughout the winter, and the public may learn some things it is entitled to know. Grave issues will be raised and surprise will be expressed if the criminal law has not been set in motion.

L. J. Maxse.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

I

For the present capital for development work is somewhat hard to come by in Canada, and the economic situation might be summed up in the statement that the West is acting on the maxim *reculez pour mieux sauter*. The business of speculating in town-lots is dead for the time being; the West would not suffer if there was no resurrection of what is often sheer gambling such as even a Lloyd George could not describe as investment. Money is still to be made safely by investing in centrally situated real estate—especially in cities like Vancouver, where the business quarter is naturally restricted in area and must needs grow vertically rather than laterally. For the time being, to take another effect of the obvious anti-boom, the West is not in a position to absorb immigrants from the cities and towns of the Mother Country. There is room only for the agricultural worker and, of course, for all who have the capital to go on the land. Next year, no doubt, as a result of the success of the Western grain-crops the West will be rushing ahead again with full steam up—except perhaps, as regards the town-lot business which can never be what it has been in the immediate past. This season's wheat-crop in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is estimated at 200,000,000 bushels; the average grade should be fairly high. The other staple crops of the three prairie provinces, according to official estimates, should be: oats, 210,000,000 bushels; barley, 50,000,000 bushels; flax, 16,000,000 bushels. I feel inclined to cut these figures down—by 10 per cent., say, which is a fair allowance for the chronic optimism of the Westerner, whether he be a private individual or a Government official. Even if

his reduction be made, the figures are good enough to restore ny slight loss of confidence in the Canadian West which may e working in the mind of the British inventor. In passing, the ext "bonanza crop" cannot be far distant. The last occurred 1 1902, when there was an extra grain in every spikelet of rheat from the 49th parallel of latitude up to the Northern limit f actual cultivation. I expect to hear of that extra grain next ear or the year after.

Though the speedy development of Canadian towns—more specially the lesser foci of Western business—has necessitated onstant recourse to the money market, there is no just cause for nxiety. In the first place, it is clear that the great chartered anks which combine Scottish caution with American enterprise, ave duly enforced a policy of prudence. Secondly, the statistics f commercial and industrial progress clearly prove that there as been no serious set-back to the progress of the Dominion in s entirety. The traffic on the inland waterways during the ummer has been the heaviest ever recorded; the external trade f the country for the year should exhibit an increase of at least or 8 per cent. on the figures for the preceding twelve months; nd the reduction in the National Debt, according to the latest nformation, exceeds $25,000,000. But perhaps the most signifiant proof of the reality of Canada's progressive prosperity is to e found in the fact that, according to the official figures of the J.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, American nvestments in Canadian industrial concerns have risen from 279,000,000 in 1909 to over $500,000,000 in 1913. The merican investor is the best living judge of Canadian conditions or two very good reasons; first, he lives next door and is lways dropping in to see how his neighbours are getting on, nd, secondly, he has that sympathetic insight into Canadian nethods which his British rival too often lacks.

Mr. Maurice Low's knowledge of the trade-relations between he United States and Canada is so profound and extensive hat his comments on the foregoing fact (set forth in a recent ssue of the *Morning Post*) are well worth consideration. When onfronted with the hard facts of Canada's growth in wealth nd well-being under an adequate measure of Protection (I am ot afraid of the word) the insular Free Trader invariably replies

that Canada would be still better off if she had no tariff at all. He flatly refuses to believe that Canada and the Canadians are right in believing that they benefit by imposing duties on American manufactures. But Mr. Low produces an American business man—none other than the Governor of Massachusetts who owns a factory and a mind of his own—whose recent extension of his business is an object-lesson that once for all disposes of the Free Trader's contention.

Governor Foss was originally a Republican, but he split with his Party because he was in favour of reciprocity with Canada. He became a Democrat and was elected once, twice, thrice to the governorship of his state; to the sorrow and disgust of those who had expelled him from the warm bosom of high-tariff Republicanism. A few months ago Mr. Foss had a dispute with the men employed in his factory who struck for higher wages and better terms of employment. Then he announced that a branch of his factory would be established in Canada; and in making his announcement he attacked both parties for their tariff policies which prevented the expansion, so he said, of the American export-trade. "All over the United States," he pointed out, "the tendency among the principal manufacturing interests is toward the establishment of plants in Canada. This movement has been going on for many years, and it is estimated that from three to five hundred millions of American capital is now invested in those Canadian plants." He went on to say that the output of American manufacturers was in excess of the domestic demand, but that "if they had a reasonable ouput for their surplus products" (*i.e.* if they could dump their surplus on unprotected countries) "these industries could remain at home and grow, but under the conditions that exist they must remove to those countries whose markets they desire to reach." Both Democrats and Republicans went for Mr. Foss bald-headed; they told him that his figures were ridiculously exaggerated. Now the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce steps in and confirms his statistical statement. Let us see how Mr. Low presses home the meaning of his affair:

It is not the American tariff but the Canadian tariff that drives Mr. Foss to Canada. The reciprocity that Mr. Foss is so clamorous for is the same kind of reciprocity that Sir Wilfrid Laurier so eagerly desired and Mr. Taft welcomed because it would make

Canada an annexe of the United States. Mr. Foss is at least frank, even if somewhat ingenuous. He admits that the American market is over supplied and there is no outlet abroad "under the conditions that exist."

What does that euphemism mean? It means simply that the "conditions" to which Mr. Foss refers is the tariff laid by Canada on the machinery manufactured by Mr. Foss. If there was no tariff Mr. Foss could run his great plant in Massachusetts day and night, fill up the American market at a good profit, and dump his over production in Canada and still make a profit; for even a person unfamiliar with manufacturing processes knows that the larger the production the cheaper the cost of manufacture. Mr. Foss would make a profit, but would Canada be richer because of Mr. Foss's profits or the average Canadian, the man in Ottawa or Alberta, the man who does not buy Mr. Foss's machinery but does buy the article that machinery makes, be any better off?

The Free Trader will say yes, and he will use the time-worn argument that cheap machinery means cheap production, but Mr. Foss and the other Americans who have invested their money in Canadian plants appear to have answered the Free Trader's question. Dismissing theories, surely the question is practical enough for every one to understand. If Mr. Foss should spend £100,000 in establishing a plant in Birmingham and give employment to 1000 men, paying them several hundred pounds a week in wages, it would not require a Royal Commission to discover that Birmingham was better off to that extent than if Mr. Foss employed his thousand men in Massachusetts and sent the output of his factory to Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, London, and elsewhere throughout the United Kingdom. And, on the other hand, if Mr. Foss can dump and compete with Birmingham manufacturers and deprive them of part of their trade, it does not require the intelligence of a professor of political economy or a member of Parliament to make the Birmingham mechanic see that either there will be less work for him or he will have to be content with lower wages to enable his employer to meet Mr. Foss's competition.

That is the protection Canada gives to her working men. Without a tariff Canada was at the mercy of the American manufacturer. Canada could buy cheap and pay dear for the privilege. It could buy cheap and be compelled to live cheaply, for the working man of Canada would either be without employment or forced to accept starvation wages to meet ruinous American competition. "A cheap coat makes a cheap man," Mr. McKinley said. It is true. The wage-earner who is forced to sell his labour cheap must be content with cheap things to eat and to wear. Both Canada and the United States have demonstrated that mere cheapness is not the highest test of statesmanship.

I should like to hear Sir Wilfried Laurier's reply to such circumstantial logic. Owen Sound, the charming lake-town in Ontario where the Canadian branch of the International Harvester Company employs between 3000 and 4000 well-paid workers would be a good place for his explanation!

2

The present Minister of Militia is a strong personality, and I have no doubt whatever that Canada's military forces will be

brought into a state of sufficiency and efficiency before his tenure of office comes to an end. His South African record proved him possessed of a real gift for soldiering; he is in love with his job and a tremendous worker; and above all, he is the last man in the world to be alarmed by the cries of "militarism," which are raised in Quebec and by the old-fashioned "Grits" of the English-speaking provinces whenever any serious reform is attempted. Happier in his personality and in his opportunity than his predecessor there can be little doubt that the new Minister of Militia will eventually succeed in making the reports of Sir John French and Sir Ian Hamilton the basis of a complete reorganisation. The former's criticisms of the Canadian Militia need not be repeated; they constitute a document of the utmost consequence, and have already inspired important improvements. Sir Ian Hamilton's recent Report is as valuable in its outspoken suggestiveness. His eulogy of the Western cavalry as "a Boer commando well organised" must already be familiar to English readers. But, as the following passage shows, he criticises the Eastern cavalry severely:

> Take them all in all, the Eastern corps are not composed of fine natural riders, nor have the horses the same quality or the same more or less level appearance. In some regiments there are 20 per cent. hairy-heeled, hollow-backed animals which would not outlive two or three days of hard, fast work. In others, again, there is too great a proportion of undersized weeds. As to training, non-commissioned officers and men cannot honestly be characterised as being ready for war. Used in war certainly they might be, but not in such a manner as to do themselves full justice. They have quite an idea of how to fight, but they take too long to mount and dismount; they are slow in getting their led horses away and slow in bringing them up. There is far too much talking in the ranks, a fault which more than any other leads to confusion. The ground these regiments may expect to work over is not in any sense cavalry country, so they may concentrate more than other corps on reconnaissance work, communication of intelligence and outposts. At present I can only say that although, were war to break out to-morrow they would be most useful, they might, with a little more instruction, be twice as useful.

These criticisms will not be ignored by the Minister whose power of strenuous work and thoroughness and distinct originality have marked him out as one of the most crowd-compelling members of the Borden Cabinet.

E. B. O.

INDIA

THE LAST DECADE IN INDIA

Every ten years the Secretary of State for India presents to Parliament an elaborate statement of "the moral and material progress and condition of India" during the preceding decade. He is not bound by statute to prepare a decennial statement. The Act of 1858 prescribes that such an account shall be submitted annually, and this injunction is duly observed; but once in a decade the narrative swells into a portly Blue Book, and Parliament is furnished with more information about India than it can assimilate in the next ten years. The latest Decennial Report has just appeared, and it is due to its compiler, who modestly remains anonymous, to say that it is a great improvement not only on the perfunctory annual statements, but even on some previous Decennial Reports. As a work of reference it will be of value throughout its allotted span of life, while as a mine of accurate knowledge about India it should receive the attention of all who desire to know more about that perplexing Empire. The writer has got out of the rut, and for once in a way the statutory Indian Blue Book really does tell people many things they want to know.

The India of ten years ago—or rather of eleven and a half years ago, for the period dealt with begins in April 1902—was a very different country from the India of to-day. Lord Curzon was then in the fourth year of his memorable Viceroyalty, and after having grappled successfully with the greatest Indian famine of modern times, was busy with his preparations for the Proclamation Durbar of 1903. The new land revenue policy, providing for greater elasticity of revenue demand in times of famine and scarcity, had just been proclaimed. The Irrigation Commission was sitting. The new North-West Frontier Province had been born less than six months earlier. King Habibullah had just ascended the throne of Kabul, and there was much speculation about his prospect of security. Lord Kitchener's appointment to the Indian command had been announced, but he was not due to land for another eight months. The Education Commission, which was to produce such fierce controversy, had

assembled; the late Mr. Robertson was examining the Indian railways; the Police Commission was being formed; and the measure for creating co-operative credit societies was slowly taking shape. Over the whole land the menace of the plague was gradually growing more formidable, and 1902 saw a heavier plague mortality than had ever been known before.

Some of these events and measures now seem very distant, but they are not so remote as the ideas and the conceptions which dominated most Anglo-Indians when the present century dawned. We were then dwelling in the placid close of a particular epoch of British rule in India, and we did not know it. To us it seemed that the established order of things was almost immutable. We were to go on striving zealously to improve the quality and the character of British administration, making efficiency our watchword and material progress our justification. We were busy extending irrigation, reforming the police, developing the educational system, lightening the lot of the peasant, fighting epidemics and cleansing the cities, reforming old abuses and devising new schemes of betterment; but in all our activities there was very little thought of the soul of India. We figured the patient millions as receptive, acquiescent, perhaps in a dull way a little grateful. Their lot was to be that of the dwellers in an old-fashioned English village when the Squire's lady made her annual distribution of blankets. They were to be appropriately thankful for the blessings we bestowed upon them, and that was all. That a few among them yearned for a more direct share in the control of their own country was well known, but the only answer that seemed possible was that they must wait. The malcontents were not really very insistent. A section of the native press was occasionally seditious, but its worst excesses were still to come. The National Congress organised its annual outburst every Christmas, and was more or less quiescent for the rest of the year. It always passed the same resolutions, its orators always said the same things, and Anglo-Indians, though at times a little annoyed, were on the whole content to regard it with a somewhat amused toleration. Its claims were duly combated, the manifest weaknesses of its arguments were patiently answered, and no one seemed any the worse. I do not think that when the new

century began either Englishmen or Indians had much con sciousness of the deep changes which were already at work Even some years later it was difficult for men who had spent thei lives amid the old order of things to perceive the questionin spirit which swiftly grew among the populace. I remember a eminent administrator saying on the verge of his retirement "When I take my evening drive the people still smile at me. can see no change." There were many such.

The great Durbars of January 1903 and December 191 were both landmarks in Indian history, but a wide gulf divide them. At Delhi in 1903 men felt dimly that they were witnessin the end of a great era. The gathering was the final apotheosi of a period during which British rule enjoyed tacit and un questioning acceptance. The pageantry was surpassed nin years later, but the keynote had altered. Behind the reverenc and loyalty shown to the King-Emperor lay the new spirit arouse during the interval in India, alert, insistent, interrogative. Th symbol of the 1903 gathering was the elephant; in 1911 th motor-car gave the dominant note. Much had happened in th intervening years. No one had heard of Anarchism in 1903, an there were evenings when the Viceroy walked the camp and th streets of Delhi almost unattended. The wave of unrest wa set in motion two years later, and its graver results did no begin to be visible until 1907, when the riots at Rawal Pind inaugurated a long series of lawless acts. The Anarchist outrage were things apart, and still remain so, but other new tendencie were also at work in India which were not criminal in their origin although their ultimate effect must be to make the task of Grea Britain far more difficult than it has ever been before. Th greatest new factor in Indian affairs during the last ten years i the growing demand of the people for a larger share of self government.

The experiênce of the last decade helps us to assess the factor which will affect us in the next ten years, but the guidanc afforded is not very safe, for in India it is generally the un expected that happens. To take first the separate question c Anarchism, we may be tolerably sure that the revolutionar organisation will not be broken up. The attempted assassinatio of Lord Hardinge is the most sinister event which has happene

in India in our time, and the culprits are still unpunished. The operations of the revolutionaries are now believed to be chiefly directed from countries outside India, and they are therefore increasingly hard to trace. It is probable that as time passes their organisation will improve, their plots will be more deft, and the precautions necessary to be taken against them will become more elaborate. Anarchism is in India to stay, of that we may be sure. Its fight against British control will continue to be unsuccessful, but it will be a constant source of harassment. The greatest danger it now presents is its persistent attempt to capture the schools. The scheme for introducing revolutionary influences into the schools of Bengal, which was recently disclosed, will undoubtedly be pursued, and its insidious character makes it difficult to cope with. The anxiety of the Government about the fate of the Bengal schools lies at the back of the recent educational disputes in Calcutta, in which official action has not always been quite discreet. The melancholy side of our progressive educational policy is that our very earnestness in the cause of education may in the end contribute to our own undoing. We are pledged to extend facilities for education, we are doing our best to redeem our pledges, but if the institutions we inaugurate or assist become nests of sedition we shall not have served the cause of India or our own interests. The best that can be said about the revolutionary movement in India is that it can never become a vital menace unless we are involved in a life-and-death struggle elsewhere; but who can tell what the next ten years may not bring forth in Europe?

The coincident demand of educated India for a larger share in the administration is of more immediate moment. It finds expression upon every Indian political platform; it is being somewhat noisily expressed by the Mohammedans, who in 1902 were not even organised and politically were of no account; it has recently been stated with much emphasis by many Indians who gave evidence before the Indian Public Services Commission. The decade under review was marked by a very substantial enlargement of liberties. Looking back, one perceives that the legitimate side of the wave of unrest was, on the whole, promptly and adequately met. Indians were admitted to the India Council and to the Viceregal and Provincial Executive Councils; Indian

representation upon all the Legislative Councils was very greatly increased; the privileges enjoyed by unofficial members in all the assemblies were widened, and the influence exercised by Indians upon all branches of the administration is now far more powerful and direct than was the case in 1902. Yet, as was predicted when the reforms were introduced, the educated Indian public is probably to-day more dissatisfied than ever. Appetite has grown with feeding. The comparative ease with which the last reforms were obtained has stimulated the desire for more.

Lord Morley and Lord Minto both held that the extensive changes they introduced ought to satisfy Indian aspirations for a very long time to come. Such is not the view of the Indian public. The reformed councils are working well, the Indian executive members have done good work, and the very success of the reforms is advanced as a reason for fresh concessions. Just now attention is concentrated upon the Public Services Commission, but whatever that body may recommend, there can be little doubt that in the present decade we shall be confronted with a renewed agitation for more powers for the representative assemblies. When it comes, we shall not be able to dismiss it so lightly as was possible in the nineties. Nevertheless, any further reforms in the Legislative Councils will bring us face to face with issues which will be largely new. Hitherto we have practically retained a deciding voice in all matters of expenditure. Indian members have a considerable voice in financial questions, but their influence is still only permissive in character. New proposals for concessions must unquestionably open up vital controversies about control over expenditure, both Imperial and provincial; and with these issues will be associated the fresh desire for fiscal freedom. It will require all the patience and wisdom of British statesmanship to meet the situation which will then be presented. All that will be said here is that when the time arrives the wishes of the peoples of India must be examined again in a cautious but conciliatory spirit. The time is past when the considered representations of India can be gently thrust aside. We have to discard the habit of thinking of India as a country won and held by conquest. The day for such an attitude is over. We must recognise instead that India will

n future be increasingly difficult to hold, that it may very easily overtax our strength, and that the stability of British rule will n the years to come depend very largely upon the degree to which we are able to preserve the support of the best and strongest elements of the population.

One is tempted, in dealing with such a theme as a decade of ndian history, to concentrate upon the questions which specially ffect the character and solidity of British control; but it has lso to be remembered that this decennial statement is intended to leal chiefly with the condition of the people. That is the touchtone by which our administration must ultimately be judged. n some respects the progress of India during the last ten years as been little short of marvellous. In 1901-02 the revenue, xclusive of funds raised for local purposes, was £64,000,000. n 1911-12 it had reached the high total of £82,000,000, and ven allowing for the special profits derived from opium, the rate f expansion is still very remarkable. How far has this abounding rosperity been reflected in the homes of the people? It is not asy to furnish an answer, and avowedly the statement leaves s without conclusive information on the point. The last decade aw a heavy rise in the prices of most commodities in India. n 1902 the special index number for retail prices of food grains ras 141. In 1911 it was 161, and in four of the intervening ears it was far higher, owing to the failure of crops in famine reas. On the other hand, wages have risen, though probbly not in the same proportion. Skilled labour commands a etter price. In rural areas where the population has been erceptibly reduced by plague the agricultural labourers are eceiving far higher wages than they ever did before. Whether hroughout the country agricultural labour is paid enough to ake good the large increase in the cost of food grains is a more pen question. The Government is now instituting careful nquiries into the whole problem, but the results are not yet omplete.

What is certain is that the rise in prices has affected important lasses very adversely. Landholders and cultivators whose land assessed or rented at a rate fixed for long periods have derived enefit from the rise; it has probably been good for the trading lasses; and both skilled and unskilled labour have, in many

localities at least, been able to meet the larger demand upon their resources. The case is very different with people who are dependent upon fixed incomes, such as pensioners, Government officials, private employees, and the professional classes. They have to pay more for their food and for most other commodities, and their incomes remain practically unchanged. The Government has sought to ease the lot of its servants by granting special additional pay, known as grain compensation allowance, but it is not at all clear that the grant is more than a palliative. The small professional man, and the classes who receive a modest income from property or investments, have no such help, and have felt the pinch very badly. As in China the economic condition of large masses of the people is probably the ultimate cause of revolution, so it may be said that in India the rise in prices is at least an important contributory reason for such discontent as is visible.

Much obscurity still veils the connection between economic conditions and unrest in India, but there can be no doubt that the agitations witnessed in recent years have not been due to political aspirations alone. Resentment of British domination is not the sole cause of the troubles that exist. Such a statement as the following about Bengal and Behar sheds a flood of light upon the occurrences which have perplexed the authorities: "The middle classes who subsist by professional or clerical employment were hard hit by the rise of prices. Being dependent upon salaries, the dearness of food either entailed a reduction in their standard of comfort, or reduced the margin between sufficiency and privation." Again, we are told of these provinces: "The economic development of the country has not kept pace with the educational progress of the people. An ever-growing number of youths are leaving the schools and the university, but fresh avenues of employment are few." When we seek an explanation of the occasional disturbances in Bengal, we need not look far beyond these admissions. The United Provinces and the Punjab tell a rather more cheerful story, and in the latter province the wages of skilled and unskilled labour alike have doubled in the last twenty years, owing to the dual results of the heavy mortality from plague and the greatly increased demand for labour. The authorities of the Central Provinces declare

that "the present is a time of the greatest prosperity for the working classes," the reasons assigned being much the same as those which have operated in the Punjab. Madras and Bombay have similar results to relate, and the Bombay Government declares that "the decade has been a period of general prosperity of a wider distribution of wealth, and of the expansion of industry and commerce." The sweeping optimistic statements of most of the Provincial Governments can hardly be accepted without a certain amount of reserve. We shall be in a better position to judge of the condition of large masses of the rural population when the official enquiries on a scientific basis are completed. Where famine or plague has inflicted a large mortality upon the people, the new prosperity afterwards enjoyed by the survivors in consequence of the lessening of pressure in the labour market is not necessarily a sound proof of progress. On the other hand, the increasing difficulties of people with fixed incomes are admitted by nearly every province. Some authorities urge that the class is comparatively small, and that, therefore, its reverses do not matter very much in view of the growing prosperity of the labourer and the artisan. The statement is not quite true of Bengal, and it may further be urged with regard to the whole of India that this class, if limited, represents the highest degree of intelligence and wields a potent influence. The decline in its material welfare is certain to react unfavourably upon British rule, for it is not from the cultivators and the rural labourers that agitators and revolutionaries spring. Unfortunately, it is easier to point out existing conditions than to suggest a suitable remedy.

Among the many other facts revealed by the Decennial Statement, none is more striking than the growth of the foreign trade of India. The total volume of trade, both imports and exports, showed a value of £166,000,000 in 1902–03, but in 1911–12 it had reached a value of £290,000,000. Both figures include movements of treasure amounting to many millions, but, deducting these, the increase is still amazing. The industrial development of the country is not statistically so impressive, but the growth of manufactures is steady, although it will be long before the overwhelming preponderance of the agricultural occupations is appreciably affected. A fair example of the rate

of industrial progress is shown by the return of people employed in cotton mills, who numbered 161,000 in 1902, but had increased to 221,000 by 1912. Another notable feature of the decade was that for the first time the railways, most of which are owned by the State, showed a substantial profit, which went to swell the revenue side of the Budget. India derived profits amounting to £3,787,000 from her railways in 1911-12, and owing to the method of calculation adopted, even this figure does not reveal the whole sum which accrued to the Exchequer. The mileage open for traffic was increased from 25,373 to 33,494 during the ten years.

The whole truth about India will never be gathered from official reports, but the Decennial Statement leaves certain definite impressions which may be briefly summed up. It draws a picture of abounding surface prosperity, of an abundant increase of trade, of continuous growth of industries, of annual accretions of revenue which continue almost unchecked. The epidemics and the scarcity caused by occasional droughts produce a heavy mortality and cause widespread misery, but recovery is generally rapid and the survivors are often better off than before. The great economic factor of the decade has been the rise of prices, but the bulk of the population has probably been able to face the rise without great difficulty, though this conclusion is by no means clear yet. The people with fixed incomes, numerically limited but politically important, have felt the enhanced cost of living very keenly, particularly in Bengal, and their condition has doubtless helped to bring about the prevalent discontent among the middle classes. Despite the many proofs of the broad material advancement of India, the difficulties of the Government are not likely to diminish. Anarchism will not disappear, and there will probably be a coincident continuance of constitutional agitation having for its object a larger share in the control of Indian affairs. The future aspirations of educated Indians must be given a friendly hearing, for the ultimate fate of British rule depends upon the successful adoption of a policy which will convince Indians that their best interests lie in becoming willing citizens of the British Empire.

ASIATICUS.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

The General Titter

BEFORE referring to the many catastrophes and the crowning humiliation of the past month it may be as well to glance abroad, where once upon a time England was regarded as "the envy and the admiration" but where to-day there is a general titter at the moral debacle of a nation who has immemorially held her head very high and has daily thanked God that she was not as those benighted and corrupt foreigners were. Radicals have always derided prestige founded on force and waged relentless war on advocates of armaments as purblind materialists who falsely imagined that the strength of the British Empire depended upon tons and guns instead of upon the character of the people and especially upon the spotless, unsullied fame of those placed in authority. Therefore on their own theories our demagogues have wounded Great Britain—the Mother-Country of a vast Empire—in a vital part by prostituting the Lord Chief Justiceship of England to purely party political ends. It is a unique episode in our history which prepares us for worse, for there is nothing of which a degraded Cabal such as the Asquith Cabinet is incapable. Even the introspective, critical Englishman tried to console himself by the reflection, "We may be fools but we are honest fools." Of that consolation he is deprived. Meanwhile let us revert to a day before Panama government set in and we were entitled to despise Tammany Hall.

THE occasion is provided by the appearance of two excepti interesting volumes from the pen of Lord Newton, who has de

Retrospect

the last year to writing the life of his old Lord Lyons,* the great silent ambassador after a remarkably varied career immured himself in the B Embassy in Paris for the last twenty years of his life (1867–: to all intents and purposes so far as the public were concer *quantité negligeable*. Those were before the days of boo Lord Lyons did not appear to count for very much becau did not wish to appear. He abhorred all forms of advertise He would be completely out of date nowadays. He nevert counted for a great deal, being a remarkably shrewd obs and an admirable informant of the Home Government of was going on in France during a most critical period of her hi and indeed of European history. Shortly after Lord Lyons to Paris Bismarck skilfully brought on the Franco-German and after *l'année terrible* he watched the wonderful recove the Republic, which provoked German efforts at a preve war from pure jealousy of the revival of the victim whom Bisn fondly imagined that he had permanently placed *hors de co* The Lyons Embassy coincided with the Iron Chancellor's matic ascendancy throughout Europe when all the so- "Powers"—particularly Russia and Great Britain—danc the piping of the Wilhelmstrasse. The case against Gern as the *grand agent provocateur* of Europe, as set forth in s and out of season in the *National Review*, receives remar corroboration from these pages, containing much first- information not hitherto disclosed. Lord Newton's biogra which has the signal merit of allowing the subject to spea himself, though the comments of the author are always nent, should be an eye-opener to the more innocent membe the Potsdam Party, who in all good faith have swallowed German legend as expounded by numerous gentlemen of Ge extraction, who doubtless left their country for their coun good though it cannot be truthfully said that they are her our country's good. There are likewise amazing revela concerning Disarmament, which appears to have been a

* *Lord Lyons: A Record of British Diplomacy.* Two volumes. 30s. net. E Arnold. London.

in the bonnet of British simpletons forty years ago just as it is a bee in the bonnet of more sophisticated persons to-day, who for some sinister reason are working overtime to disarm this country in the face of the greatest menace of the last hundred years.

Latter-Day Peace Mongers

Modern professional peacemongers, some of whom are less steeped in idealism than they would have us believe, and like other agitators have an eye to the main chance, appear to be striving for a situation in which our inferiority *vis-à-vis* Germany would be so decisive that the Peace-at-any-price Brigade would be able to apostrophise the British people in some such terms as these: "You have no chance of competing against Germany with her enormously superior armaments in your isolated position. You have no option but to submit to German demands, which, owing to the abiding affection of Kaiser Wilhelm and the Crown Prince, are not likely to be excessive. We lovers of peace have kept in close touch with Potsdam throughout the crisis and we can vouch for German moderation: the Germans are the last people in the world to take advantage of an opponent's weakness, and in your case they are grateful for this weakness because it makes for peace and will save them a war. If the British Government is prepared to acquiesce in the absorption of Holland and Belgium and Northern France in the German Empire, together with the German-speaking portion of Austria and the Russian Baltic provinces, Germany may be content with an indemnity of £500,000,000 to recoup her for the cost of creating her navy; but as a set-off she will relieve Great Britain of the cost of maintaining the British Navy, which is an economically unsound investment. You may keep a few token ships, but Germany will require the surrender of all battleships, cruisers, destroyers, etc., constructed since 1900. She will probably insist that the British Regular Army be disbanded, lest it should lead you into temptation, though she would have no objection to your maintaining any number of Territorials on the Haldane model with the Haldane training. She will necessarily reserve to herself the right to summon any Englishman to the German colours."

OUR Peacemongers—now avowedly German agents without any disguise—might also be in a position to inform the British people for whose paralysis they had been working that "the destiny of the outlying portions of the British Empire automatically dissolved by the crisis will be left over for future consideration. Germany is prepared to conclude a definitive Treaty with the British Isles on the basis sketched out, though she will require pending its conclusion, as a guarantee of good faith, certain hostages, of whom a complete list will be furnished later. These will include everybody who has sat on the Defence Committee since 1900, when Germany gave public notice that she meant to secure the sovereignty of the seas, all members of both Houses of Parliament, the principal journalists of both Parties, particularly those attached to the Potsdam Press who have demonstrated their influence over British public opinion, the chief ministers of the Free Churches who sway the middle classes, and the leading Trade Unionists as sponsors for the working classes. We (*i.e.* the professors of peace) propose now that our work is complete to spend the rest of our lives in the Fatherland serenely happy in the consciousness of a great work gloriously accomplished. We have devoted our lives to the sacred cause of Peace, which is now established on a permanent basis. *Au revoir!*"

Au Revoir

ALL countries have some cranks, but we are overrun by a peculiarly poisonous type. We have probably done something to deserve the disease. What is really stupefying, however, is to learn, as we do from Lord Newton's pages, that the Disarmament craze—which is probably more responsible than any other factor for huge and ever-growing armaments—has obsessed Englishmen in responsible positions at critical moments to the point of paralysis. We are not for a moment thinking of the mountebank at the Admiralty. His platform performances are as idiotic to us as they are offensive to Germany, and play into the hands of the vast army of Anglophobes who preach a *jehad* against this country. Politicians of this calibre will say anything to get themselves reported. We have in mind serious people like Lord Clarendon, British Foreign Minister in 1870. The French

Simple-Minded Statesmen

Ministry were suffering the same illusions about Germany in 1868–1870 as British Ministers to-day. So ignorant were they of the man "up against" them, Bismarck, that instead of getting ready for the predetermined conflict of blood and iron they solemnly suggested that Lord Clarendon should raise the perilous question of Disarmament, which could only serve to stimulate Bismarck's eagerness for war as it was a signal that France was unready. Instead of warning France of her critical position with the fate of Denmark and Austria staring her in the face, Lord Clarendon, doubtless at the instigation of his chief, Mr. Gladstone, so late as January 26, 1870, wrote to Lord Lyons, our Ambassador in Paris, describing his conversation with La Valette, the French Ambassador, adding that, as "our relations with Prussia are very friendly," he would "make an attempt to bell the cat," though he was not particularly hopeful. Considering that this particular cat had been training all her kittens for war since Jena, it was about as forlorn a hope as could be conceived. Gortchakoff, the Russian Chancellor, was sounded, and "entirely concurred," though he said, "Russia would take no initiative." Considering our relations at that time, this was scarcely surprising. It would suit Russia's book that we should come a cropper.

A Red Rag

M. Emile Ollivier, the French Gladstone, called upon Lord Lyons on January 30, 1870, who reported his artless prattle to London. He might have been Mr. Lloyd George. He wanted to "conciliate" French voters by remitting taxes, therefore it would be highly convenient if Prussia would agree to simultaneous Disarmament. *Plus c'a change plus c'est la même chose.* M. Ollivier told Lord Lyons:

> The time must come when France would be obliged to make a public proposal to disarm: it was impossible that the French Government could assume, in the eyes of France and the world, any share of the responsibility for the present exaggerated armaments and expenses. They would be obliged to show the French people and the German people, too, where the responsibility really lay.

Mr. Asquith could scarcely improve on this. It decidedly detracts from Bismarck's fame that he should have had to deal with such simpletons. On February 2, 1870, the British Foreign Minister, who must have been completely in the

dark as to the European situation, German policy, Bismarck' position and character, indeed of everything necessary to form sound judgment, wrote a deplorable memorandum to Lor Augustus Loftus, the British Ambassador in Berlin, to be confi dentially communicated to Bismarck. It was regarded as s important in London that only Queen Victoria and Mr. Gladston knew of its existence, and it is now disclosed for the first time We will not infringe Lord Newton's copyright by reproducin this gem of the first water. We can almost hear the laughter wit which Bismarck must have discussed it with Moltke and Vo Roon, and we suggest that it should be sent to every membe of the Cabinet and "the Shadow Cabinet" as a perfect specime of how not to deal with the Germans. Its general characte may be gathered from the opening sentence of the third para graph: "But it is in the general interest of Europe, of peace and of humanity that I desire to invite the attention of Coun Bismarck," etc. As all students of Bismarck know, these wer so many red rags to a bull. He regarded Gladstone as a hardene hypocrite who was perpetually appealing to the Almight whenever engaged on dubious business.

Disingenuous

LEAST of all, would Bismarck be impressed by the Britis Minister's unfortunate statement that if Prussia agreed, "I d not doubt that the Queen would allow me t sound the ground at Paris in a manner entirel confidential, that should in no way compromise either Goverr ment, whatever might be the result of the suggestion" With his perfect Intelligence Department Bismarck is sure t have known that the question of Disarmament had alread been discussed between the British and French Government when he received this ingenuous proposal. It is convenient fc peacemongers to discount the *National Review* as German phobe because we refuse to be fooled by the Germans who a preparing to fall upon us at their own time, but we strongl condemn these Liberal methods of treating Germany. W have gone great lengths in upholding the Foreign Policy the last few years for the sake of continuity, and we cann be accused of ever seeking to make Party capital out of an of the many actions of Sir Edward Grey open to criticism

So we cannot be accused of political prejudice in stigmatising not merely the utter ineptitude of Gladstonian Foreign Policy in 1870 but its disingenuousness on the subject of Disarmament. We cannot discuss the episode more fully here, but we feel sure that all our readers will join with us in expressing unfeigned regret that any such memorandum should have been presented to Count Bismarck or to any foreign statesman by any British Government. The right way to deal with the Germans is to be perfectly frank and unflinching, and above all to see that you have the weapons of your policy. You must always bear in mind that Teutonic diplomacy is tortuous; but don't be tempted into the tortuous. The wrong way to deal with Germany is to disarm, to talk "sentiment" which they regard as insincere, and to take a leaf out of their book by pretending that if it is agreeable to them you will do something which you have already done, and which in all probability they know you have done. The transparent bungling of Paris and London in the beginning of 1870 was invaluable to Bismarck in enabling him to precipitate the war for which in all probability we shall ultimately pay the piper.

The Crowning Outrage

THE outstanding event—or rather outrage—of the past month, if not of our time, was Sir Rufus Isaacs' promotion from the great office he has discredited to the still greater office for which he has demonstrated his utter unfitness. Our readers were prepared for Mr. Asquith's latest because we have warned them from the outset that the policy of whitewashing Ministers implicated in the Marconi scandal demanded the affront to the nation of making Mr. Godfrey Isaacs' brother Lord Chief Justice of England. They will not, therefore, have been misled by the countless falsehoods circulated by Ministers who have reared a Mont Blanc of mendacity, of which one of the worst was the Prime Minister's suggestion before the adjournment of Parliament, in reply to a question of Mr. Bonar Law, that there was unlikely to be a vacancy because he entertained the hope that Lord Alverstone "would in course of time be able to resume his active duties." Such assertions are a second nature with Mr. Asquith; they come trippingly off the tongue, and he perhaps above all men has made it impossible to

believe any declaration made by any Minister, unless it tells against the Minister making it or against some other Minister, or is supported by credible corroborative evidence. We should not be surprised to learn that Mr. Asquith actually had Lord Alverstone's resignation in his pocket when he was indulging his favourite pastme of misleading the House of Commons, or maybe he had asked Lord Alverstone to keep back his resignation until the Marconi scandal had somewhat blown over, knowing all the time that he would appoint Sir Rufus Isaacs at the end of the long vacation, when he invited the House of Commons to believe that Lord Alverstone would remain Lord Chief Justice. It is as well that Parliament is not sitting at the present moment, as we should only be treated to another orgy of "thumping big lies," which is, we believe, a parliamentary expression. It is said that Radicals dearly love a lord. They certainly love a liar—the more unblushing the better. They used to mind being found out. They are now beyond that stage.

Minor Advantages

THE appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs has certain minor advantages. It is a brief epitome of the ethics of the Party of all the virtues, about which there remains no shadow of an excuse for cherishing further delusions. It puts a permanent stopper on that whining self-righteousness of which Mr. Lloyd George is the principal embodiment, as also upon those maddening appeals of Unionist newspapers to the Prime Minister's "better side" to do or not do this, that, or the other. You cannot appeal to what doesn't exist. The Premier is naked but not ashamed. The objects of the appointment are obvious. No one can pretend that it is dictated by public interest, though according to the *Daily Mail* it is "universally popular," which is more than can be said of the *Daily Mail* at this moment, and we note that Radical papers generally were decent enough to be somewhat shamefaced in their comments. We can only suppose that it is dictated by a dread of the disclosure of the remaining 90 per cent. of our modern South Sea Bubble, of which probably not more than 10 per cent. has been revealed. It is intended to intimidate those who have devoted themselves to exposing this hideous business from pursuing their task, because a Cabinet of lawyers

doubtless argues that if they can be brought into any Court on any pretext the Trade Unionism of the "Gentlemen of the Long Robe" will create an "atmosphere" in which justice will be unattainable. Doubtless the Government are already congratulating themselves on the effect of their coup in the temporary silence of some papers foremost in the cause of Clean Government, though the admirable articles of the *Morning Post* and the *Outlook*, and of several other papers, should disabuse them of the idea that they can terrorise the Press and deter journalists from telling the truth and shaming the devil. We believe that Trade Unionism is strong at the Law Courts. The Bar has not behaved heroically at this crisis of its fate, but it has been set a bad example by leading lawyers on both sides of politics, who have lowered its prestige. We are still suffering from the blazing folly of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith in accepting briefs in the *Matin* action, which has not yet found one intelligible defender, for the simple reason that it admits of no defence. Either on receiving their briefs or at some later stage these learned gentlemen must have realised that they were not engaged professionally but politically, to do the dirty work of the Government. They were employed not because they were barristers, but because they were Unionists, to break the disagreeable fact to the public that, contrary to the apparently comprehensive denials of Ministers in the House of Commons on October 11, 1912, that any of them had had any speculations in any Marconi shares, some Ministers (*i.e.* Sir Rufus Isaacs, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Master of Elibank) had in fact had speculations in American Marconi shares, of which they still held many thousands on the day of the debate, and when the full facts, which were gradually extracted by a process of dentistry, were revealed, the transaction was seen to be of a deplorable character without any redeeming point.

The Falconer-Booth Intrigue

MINISTERS secured their shares at a preferential rate over the general public on a valuable tip from a Government contractor then negotiating a Contract regarded by some as a Monopoly with the Government which would require parliamentary ratification. It was manifestly the bounden duty of the principal Law Officer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chief Whip to keep clear of

any business which might bring their public duty and their private interests into conflict. They are Cæsar's wives or nothing. To gamble in American Marconis was under the cicumstances to touch pitch. We need not retell the old familiar story. The speculation was grossly improper from every point of view. Still worse were he systematic efforts to conceal it, namely the attempt to rusht the Marconi Contract through the House of Commons practically undiscussed in August 1912, the deceptive speeches in the Debate in the following October, when there was every obligation of honour to deal frankly with the House of Commons, the absence of any serious attempt to get before the Select Committee and make a clean breast of it, and above all the odious intrigue with Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth—who were privately informed* without the knowledge of the Chairman or the rest of the Committee of the American speculation—doubtless in order to divert the Enquiry from ground dangerous to the Marconi Ministers, who must have still hoped to avoid exposure. That ugly episode alone, apart from everything else, disqualifies Sir Rufus Isaacs from joining any judiciary where the honour, the liberty, and the lives of other men will be at his mercy. Even Mr. Asquith could not defend the Falconer-Booth business, so he pretended to know nothing about it. With an Asquith at the head of a Government, and with a Government involved in unnumbered scandals, everything is possible, and we have no right to be surprised at any appointment. however much we may be shocked by it. Why are Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth still left out in the cold?

* Sir Rufus Isaacs, in cross-examination in the Chesterton case on May 29, 1913, gave the following account of his communication concerning the American Marconi speculation to selected Members of the Select Committee:

Q. Did you previously tell any member of the Select Committee before you were examined? *A.* Yes.

Q. Whom? *A.* I told Mr. Falconer, who I knew was going to examine the journalists.

Q. And Mr. Booth? *A.* I told Mr. Booth. I am not sure whether it was the same day or the day after.

Q. Mr. Falconer and Mr. Booth when they examined the journalists knew of your dealings in them? *A.* Yes, they knew that I had had dealings.

Q. And did you tell them about Mr. Lloyd George? *A.* Yes.

Q. And the Master of Elibank? *A.* Yes, but I do not mean to say I went into the whole details.

THAT Sir Rufus Isaacs' elevation may be approved by organs claiming to be spokesmen of the Bar, and by some prominent barristers, we do not deny, but we refuse to believe that there is such a gulf between the Bar and the rest of the community as to disable barristers from appreciating the heavy blow now dealt at a branch of the British Constitution that has hitherto been regarded as inviolate and unassailable. The appointment was made the more offensive by the ceremony of swearing-in the new Lord Chief Justice (October 21), which Lord Haldane, the modern Tartuffe by virtue of his unctuous rectitude and slimy speech, was peculiarly fitted to preside over. He made every right-minded man among his audience shiver, and, happily for the reputation of the Bar, one of its members (Mr. C. L. Hales) had the manliness to tell the Lord Chancellor to his face, "Speak for yourself, Lord Haldane," when the latter, not content with a conventional eulogy of Sir Rufus Isaacs' forensic abilities and professional reputation, went out of his way to challenge the community by declaring, "We have known him as a man of the highest honour and of the highest desire to seek out and ensue the truth." At any time this appointment would have been intolerable, but no worse moment could have been chosen, which is probably the very reason of it. Litigation is understood to be pending with the Marconi Company on the very question of the "flotation" of the American Marconi Company, in which the Isaacs family were concerned. One would imagine a man of Sir Rufus Isaacs' professional reputation refusing the Lord Chief Justiceship until the matter had been finally cleared up; all the more as a Stock Exchange Committee is engaged in investigating the same problem, as to which there are interesting rumours but too indefinite for us to discuss as we go to press. *Autres temps autres mœurs.* Nowadays we celebrate Trafalgar Day by swearing-in Lord Chief Justice Isaacs, who by the cruel irony of Fate opened his judicial career upon a case in which the parties had had "a little gamble" on the Stock Exchange.

Tartuffe?

Dissolution before Civil War

If we may be allowed to say so, the policy of "Dissolution befo Civil War," which has been strenuously advocated in these pag and vehemently denounced by our much esteem contemporary the *Spectator* (whose editor has record to be proud of on the question whi created the Unionist Party), still holds the fiel Indeed it is the only thinkable policy. We quoted abunda and unanswered, because unanswerable, authority last mon showing that the Royal Prerogative is not extinct. Here essentially a case for the King to consult his people. The iss is sufficiently simple to be understood by a child. Ministe who have long since forfeited all moral authority and nev had any mandate for Home Rule, purchased Mr. Redmond support of the People's Budget, which the people, especially tl Irish people, hated, by promising to place a Home Rule Bill the Statute Book *without a Dissolution* after they had suspend the Constitution, tricked the Crown, and bluffed the House Lords. It is necessary to state the case frankly without rega to anybody's feelings, and to those who talk of letting "bygon be bygones" it may be answered that the present confusion the direct result of the circumstances attending the passing of tl Parliament Bill two years ago. The controversy cannot treated as a purely Party question, because both Parties compr mised themselves in 1911, and many so-called "responsib statesmen" put themselves out of court—the Prime Minister b the manner in which that monstrous measure was passed, Unioni Peers for allowing themselves to be terrorised into accepting i There is some advantage in Mandarins generally being wron as common sense may for once get a hearing. The Mandar mind works in wondrous ways, which makes Mandarin actic on any vital matter unintelligible to the plain man. The Hon Rule Bill followed the Parliament Bill as night follows day.

Ulster in Earnest

UNTIL the other day it was the fashion to minimise the oppositic of Ulster to being governed by Molly Maguires, and to assume th this stern, determined community was exclusivel composed of time-serving politicians who after decent show of discontent would, at the mome selected for scuttling by the powers that be on one side or tl

other, come to heel and apologise for the trouble they had caused. But of late it has gradually dawned upon Tapers and Tadpoles, to their no small annoyance and disgust, that Ulster is in earnest. Among mere politicians enjoying the limelight of the movement may conceivably be found here and there men prepared to betray the cause under the specious garb of "compromise," but behind them stand the rank and file, the immense majority of whom refuse to be sold to their sworn enemies on any terms whatsoever. It is now common ground from one end of politics to the other that should any attempt be made to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin the fires of civil war will be lighted in the north. The question for everybody except the Nationalists (who would enjoy civil war if they could be sure of the support of the British Army in shooting down Ulstermen, but not otherwise) is, How can civil war be avoided? Leaving Ireland altogether alone, thanks to the policy pursued towards the British Navy by this Government of gamblers, who abandoned first the two-Power standard and then the one-Power standard and are now working towards a no-Power standard, coupled with Lord Haldane's reduction of our diminutive regular Army and his territorial tomfoolery, we are simply not in a position to risk civil war, even at the bidding of Mr. Redmond and his Anglophobe paymasters across the ocean. We do not know from how many hostile communities he derives supplies, but we do know that Germany is eagerly watching the Home Rule movement, not from any love of "nations struggling to be free," or she would have granted Home Rule to Poland, but because England's danger is Germany's opportunity. The establishment of a Kruger Government in the United Kingdom might well be the signal for a German declaration of war, for which her preparations are prodigiously advanced.

The Real Thing

That is the plain truth about the Irish question, looking at it selfishly and in cold blood and suppressing all natural sympathies for loyalists about to be thrown to the wolves. We cannot afford to have a civil war in the United Kingdom, which means that we cannot afford to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin. Mr. Arnold White's valuable articles in the *Globe* prove this beyond a peradventure. Even if Germany remained quiescent, our anti-militarist Govern-

ment have brought us so low that we could not suppress Ulster without calling out the Reserves! The reason that people are thinking and talking so much more at the present time about the King than about any of his subjects is because, in spite of the efforts of professional politicians of both Parties, from Mr. Asquith to Lord ——, to belittle the Monarch and to pretend that his sole function is to look on at the magnificent statesmanship of his Ministers, the people at large regard their Sovereign as infinitely the most important man in the country, while they believe him to be the only man who can save the situation. Every one is saying this in private—why pretend to the contrary in public? A few Parliamentarians and some press pundits, while paying unending lip-service to the King, regard themselves as the real Government and the Crown as purely ornamental. But the number of people who no longer take their opinions from parliamentarians whose calling has fallen into well-deserved disrepute, and who refuse to regard the *Temporiser* as their father-confessor, is vastly on the increase. Indeed it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that, apart from the Caucuses and their immediate hangers-on, practically the entire population of the Empire regard the King as the real thing and the other as a sordid imposture. They turn to the Sovereign in emergencies to rescue them from muddle-headed, pusillanimous, corrupt, and treacherous politicians.

Modern George Washingtons

THIS feeling is growing everywhere, though we can imagine what stupendous efforts politicians and courtiers—who usually live in a narrow little world of their own—are making to prevent the truth from reaching Buckingham Palace or Balmoral. His Majesty's loyal subjects are sorely distressed when they read in their newspapers that the Rt. Hon. —— has arrived at —— as Minister in attendance on the King, the missing name not infrequently indicating some noted charlatan for whom truth has even less than the usual attractions. They are alarmed at the opportunities afforded the interested and unscrupulous to misrepresent every single fact and factor in the political situation and to give a complete travesty of public opinion. Subsequently they may notice that Faint-heart, who is permanently on the run and has never stood his

ground in his life, is paying his respects to his Sovereign. Bismarck, who spoke from long experience, declared that it was easier to deceive a King than a Parliament. Our modern George Washingtons are assisted in their task of misleading the Monarch as to his position and powers by equally jealous statesmen on the other side, no less eager to make a constitutional Sovereign a mere cipher in order that in their turn they may misgovern the country without let or hindrance. And the impudence of it all! These very persons have misappropriated and perverted the maxim "The King can do no wrong" to their own purposes, as signifying that the King must do any wrong which suits party exigencies of the moment. The King is not a human being—he is an automaton. That is what we have come to. The King is the Premier's pen. He must do whatever he is directed by whatever political clique happens for the moment to have captured Parliament. The politicians may inflict irreparable injury, the effects of which will be felt for many generations if it does not actually cause the downfall of the nation. The King has no option but to obey. It is outrageous and has been declared to be outrageous by every constitutionalist of any authority. Do the people wish their King to occupy the same position towards Mr. Asquith as Mr. Asquith occupies towards Mr. Redmond, the hireling of the late Patrick Ford?

Tapers and Tadpoles

It would be laughable if it were less perilous. Here we are drifting towards civil war, owing to the venal cowardice of a corrupt oligarchy, several of whom believe as much in Home Rule as we do, but have sacrificed their souls for their salaries. The comedy, so far as it is a comedy, is heightened by the fact that whenever the governing Caucus see a chance of exploiting the Crown they do not hesitate to go behind His Majesty's back and without his knowledge, saying: "You must not criticise this, that or the other because the King wants it." This is using the King's name unwarrantably and unconstitutionally, and the Sovereign can have no idea of the disloyalty of those who are for ever emphasising the constitutional character of the Monarchy. They apparently owe him no obligations. In the late reign the Tapers and Tadpoles of the predominant party at one time spread the grotesque

suggestion that King Edward was responsible for their despicabl Anglo-German policy in the winter of 1902 and 1903. The li had hardly started before the King had taken the initiativ towards an entente cordiale with France of which these self-sam Tapers and Tadpoles did their utmost to rob him of the credit All Europe knows that King Edward exercised a remarkabl influence on foreign affairs, carrying about with him an atmospher before which many apparently insoluble difficulties dis appeared. Our Monarchy is constitutional, but the Monarcl occupies a very great position, and our King, like other kings however qualified his authority, is confronted by a problen which the bulk of his subjects believe that he alone can solve namely as to whether there is to be a Civil War in Ireland withou the British people being consulted. It is not asking much Great Britain has never been converted to Home Rule, and nov that she appreciates its consequences her aversion increases Of its effect in Ireland we need say nothing more than that thi so-called policy of " reconciliation " spells red ruin.

Conference Cackle

WHEN we went to press last month there was a certain amount of cackle about a conference, the invariable refuge of the mindless. There is nothing to confer about; there is not even a basis for discussion; no conceivable concessions would satisfy either side. A certain Minister, doubtless somewhat restive at the amount of advertisement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has enjoyed on Marconi and other matters, though the Minister in question has nothing to complain of as the *Maily Dail* would appear to have constituted itself his fugleman, thought he saw a chance of making what his claque would describe as a " sensational speech." This earth-shaking utterance contained the usual denunciation of dissolution, coupled with a suggestion that if the Unionist Party would lick his boots sufficiently he might be able to do something for Ulster. There are a lot of lickspittles about just now, but before the process had made any progress the Minister on the make was curtly told by Mr. John Redmond and the *Westminster Gazette* to mind his own business, which we devoutly hope he won't do because his business unfortunately happens to be the Admiralty, which he is understood to have reduced to greater

chaos than ever reigned there before. This is about the only useful contribution which Mr. Redmond or the *Westminster Gazette* have made to public affairs in our time. There are, of course, the usual mugs and mugwumps in our Party, who under cover of a conference are anxious to capitulate, but fortunately there are no materials for a conference and consequently no scope for scuttle. As we have insisted from the outset, Ulster holds the key to the situation and nothing will induce us to believe, whoever may prompt the suggestion, that a portion of Ulster will consent to make terms with the enemy at the price of all loyalists throughout the rest of Ireland. The Covenantor's oath is a solemn and binding pledge which all good Covenantors and true know by heart. It is no mere verbiage, it contains no loopholes, and makes betrayal unthinkable.

Terrified of the Truth

We are all so conventional as to be terrified of the truth, for which there would appear to be no room in the regime of the Great Ministry of Mendacity, many of whom apparently prefer fiction to fact. We have had such an orgy of falsehood this year in Parliament and in a considerable section of the Press that doubts may be entertained as to whether Truth will ever again be a serious factor in British public life. At one time there was this guarantee, that men were afraid of being found out in deliberate deception, and an accusation of "misleading" Parliament was almost regarded as libellous. To-day any Minister incapable of misleading Parliament would be promptly sent about his business. What about Sir Edward Grey? the reader may not unnaturally ask? Is he a liar? Certainly not, but in Home affairs he is a Party Hack who will tolerate any amount of lying among colleagues, and when they are so unlucky as to be found out he is ever ready to cover their shortcomings with a bucket of whitewash. We can make a shrewd guess from their public record at private Ministerial performances. While vituperating all and sundry who repudiate the insolent suggestion that the King is merely the Premier's Pen, these same demagogues impudently exploit the Crown as a Party instrument, and moreover they dishonour the Crown by their abandoned traffic in so-called "Honours" with which they "celebrate" his Majesty's birth-

day, the New Year, or a great historic event such as the Coronation. A Radical paper had the courage not long since to call attention to the unprecedented flow of "Honours," hereditary and otherwise, during the Asquith-Elibank regime. There are ugly stories afloat as to the *modus operandi*.

Honours Traffic

It is stated that not infrequently the single public service rendered by the new "creation" is the signing of a substantial cheque in favour of the Chief Ministerial Whip and Treasurer of the Party Funds. It is difficult to distinguish between baseless and well-founded rumour. There was undoubtedly a great accretion of funds to the Radical Party coffers in the spring of Coronation Year—1911. We are not in a position to give the total, because naturally the various Party pass-books at the various Party banks are not at our disposal, but we are in a position to affirm what neither the late Chief Whip of the Coalition (the Master of Elibank, made a Peer amid circumstances discussed elsewhere) nor his successor (Mr. Illingworth) are in a position to deny that through one firm of stockbrokers alone—and there may have been many others employed by a Party so closely in touch with the Stock Exchange—a very large sum of money was invested at a suggestive period of that particular year. There was no general election on the horizon—there had been two the previous year. Payment of members was shortly to be passed, presumably to the relief of the Radical war-chest. For what purpose was this great sum required? Whence did it come unless from Radical aspirants to Coronation Honours whose claims would not have been entertained unless reinforced by cash? Is this odious practice fair on the many men of real distinction whom any Sovereign would be delighted to honour? Is it fair on the Crown? Is it not a pollution of the Fountain of Honour?

A Taint

We are familiar with the cynical reply that "these things are done by both Parties"; but two wrongs do not make a right. We attack the system, and if it be true that Unionist Governments were guilty of similar malpractices, it is an additional reason why the scandal should be investigated and stopped. The mere mention of this delicate

topic inspires terror in interesting and perhaps interested quarters, but their attitude only serves to strengthen our case and the cause of Clean Government. Those persons responsible for these things are not fit and proper advisers of a constitutional monarch; and the same may be said of those who wink at them. When the V.C. is granted the service is specified. Is it extravagant to suggest that when an Honours list is published the services of those who figure in it shall be similarly specified? The only serious alternative is to publish a regular tariff for Peerages, Baronetcies, Privy Councillorships, etc., of which the proceeds would go into the public Exchequer in relief of the general taxpayer. The treatment of the Crown by the politicians calls for radical improvement. In any event the People respectfully petition for a Dissolution before a civil war. To rob the Monarch of his one serious indubitable right to consult his people is to complete the establishment of Panama government.

Hovels of Walton Heath

If Mr. Lloyd George were anything but a humbug and a hypocrite he would have opened his "land-bursting" campaign at his own doors at Walton Heath, where he owns or rents a country house the existence of which was first disclosed to an astonished world by an abominable Suffragette outrage. His own Press insisted that their Demagogue had only a "cottage," but the Radical plutocrat's idea of a cottage differs fundamentally from the humbler Unionist's conception, and certainly from that of the working man, whom Mr. Lloyd George is continually endeavouring to inflame against owners of country houses. Taking Ministerial accounts of the accommodation at this attractive abode, it might not inaccurately be described as a "lordly pleasure house." On platforms Mr. Lloyd George wears his heart on his sleeve and openly bleeds for the shifts to which the country population are put by the cottage famine which compels working men to walk many miles every day to their work owing to the selfishness of some base, brutal, if not bloody, feudal tyrant who declines to supply the needful. The other side of the controversy was, curiously enough, raised in a popular Radical newspaper, the *Daily Chronicle*, last August. Had we printed such things as appeared in this admirer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer we should have been accused of

party malice. The reader will understand that our contemporary is entirely responsible for what cannot be described as other than an indictment of Mr. Lloyd George for ignoring the needs of his neighbours. We do not pretend to have made any independent investigation, assuming that the *Daily Chronicle* may be relied upon on a question so detrimental to the Land-Burster. These startling headlines caught the eye two months ago:

CHANCELLOR AND HOUSING
STRIKING EXAMPLE AT HIS OWN DOORS
HOVELS OF WALTON HEATH

Radical Plutocrats in Practice

We might have been in "the Dukeries" when we read in the *Daily Chronicle* "The neighbourhood of Walton Heath has been 'developed' by the erection of beautiful residences for rich and leisured golfers, but no provision is made for the working classes." And a little further on: "Within a few hundred yards of Mr. Lloyd George's new house and of the golf-course . . . there are overcrowded, insanitary hovels which are undermining the health of working men and blighting the lives of their children." The *Daily Chronicle*, moreover, gives chapter and verse, citing the authority of Mr. Wethered, Vicar of Kingswood, at a recent meeting held to discuss the problem:

(1) That of a family of twelve inhabiting a two roomed cottage in the most deplorable state of disrepair. The rent is 5*s*. a week. The head of the family is in the employ of the Rural District Council. Three of the family sleep out, but nine sleep in this miserable, insanitary hovel every night, and all twelve take their meals there. One doorpost was found to be detached from the ground, and there were open spaces between the brickwork and the woodwork.

(2) That of a porter at Tadworth Station, a married man with five children. The only accommodation he could find in Tadworth was a stable, in which to lodge his furniture, for which he was required to pay 3*s*. a week. The family lodged for several weeks with relations in Kingswood, after which they succeeded in finding a house at Margery, Lower Kingswood, three miles from the man's work. This cottage the family have shortly to quit, and they had, when I was last informed, failed to find any other lodging of any kind.

(3) That of a local postman—married nearly a year ago—who has hitherto failed to secure a house of any kind.

The *Daily Chronicle* reports the vicar as adding, "these are

ordinary examples out of many known to me." We are likewise told:

All round the neighbourhood of Walton-on-the-Hill, Tadworth and Kingswood—all within easy distance of the golf-course, houses have been springing up which are let from £100 to £300 a year. Some of them are empty for the greater part of the year, and are only used as week-end residences. Their existence means that more workmen are required as gardeners, labourers, artisans, chauffeurs and servants, but no houses have been built for them. We cannot expect the land speculators who build for the rich to recognise their moral obligations towards the workers brought to the neighbourhood by their enterprise. The workmen and caddies unable to find accommodation near their work *walk from three to seven miles to their work*,* from Epsom, Sutton, Reigate, Redhill and Ewell, and in those places the housing problem is growing acute. The effect of this one-sided "development" of a near-by district like Walton Heath is to enhance the value of land so much that cheap houses for the workers become impossible. The Chancellor has a fine object-lesson at Walton Heath for the justification of his increment tax. Land which less than twenty years ago was valued at £50 an acre now sells at £800. Some sites have brought over £1000 per acre. Values have doubled within the last few years. Builders of houses expect 8 per cent. on their capital, but working-class dwellings in a district like Walton Heath cannot be built to let at a rental within the means of working men and at the same time to pay the interest which the private builder expects.

A Chance Missed

So the descent of Radical plutocrats upon Walton Heath—where it was stated some months ago that the Wind-bag of Dundee and Mr. Lloyd George's henchman, Mr. Masterman, contemplated following the example of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in constructing gorgeous "cottages," each of which would accommodate several working-class families—has accentuated the housing problem to such a point that, if we may believe the *Daily Chronicle*:

A movement has therefore been started to urge the Rural District Council to take action and build cottages with public money. A petition to the Local Government Board is also contemplated, asking for an enquiry and the application of the Town Planning Act. Walton Heath provides a striking illustration of the difficulty of housing the labouring classes owing to the rapid increase in the value of land and the obsolete housing laws. Cottages cannot be built in such a neighbourhood which will return 3½ per cent. interest on a loan and let at less than 7s. per week, which is more than many labouring men could afford to pay. There is therefore the alternative of bad housing at a low rent or good housing at a prohibitive rent. All this is only one further illustration of the urgent need for a national campaign, leading to a national solution of the housing problem.

Surely "land-bursting," like charity, should begin at home, and,

* Our italics.

ccepting the *Daily Chronicle's* statements, Mr. Lloyd George ught to have commenced operations at Walton Heath in the eighbourhood of his multi-millionaire friend Sir George Riddell, he proprietor of the *News of the World*, who is understood to be—ur authority again is the Radical press—"developing" Walton Ieath. In that case people might have said: "There is some incerity in this campaign. It is not mere class hatred or vote-atching. Mr. Lloyd George really cares about the homeless ondition of the humble and is anxious *coûte que coûte* to make eparation to them for their sufferings at the hands of opulent olfers, even though he belongs to that fortunate class." St. ebastian of Limehouse preferred, however, to go further afield, nto Bedfordshire, where there is a generous Duke to be tilted at rho probably does more good in a month than Mr. Lloyd George oes harm in a year, which is saying a great deal.

edford Demonstration

Ior the least comic features of these much-boomed Bedford emonstrations were the importation of applause by special trains from all over the country, and the Chairmanship of Lord Beauchamp, who according to *Who's Who* owns eighteen thousand acres, and consequently has abundant opportunities of practising the precise octrines which Mr. Lloyd George preaches to wicked Tory ndlords. It would be interesting to investigate Lord Beauchamp's record at magnificent Madresfield and ascertain how far iis "treasure-house of the rich" is "the pleasure ground of ie poor," which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman described as Liberal ideal. How many people has this Lloyd George landlord rought back to the land from sunless, congested cities? How any small holdings has he created on his vast property since he ratted" to Radicalism? Does he pay his labourers on his vn farm the "quid a week" of which we have heard so much? d generally how does his record compare with that of wicked ory neighbours? We know nothing whatsoever about Lord eauchamp except that he condescends to exist and enjoys the uly enviable position of being able to carry out the policy he itronises on the platform. At Limehouse St. Sebastian described ie Grosvenor property as conducted by "blackmail" rather than business." Does Lord Beauchamp endorse that proposition?

YD GEORGE is becoming fearfully long-winded, and it is
l how our Press can find space for these oceans of twaddle.
as He cannot say anything under two hours, and no
ll sooner has he exhausted one unfortunate audience
with an over-dose of oratory than he hurries off to
hall and repeats the operation. He is evidently in a
l temper with his opponents, always excepting the "respon-
iionist Press," which is unavailingly endeavouring to
rconi Ministers from paying the penalty of the corrupting
with which Asquithism will be for all time associated.
ncellor of the Exchequer is equally indignant with a
able section of his own colleagues, which is somewhat
ul considering the buckets of whitewash they have poured
. Cowardice alone prevents them from emancipating them-
m the Lloyd-George yoke, and as he judges their characters
ty, he makes them pay for their superior airs and graces,
that they dare not retalliate because, having capitulated
reat scandal of the day, they are not in a position to stand
m on any other question. So these descendants of the
nets and "high-minded Whigs" are obliged to take it
wn. He has made them look supremely ridiculous. Mr.
bête noire at the present moment is the pheasant, which
l on his platforms as a bird of prey that eats every farmer
ouse and home. He has got the pheasant on the brain
hardly get through a single sentence without abusing
as a crime against the community, as contrasted, for
, with his own pet game of golf. It happens that several
lleagues are notorious game-preservers and "guns",—
is not a Unionist monopoly—and every autumn the
and illustrated papers teem with the wonderful record
ured by the Colonial Secretary, who is alleged to have
ated the peasant to the pheasant on his vast Oxfordshire
where annual battues afford infinite delight to such
ed democrats as Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Sydney Buxton,
J. A. Pease—all, we believe, in the Cabinet with Mr. Lloyd
though no doubt rather fed up with Lloyd-Georgism.
gworth, the Chief Whip, is understood to be another
with a positive passion for slaughter. After recently
the moors of Yorkshire, he retired to a ducal castle in

the Isle of Arran in his lust for "blood rather than bloom," to quote our land-burster. His irritation was probably increased by the feeble effort of the Cabinet to limit his proposals, though they cannot control his language, and he retorts by indirectly holding them up to public execration as responsible for all the ills to which the agricultural population is heir to. When one of these purple patches comes off the platform, not infrequently "a voice" enquires from the back of the hall, "What price Lu-lu?"

Revolution and Corruption

ANOTHER feature of the Bedford speech on which we do not propose to expatiate because it has been so completely demolished by Mr. Prothero, whose admirable letter in the *Morning Post* we reproduce on the following page, was the annihilating indictment of Cobdenism, though the word was never mentioned. This was likewise intended for the prigs and pedants of the Cabinet who regard man as made for what they call Free Trade, though man has never had it, rather than Free Trade as made for man. All the evils of which the land-burster complains have developed since Peel's performance in 1846, when he got into a panic and repealed the Corn Laws instead of reforming them, simultaneously sweeping away many duties of which no one complained. Peel's panic probably inflicted a deeper wound on our Nation and Empire th n anything that has happened since the American Secession. His Majesty's Ministers are working overtime to eclipse Peel, and may succeed. Their triumph is not assured, though they are confident of gaining the day with the assistance of Unionist snakes in the grass, who are perpetually intriguing with the other side and endeavouring to dishearten their own. Keen Unionists all over the country watch the situation with ever-growing amazement. They ask what it all means and which are the powers of darkness that are paralysing the Unionist Party at the very moment they have a golden opportunity of destroying their opponents. For one service the Government must be given full credit: they have destroyed the last lingering vestige of an argument for our present fiscal system, not merely by their speeches but by their action. Even people who were dubious as to the economics of Cobden were obsessed by the idea that Free Trade was a

uarantee against corruption! Although every day one or other "Unionist" newspaper is palliating some Ministerial scandal and wishy-washy speeches are delivered by responsible though not representative Unionists, the "man in the street" agrees with Mr. Bonar Law, and expects him to take off the gloves and drive home his dictum that "a revolutionary Government is necessarily a corrupt Government."

Mr. Rowland Prothero has placed the Unionist Party under the deepest obligation by the masterly manner in which he dealt with the whining, snarling speech of the canting hypocrite of Walton Heath. His letter in the *Morning Post* of October 17 should be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by every man who writes and speaks on the land question. We hope, without expecting, that it may not be lost upon our kid-glove friends in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, who, by their feeble, not to say pusillanimous, attitude towards the arch-Demagogue, are almost as responsible as he is for our lamentable political plight. If, instead of making theatrical speeches in Ulster and exchanging mock heroics with the Windbag of Dundee in the intervals of lunching and dining with him, some of our professional swashbucklers would follow Mr. Lloyd George round the country and expose the Scavenger of the National Liberal Club for the fraud that he is, Lloyd-Georgism would have long ago been what it is now becoming, the laughing stock of the people. We trust that Mr. Prothero's contribution to the *Morning Post* may be reprinted and circulated throughout the constituencies. Not one Radical paper made any attempt to answer it. Those who live by abuse described it as abusive. The writer began by declaring that "a great opportunity not only missed but misused" was the universal verdict on the Bedford oration. "On that same day a year ago the Radical Government assured the nation that none of its members had dabbled in Marconi speculations. As a commemoration of this Festival of Truth, Mr. Lloyd George's carefully prepared and written speech is remarkably appropriate." Our Marconi Chancellor of the Exchequer took more than two hours to say "Codlin is your friend—not Short." Agricultural labourers and farmers

A Rowland for an Oliver

were assured that they would find their only true friends in t
town-bred supporters of the Radical Government. "It is th
that Codlin's crusade opens, and that is its motto."

MR. PROTHERO enquired "Who is Codlin? What is his rece
record? He came to Bedford as the author of the famo
Budget which imposed on land the taxes th
were to put rare and refreshing fruit to the thirs
lips of toiling millions." That Budget compell

Who is Codlin?

the country to spend a sovereign in collecting 3s. 6d. of new la
taxes. It laid its most important duty on market gardens a
allotment land because they were not built on. It carried o
a valuation which, on the admission of its author, was inapplica
to any future taxation of agricultural land. Codlin likewi
came to Bedford as the author of an Insurance Act which d
cruel injustice to agricultural labourers, loading them with
heavier burden than was laid on artisans, and forcing the m
who drew the smallest benefits to make the highest paymen
in proportion to his wages. Codlin was responsible for a Sm
Holdings Act, directing the County Council to charge a high
rent than the land was worth, compelling the small holder
buy the land for the Council by his own labour and then robbi
him both of the money he has paid and of the land bought l
his money. Codlin was the one man who, by his rash ill-co
sidered language, had within the last few years driven sev
hundred millions of British capital out of the country to t
detriment of wage-earners at home for the benefit of employme
abroad. He had paralysed the revival of farming under mo
remunerative prices and had checked and arrested the natur
rise of agricultural wages. Finally Codlin came to Bedford "
a politician who has induced his Party to whitewash his condu
of his private affairs by a threat of withdrawal from public lif
and he therefore has to repay to his supporters the cost of t
unsavoury process." It was necessary to note this recent reco
in order to understand "the forced unnatural note of a spee
which is one prolonged scream of violent and often ignora
abuse." All that was true in the attack on the present lan
system had been said more temperately and therefore mo
accurately on Unionist platforms. "What was new is eith

in itself incorrect or is so full of exaggerations, suppressions of the truth, and suggestions of falsehood, as to be incorrect in effect."

Limehousing

THEN came this admirable description of Limehousing. "It is a speech of snarls and sneers, of spite without sparkle, now sanctimonious, now sentimental, now picturesque, never generous or even just, always exaggerated and rarely truthful. If only his colleagues in the Cabinet had limited him to 'No flowers by request' we might have heard something definite." So far this "mountainous mind" had after months of labour "only produced a worm-heap of practical suggestions." Even his audience, packed to welcome him as a political Messiah, were so bored with the overloaded abuse that they begged him to "cut the cackle and come to the 'osses.'" The keynote was exaggeration, some so ignorant as to be only ludicrous. That game is sometimes preserved to an injurious extent is admitted, but Mr. George blundered in his natural and social history. "To contrast the moderation of our ancestors in the matter of game with the extravagance of to-day, he credits Mr. Coke of Norfolk with being satisfied with a bag of twenty-four head. As a fact, at a single battue of that agricultural worthy 800 head of game were killed. The speaker seems also to have forgotten that his own colleague, Mr. Harcourt, holds the record for the present season in the slaughter of game." Scottish agriculturists chuckled at the "millions of acres of Highland mountains and moor from which the deer had driven the sturdiest and bravest of their compatriots. English farmers grinned broadly at the fabulous pheasant which devoured the field of mangolds. Smallholders sniggered at the suggestion that, but for the lust of sport which encouraged rabbits, they might use a sandy warren for allotment gardens." If we had in our midst this mass of uncultivated productive land, why had no County Council issued a compulsory order for its acquisition? "In Norfolk, for instance, there are acres upon acres of sandy soil, on which, if a foot of manure were deposited every year, crops might be grown. But what crop is there, which, under any system of tenure, could be raised on such land at a profit? Offer the Duke of Sutherland £2 an acre for the purchase of 200,000

acres of his Highland property, and he would jump at it." Mr. Prothero probably speaks with greater knowledge of the land question than any living man, and unlike many of our town theorists of both Parties in the House of Commons it is practical knowledge, of which some well-intentioned Unionists are unfortunately destitute, and their ignorance not infrequently plays into the hands of their still more ignorant and very vindictive enemy.

Golf?

THE writer called attention to one of the features of Mr. Lloyd George's agrarian oratory which strikes everybody, though it is rarely referred to in the Press because so many of our newspapers are in the hands of golfing maniacs who inflict a dreary deluge of hieroglyphics upon their readers against which we may anticipate an early reaction. The first paper which reduces the space devoted to golf to reasonable dimensions will probably make its fortune, but for the moment the craze is in full swing, and we are invited to believe that the end of the world is at hand because an American youth has defeated two British professionals. As Mr. Prothero observes:

> It is at first sight remarkable that Mr. Lloyd George should not have denounced golf as a game which occupies market garden and allotment ground. But this is his own personal pastime. He takes care of himself. His Finance Act laid a duty on market garden land in the neighbourhood of towns, but exempted golf links; it laid a duty on the increment value of land, but spared the unearned increment of a Stock Exchange speculation. He states that most of the land in Britain is owned by a number of persons who do not number more than half the population of Bedford. He abstained from adding that those who possess incomes exceeding £5000 a year do not number more than a quarter of the inhabitants of Bedford—and that he is one of the lucky 11,800.

Some of his exaggerations were neither ignorant nor ludicrous, being designed and serious. "For two reasons he was unable to indulge his passion for personalities. The worst that he could say of individual landlords could be said with equal truth of his Chairman (Lord Beauchamp), and, in his recent public encounters with the persons whom he has attacked, he has proved, in spite of his use of gutter language, uniformly unfortunate."

But he made up for decency towards individuals by slandering a class; from first to last his utterance was a venomous attack upon landlords "as being, at their worst, tyrannical, and grasping, and at their best, stupid, and unprogressive." Not a single word was said in recognition of the manner in which, without any assistance from the State, "they supported an industry of which, without their generous—and, if you like, prudent—aid, must have been overwhelmed in the last twenty years of the Nineteenth Century. No hint was dropped that at least half, and in many cases two-thirds, of the rents received by landowners consist of interest on money spent on farm buildings and permanent improvements. No admission ever escaped the speaker's lips that thousands of admirable cottages, as good as money and experience can make them, are provided at uncommercial rents for agricultural labourers; on the contrary, all are alike condemned as 'atrocious,' 'insanitary,' 'rotten'." It was difficult to believe that some of Codlin's statements were not deliberately incorrect. In order to exaggerate the respective payments of rent to landlords in England and Wales, and of wages to agricultural labourers, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had put the total annual earnings of the latter at twenty-five millions and the total rents received by the former at thirty-four millions. As Mr. Prothero observes: "His figure for wages is taken from his own secret enquiry (p. 63). On the same page the total net rent is put at twenty-four millions. Why has he accepted the one figure and added ten millions to the other if not for the purpose of misleading his audience by an effective but false contrast?" Again, there was his statement that Denmark, Belgium, and Holland were fairly comparable with this country because their agriculture enjoyed no protection, the object being to show that our land system and not our fiscal system was at fault. Upon this the writer remarks, "No doubt Denmark admits ordinary butter free, as, for example, from Siberia, because it can be worked up with its own products; but it levies a duty of £1 2s. 7d. per hundredweight on imported butter which competes with its own by being consigned in hermetically sealed vessels; it also levies a duty of 11s. 2½d. per hundredweight on imported cheese, a duty of 25 cents per kilo. on imported fruit, a duty of 6s. 11½d. on imported

Destroying a Legend

hops." We imagine that some of our own readers may be surprised by these facts, so assiduously has the Denmark legend been worked, not only by Mr. Lloyd George, but by people who might be expected to know better.

A Blasphemer

AGAIN, "Belgium charges duties of 8s. 1½d. per hundredweight on imported butter, of 9⅞d. per hundredweight on imported wheat flour, 4s. 10½d. per hundredweight on imported cheeses, duties ranging from 6s. 7½d. to 12s. 2½d. on (dead) fresh meat, and so on." Thirdly, "Holland levies duties on imported cheese, meat (dead), fresh as well as cured, and on fruit. All three countries also levy duties on sugar, which is an agricultural problem." Well may the writer ask: "Why has the Chancellor, after weeks of preparation, in a carefully written speech, ignored these points, if it was not for the deliberate purpose of misleading his audience by a false argument?" We may also ask, why do sham Unionist newspapers, which nominally oppose the Government, but in reality help it at every turn, propagate without refuting all the lies which form the stock-in-trade of the great Ministry of Mendacity? Why do the Mugwumps and the Feeble-minded of our Party allow Mr. Lloyd George to run riot with his contrasts between the miserable condition of the agricultural population in Free Trade England and their prosperity in protected countries without perpetually pointing out that it is the blight of Cobdenism which is responsible for the one, while Protection is the corner-stone of the other. Mr. Prothero concluded his scathing comment on the blasphemer of Bedford, who has not hesitated to compare himself to the Man of Nazareth, by pointing out that the strongest condemnation of the George manner of handling the land question "comes from his own side."

In spite of the odious method of its preparation, the report of Mr. Lloyd George's Secret Enquiry is a reasoned document which requires, and will receive, the serious attention of every one who is interested in agriculture. Every line is a tacit rebuke to Mr. Lloyd George's studied scream of extravagant abuse. We might have made some allowance for the unbridled impulses of a Welsh bard, but here we can make none, for there is no sudden inspiration of an excited brain; all is deliberate, carefully committed to paper after months of preparation. . . . The speech ends with a quotation from the Psalms. In that passage the Hebrew David sees in a vision God's fulfilment of His promises to His elect. The Welsh David makes the promise in his

own person—to the electors. Tawdry blasphemy can hardly go further. If it can take a higher flight, Mr. Lloyd George may be relied on to take it.

Another Job

FEELING, no doubt, that, in spite of the booming of the Press of both sides—and as newspaper readers we must renew our protest against being confronted with an entire page of Mr. Lloyd George's twaddle—to say nothing of special articles describing these elaborate demonstrations, Mr. Lloyd George next betook himself to Swindon, a convenient railway centre for the importation of the claque which he is nowadays obliged to carry about with him. The Bedford speech was understood to state the case against the existing "Land Monopoly" of Mr. Harcourt and Lord Beauchamp, the Swindon speech to declare the policy of the Government. It was equally vapid and vicious. You have to search with a microscope to make out that the Government has any policy, though they appear to be characteristically grasping the opportunity for perpetrating another gigantic job. The net result of all the talk about land bursting with which the public have been sickened for months past, is the creation of a "Ministry of Land," presumably with a Minister and a salary and a vast horde of rapacious underlings. Doubtless the favoured individual has already been selected. Who will it be—Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, who is understood to be an aspirant for Parliamentary honours, or will those earnest seekers after truth Messrs. Falconer or Handel Booth at last receive a due reward for their labours on the Marconi Committee? Unless one saw it in black and white one could scarcely conceive that even Mr. Lloyd George would have the effrontery to talk about creating yet another Ministry, or that any Unionists would calmly stand by and treat as a serious and practical proposal what is merely an extension of the spoils system with which Lloyd Georgism is synonymous. But there it is. There is to be a "Ministry of Land" to control and supervise all questions dealing with user of land in town and country. Whoever he may be—especially if he be a Welsh Radical with an eye to the main chance—he will have marvellous opportunities, which according to the Coalition creed he would be thoroughly justified in using, of speculating in "options" on likely sites with

the advantage of inside knowledge over less favoured individuals, thus turning an honest penny by unearned increment. We are told, doubtless in order that we may be misled into believing that it is merely an old post under a new name, that "to this new Ministry will be transferred the Board of Agriculture and all its existing functions. To these functions will be added new ones—questions of registration of title, land transfers. These will be handed over to the new Ministry with a view of simplifying the thing." One naturally thinks of pounds, shillings, and pence in connection with Mr. Lloyd George, and in the event of the merging of the Board of Agriculture for no intelligible reason in the new Ministry, there is presumably to be an increase of salary of £3000 a year, so it is as broad as it is long.

Place of Agriculture

THE thing is indeed "simple" as the speaker suggested, but we trust the meeting understood how simple it was and how simple they would be to swallow this "great constructive policy." Then came the customary clap-trap about lawyers from the Welsh Attorney: "With all respect to my profession, between ourselves, we would rather like to get the land out of the hands of the lawyers. Not a bad motto, 'Set a lawyer to catch a lawyer.'" In other words, "Set a thief to catch a thief"—that would be the instinctive interpretation of a popular audience. Is that Mr. Lloyd George's description of the great body of the profession of which he is not an ornament, or does he limit it to himself? Why should solicitors allow one of their number to gallop about the country blackguarding the profession. Trade Unionism is said to be rather strong at the Bar. Is there no corporate feeling amongst solicitors? The present Government is largely, if not mainly, composed of "lawyers." No sooner does one depart than another appears. The new Ministry of Lands is the kernel of the speech and of the policy of the Government which the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared himself as authorised to announce. The rest was mere flapdoodle for farmers, labourers, and pheasants, which should take in neither of the former classes, though it may conceivably dishearten Mr. Harcourt and the game preservers. Now is the time for the Unionist Party to assume a vigorous offensive, clearly explaining their own policy

and above all exposing the cheap-Jack, who by dint of flinging mud at other people hopes that his own indelible disgrace may be forgotten. In season and out of season it must be insisted that neither the individual nor the State can make anything of agriculture in this country under our present blighting fiscal system. The only value of Mr. George's utterances, and that is unintentional, is that his description of the state of British agriculture as compared with foreign agriculture emphasises anew the contrast between two competitive fiscal systems, the British system and that of the rest of the civilised world, and *ex hypothesi* condemns ours as a failure. Once more Tariff Reformers are presented with a golden opening for active propaganda. Imperial Preference is not *per se* British Protection, and the trifling duties necessary to establish Preference are not advocated by Tariff Reformers as Protection, but if anything serious and permanent is to be done for British agriculture it can only be done as in all other countries, on a basis of Tariff Reform. This must be preached in the towns as well as in the country by men with the courage of their convictions. Preference is vital to Imperial interests throughout the British Dominions, and in spite of the intrigues of a tiny coterie of so-called Imperial Free Traders, it is making rapid progress. Protection is vital to the industries of these islands if the general admission that our agriculture is in danger is a sound one, as we have believed for years before Mr. Lloyd George escaped from the Birmingham Town Hall in the decent disguise of a policeman and *à fortiori* long before he became a professional land-burster. Justice must be done in any scheme of Tariff Reform to all our industries, of which agriculture remains the most important.

"Bulls" and "Bears"

His so-called "campaign," as we all know, is solely intended to divert attention from the Ministerial Augean stables. He is a political impostor who cares for nothing except votes and shares. He once duped the towns; he now hopes to dupe the counties. He has lost his position in the former because he dare not allow the phrase on which the whole Limehouse propaganda was based, "unearned increment," to pass his lips for fear of people shouting, "What about Maroonis." He cannot divert attention from his

own misdeeds, and the cause of Clean Government will overwhelm him, but he should not be allowed to divert us from doing our duty by agriculture as well as other industries when it comes to overhauling our rotten, obsolete, inane fiscal system, which is maintained in a large measure by donations to the Radical war chest from multi-millionaires, some of whom are foreigners, whose pocket interests are diametrically opposed to those of the bulk of the nation in town and country, whether they be artisans, landowners, farmers, or labourers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer perpetually reminds one of the Stock Exchange, with which, so far as we know to the contrary, he may maintain active relations. He made a lively speech last year on May 25 on the subject of "bulls" and "bears."* Why is the perpetual "bearing" of the land a cardinal tenet of the Radical Party, and why is it accompanied by so much buying of land? *Ex hypothesi* a landlord is a villain who ought to be squeezed out of his property by all the resources of the State. That is the doctrine of Limehouse and probably of Larkin, for from Limehouse to Larkin is but a single step. And yet side by side with these incessant attacks on the possessors of land we notice a steady acquisition of land by the Radical plutocracy. We know that some people regard the statements of the *National Review* as rather strong for delicate digestions, but its facts are generally reliable. It would be most interesting to obtain a return of all the great properties in England which have passed or are passing into the hands of Mr. Lloyd George's plutocratic supporters, *ex hypothesi* substantial contributors to the party war chest, the prices those properties were supposed to be worth before Limehousing became the fashion, and the prices at which they were acquired by their new owners. It is alleged that several proprietors of the "down with the Tory Landlord" Press have become the possessors of great, and in some cases immense, properties since, land bursting came in fashion. We

* Mr. Lloyd George at Aberystwith on May 25, 1912, three days after his second Marconi "investment": "In politics lying might be a good gamble, but it was a bad investment. On the Stock Exchange they had people who are called Bears, and their function was to run down a security, to circulate falsehoods about it, and then try to break it on the market. Their only chance of making money was to sell out before they were found out."—*Welsh Gazette*, May 30, 1912.

wonder how their management compares with the management of previous possessors, and whether, like Mr. Harcourt and Lord Beauchamp, they carry out in practice the theories of Mr. Lloyd George, for supporting which they have received various dignities and honours?

Woman Suffrage

We have received strong and earnest protests against the article of Lord Willoughby de Broke in our last number, which has been interpreted as an effort to commit the Unionist Party to Woman Suffrage on tactical grounds. Surprise is expressed at its appearance in the pages of the *National Review*, which professes to stand for principle as against tactics. We understand and appreciate the resentment of many of our readers—a protest from Mr. Kingsley will be found in our Correspondence section—and we welcome the abundant evidence of hostility to Petticoat Government, with which we need not say we heartily sympathise. We doubt whether Lord Willoughby de Broke intended to advocate Woman Suffrage on tactical grounds, because he despises tactics, against which his labours of the last few years have been a standing protest. He advocates it on its merits, which we are unable to see. He is entitled to have his say on the subject in the *National Review*, which the Editor would not be justified in making into a purely personal organ exclusively expressing his own opinions. When a man who has rendered such services to Unionism as Lord Willoughby de Broke admittedly did during the Die-hard movement in 1911 and on many occasions since, is prepared to sign his name to an article on Unionist policy, we should not regard ourselves as entitled to "edit" it in accordance with our opinions any more than he would be justified in representing the *National Review* as a Woman Suffrage organ because it has afforded him an opportunity of expressing views diametrically the opposite of ours. Some editors escape the dilemma by attaching disclaimers to any contributions they disagree with, but on the whole we prefer that the writer of a signed article should have an uninterrupted say, though doubtless there are exceptions to this as to every rule. Next to a German invasion we should regard Woman Suffrage as the greatest calamity which could befall this country, and we rejoice that it is a dying cause.

among Unionists, which no attempts, from whatsoever quarters they may come, can revive.

Catastrophes

EVERY form of catastrophe has occurred this month on sea and land and in the air, where German devotion to the airship over the aeroplane, which is with them a matter of national pride, has been rewarded by another frightful disaster to a Zeppelin with corresponding loss of life. So far from being discouraged, it has only nerved this determined people to yet greater efforts under the inspiration of Kaiser Wilhelm. It is not for outsiders to guess whether the future will vindicate their foresight or whether they are afflicted by an obsession. We have had abundant calamities of our own, and if it be true, as might be gathered from posters, that the general public are primarily interested in human misfortunes, the newspapers must have reaped a magnificent harvest. Apart from the burning of the *Volturno*, in which wireless telegraphy once more proved its value in communicating from *ship to ship*, though nothing occurred to justify interested parties in exploiting our preposterous contract with the Marconi Company for an Imperial Wireless Chain, there have been serious and not infrequently preventible railway accidents almost every few days. Indeed, accidents appear to breed accidents, as admirable railway servants with unimpeachable records are found at fault in making some elementary blunder. These may be symptoms, of which there are many others, that the present generation is losing its nerve and that the number of men qualified for the tremendous responsibilities of the higher railway work is diminishing. For one thing the full and detailed accounts instantly published of every accident cannot fail to increase the anxiety of other engine-drivers, guards and signalmen, and make them more likely to lose their heads at critical moments. A serious feature of the business is that the enquiries, though full and productive as regards a particular accident, fail to indicate methods of preventing other accidents at different places. A very large public is so anxious to get about at the present time that a premium is put on speed except on some of the dear old Snailways in the south of England, but it may be necessary to reduce the speed and the number of trains, space being gained by the abolition of

first class, which is becoming an anachronism and is understood to be a loss to many Snailways.

DISASTERS are frequently redeemed by the splendid heroism of those overtaken by the storm. When the smug self-sufficient Little Englander who sits in the seat of Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Office published official papers on the Somaliland reverse, which with characteristic cowardice had been held over until the Recess, it caused the blood to mount to the cheeks of every man of flesh and blood that Downing Street should seek to cast the entire blame of its own prolonged ineptitude on the gallant Commandant of Constabulary, Corfield, who tried at the eleventh hour to retrieve the position by a rash or bold deed if you like, and one for which he paid the penalty with his life. After all it is the uncalculating Corfields who create Empires—"the calculating Lu-lus" who lose them. But even if Corfield had been ten times more to blame than he was decency forbade, were there any decency in Downing Street, this cruel censure of the dead. Thanks to the *Morning Post*, the leading journal of "White men," the whole Somaliland story has been set forth and the Colonial Office is seen to be infinitely more responsible for a deplorable fiasco than the man who gave up his life for his country. It was the old story of ignoring a difficulty on which few votes turned. The many public tributes paid to this gallant Englishman must afford some consolation to his relatives for the official slur, and we are glad to note that a permanent memorial is to be erected to his memory for which subscriptions may be sent to "The Corfield Memorial Fund," National Bank of South Africa, London Wall, E.C.

The Gallant Corfield

WE cannot close these pages without offering on behalf of our readers respectful congratulations to Lord Roberts on his eighty-first birthday, which fell on September 30. He is honoured and beloved throughout the King's dominions and numbers troops of friends and admirers abroad, not only among those who may be properly called friendly nations, but even among those to whom that term is only applicable in a diplomatic sense. At home he is a

Lord Roberts

burning and a shining light amid the rotten and corrupt elements in the foreground of public life, and though the word "spiritual" is claimed by not a few unworthy people who profess to despise the profession of arms which Adam Smith described as the "noblest of all the arts," Lord Roberts is one of the few spiritually minded men participating in practical affairs. He has taken upon himself a mission which appeals to the better side of citizenship because it does not consist in emphasising the obligations of the State towards the individual, but it reminds the individual of his duty to the State. That the cause with which Lord Roberts' name is imperishably associated will win there can be no shadow of doubt, but whether it will win in time to save this nation from the fate which has invariably overtaken similar nations in the past is now an open question. The world wonders at the splendid fire and dauntless enthusiasm of our Grand Old Man, and marvels at the apathy of his countrymen of all classes. Our German enemies gloat over every year that passes without anything serious being done to provide an adequate army. Our French and Russian friends can ill conceal their consternation.

FEMINISM IN FRANCE *

The fact that "feminism" figures in Murray's dictionary and is defined as "the qualities of females" justifies the statement that the word has been incorporated into the English language. But Murray adds that its use is "rare." The language would be enriched if the use of this Gallicism became more common, for, in truth, the French nation, with that genius for rapid generalisation with which they are saturated, have at once perceived that "Female Suffrage" is merely a means to an end, and therefore a very incomplete definition of the series of ideas and aspirations which find favour with the suffragists. Those aspirations clearly point to the dethronement of virility in the councils of the State and the substitution in its place of all those "female qualities" which are embodied in the expression "feminism." It is true that moderate suffragists in this country occasionally wince under the yoke imposed on them by their more extreme associates. They hold that feminism is an exotic plant, and is not destined to cross the Channel. They are under a profound delusion. The difference between the "hyenas in petticoats"—to borrow a phrase of Horace Walpole's—who have from time to time disgraced the annals of France, and the incendiary viragoes who have recently gained an infamous notoriety in England, is merely one of degree and opportunity. These latter, and not the moderates, are the real fuglemen of the movement. Once let the Parliamentary vote be acquired, and feminism, in a more or less extreme form, will follow as a natural consequence. It is all the more certain to do so because the moderate suffragists themselves often exhibit, although in a far less prominent degree than the extremists, those defects of character and intellect which render it undesirable that direct political power should be conferred on women.

* *Le Suffrage des Femmes*, par Théodore Jorán. Paris: Arthur Savaète, 4 francs.

A short time ago the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences offered a prize for the best essay on the question of whether electoral rights should be conferred on women. This prize was won by M. Théodore Joran. From the fact that M. Joran's work constitutes one of the most scathing indictments which has as yet been framed against the whole feminist movement it may be inferred that the collective opinion of the Academy is distinctly hostile to the suffragist cause.

M. Joran tells us that "political feminism is a pure product of the Revolution." Historically the statement is not quite correct. There were Pankhursts in Ancient Rome. Appian (IV. 5. 32.) tells us that a Roman matron, by name Hortensia, addressed the triumvirs in the following words: "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the statecraft for which you contend against each other with such baneful results?" It is, however, a fact that that strange revolutionary Marquis and mathematician, Condorcet, was the first in modern times to give a stimulus to the feminist movement. Amongst the leading revolutionists the doctrinaire Sièyes could alone be found to share his views. They were rejected not only by the royalist Mirabeau and the terrorist Robespierre, but even by Gracchus Babœuf, who was the first propounder of socialism as a practical policy and who has been described as "a fanatic for equality."

M. Joran then shows us how interest in feminism waned when the fury of the Revolution was spent; how an attempt was made to revive the question in 1848, but, as was natural with a people so gifted with a sense of humour as the French, a proposal made by a member of the Assembly "amidst the loud laughter of his colleagues," to give municipal votes to women was "enterrée sous le ridicule"; how, to the great disappointment of the feminists—who, in France as in England, constantly endeavour to identify the two wholly separate ideas of feminism and feminine talent—George Sand absolutely refused to afford them the least support; and how an extremely pretty young Frenchwoman, who in defiance of the law stood as a municipal representative at Paris in 1907, obtained a thousand votes in her favour from the gallant Parisians, who regarded the whole thing as a capital joke, although another lady, presumably less favoured by nature, had

only secured fifty-seven votes in 1881. M. Joran also carries us to other countries. He tells us at length the story with which we are in this country only too sadly familiar, of suffragist outrages conducted under the auspices of "Lady Pankhurst"; of how in Italy a congress of feminists "gave rise to the most picturesque spectacle of intolerance ever known," and effectively cured many ladies who attended it of their "fever for emancipation;" and of how, directly the Chinese Republic was proclaimed, the suffragists of Peking followed the example of their English sisters and proceeded to smash windows—a truly singular illustration of the fact that one touch of nature makes the whole feminist world kin.

It is unnecessary to follow all the arguments which M. Joran adduces to justify the faith that is in him. They are familiar to most of those in this country who have paid special attention to the subject. Briefly, it may be said that M. Joran considers that "anarchy, collectivism and antimilitarism" constitute a "social trinity" in close connection with the feminist movement. It would, of course, be unjust to associate all feminists, whether French or English, with the ravings of such a woman as Louise Michel; but with the proceedings of our English "militants" fresh in our memory, who can deny the close connection between anarchy and the suffragist movement? whilst the most cursory acquaintance with current literature is sufficient to establish the fact that in the eyes of many of the most prominent suffragist leaders, socialism and feminism move in many respects on parallel lines. Further, an acquaintance with that literature fully justifies M. Joran's contention that the triumph of feminism ultimately means "war on marriage," and would be destructive of family life, a point which is apparently not fully realised by those divines in this country who, with excellent intentions but very questionable wisdom, support a movement which constitutes a grave menace to the cause of religion and morality. Amongst the many delusions cherished by some of the excellent women who have enrolled themselves under the suffragist banner without, it may confidently be asserted, being fully aware of whither they are going, none is more striking than the belief very generally entertained by feminists that women will profit if a great extension were given to facilities for divorce. In no country are the domestic

virtues more cherished than in France—a point which is often unduly ignored in this country by those who acquire entirely false conceptions from the perusal of a certain class of French literature which only represents one, and that by no means the most characteristically national aspect of French society. M. Joran thinks—and it is greatly to be hoped that he is right in thinking—that the feminist movement in France will split on the rock of French love of family. Further, in common with all thoughtful anti-feminists, he dwells upon the leading characteristics of women and holds that those characteristics disqualify them from political life. He quotes with approval the words of M. Thomas, who in 1772 published a remarkable essay in which he said: "Read history; you will find that women always display an excess of pity or an excess of vindictiveness. They are wanting in the calm strength which tells them when and where to stop. They reject all moderate views (tout ce qui est modéré les tourmente)."

It will be interesting to turn from these general considerations to an examination of the actual condition of the feminist movement in France. There is at present no question of granting Parliamentary votes to women, but a proposal based on English lines will shortly be submitted to the Chamber to allow them to vote at municipal elections. It may at first sight appear somewhat strange that in democratic France strong exception should be taken to this measure, which has been already adopted in England with fairly beneficial results. The explanation given by M. Joran is that the circumstances of the two countries differ widely. We cannot, unfortunately, claim to so full an extent as M. Joran seems to imagine that municipal affairs in England are treated wholly on their own merits, and that political differences of opinion are non-existent factors at our municipal elections. But it may well be that they play a less important part than is the case in France. An eminent French lady, Mlle. Augot, shares M. Joran's views. "The municipal vote," she says, "is already a political vote."

M. Buisson, who has charge of the measure about to be submitted to the Chamber, has obtained the adhesion of one hundred and fifteen deputies. Of these, forty are members of the Right. It would appear that in France, as in England, a certain number of Conservative members of Parliament think that conservatism

would gain in strength if the franchise were bestowed on women. M. Joran does his best to destroy this strange but hardy delusion. The remaining seventy-five members favourable to the feminist movement are socialists. As regards the state of public opinion generally, M. Joran gives an interesting analysis of the replies sent by a number of eminent men to a circular issued in 1910 by M. Jules Finot, the editor of *La Revue*, who is himself apparently a warm sympathiser with the feminist movement. As is the case in England, a certain number of Frenchmen who stand in the first rank of the intellectual life of their country are in favour of giving votes to women. Thus M. Faguet, after laying down the principle that women are much more virtuous than men—a view which depends largely on the construction placed on the very elastic term "virtuous"—goes on to say: "That is sufficient for me. They, rather than men, ought to make the law." M. Raymond Poincaré, now President of the Republic, says with laudable caution that "Before granting the suffrage to women, men would act wisely if they altered the electoral law which applies to men" —an oracular statement which leaves us rather in doubt as to his opinions. Mr. Ruskin said that he was not in favour of granting votes to women, but would like to take them away from a number of men. Possibly, M. Poincaré is of a similar opinion, but we must not enter into the realm of conjecture. Many of those who have replied are, however, evidently much opposed to adult suffrage. M. Frédéric Passy does not see why a woman any more than a man should be restrained from talking nonsense ("émettre des sottises"). M. Andrieux thinks it impossible that women should make a worse use of the vote than that which is already made by men. M. Maurice Faure gives an answer worthy of the Sphinx which reads rather like a paraphrase of Corneille's celebrated epigram on Richelieu. "J'en pense," he says, "trop de bien pour en dire du mal, et j'en augure trop de mal pour en dire du bien." Finally the opinion of the late M. Ernest Legouvé, who had made a special and very sympathetic study of the woman question, as regards the part played by women during the Revolution, may be cited. It would suffer in translation. "Hors ces jours d'ivresse sublime, hors ces actions toutes de cœur qui sont la poésie de la politique, main non la politique même, l'intervention des femmes fut ou fatale, ou inutile, ou ridicule."

Moreover, M. Legouvé, on being asked to stand as a feminist candidate for the Assembly, said that he "was too much a friend of women" to do so.

Passing from the ranks of these distinguished men to the general public, it is possible to speak with confidence as to the attitude of most Frenchmen and still more of most Frenchwomen on the subject. M. Joran says: "The attempts of the militants to galvanise the female public have been wrecked on the rock of general indifference (se heurtent à l'indifference générale)," and another competent witness, M. Elie Halévy, professor at the School of Political Sciences, speaks of the "perfect apathy which the immense majority of women show to the proposed reform." On the whole, it does not appear very probable that the English suffragists will meet with much sympathy or support from their French sisters. The truth, however, is that, as the figures collected by the Anti-Suffrage League clearly show, the same apathy which prevails in France exists in reality in England; but there is this notable difference between the two countries, that whereas in England a small number of mischievous agitators have succeeded in giving a fictitious importance to the question, their French counterparts have been either unwilling or powerless to produce similar results. M. Joran thinks that female suffrage is not good for Latins. So far it would appear that the majority of his countrymen and countrywomen share his opinions. It is permissible for one who is not a Latin to add that neither is the system good for Teutons.

Finally it may be remarked that in one respect women are treated more liberally in France than in England. They are allowed to practise as lawyers, but it is most reasonably provided that they cannot become judges. The conservatism of the Bar has so far prevented this concession being made to Englishwomen. The grounds on which it is withheld are, however, far from convincing.

CROMER.

FROM BEDFORD TO BOGOTA

JUDGING by his incessant incursions into the newspapers the general public would imagine that Mr. Lloyd George enjoyed letter-writing almost as much as speech-making. Possibly this practice may be a method of currying favour with the press by providing cheap copy. In any case it is one of his traits. Whenever he thinks he sees a possibility of scoring a point off an opponent he springs into the fray, from which he refuses to withdraw until he has been overwhelmed by a statement of elementary facts from one or other of the assailed. We have seen him this autumn in interminable controversy with Lord Wolmer, from whom he took no change, which led to an equally ignominious encounter with Lord Selborne, after which he was neatly laid on his back by Lord Salisbury, who referred him to Hansard, which established the precise opposite of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's childish charge against the late Lord Salisbury. Mr. Lloyd George seems physically incapable of verifying his references. An accurate statement is repulsive to him. At the moment of writing he is once more filling the press with letters and lamentations—this time on the food of pheasants, a subject on which he might usefully consult his colleagues Mr. L. V. Harcourt, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Sydney Buxton, and others, who between them rear, destroy, and devour so many of these beautiful and inoffensive birds annually that presumably they know more about their diet than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who claims no higher place in the hierarchy of sport than that of an ex-poacher.

In any case Mr. Lloyd George has cultivated a passion for letter-writing. That is clear if much else remains obscure. But it is a recent disease. A few months ago he was giving evidence, or rather wriggling and squirming before the Marconi Com-

mittee, though there was nothing to be afraid of as it contained a packed Coalition majority determined to see him through, and an active and acute advocate ready to "chip in" whenever his colleague was in obvious distress. As those of our readers who have followed the successive developments of this gigantic scandal are aware, one of the episodes which the delinquents were least successful in explaining away was their failure to make any serious or sustained effort to get before the Marconi Committee and make a clean breast of transactions sedulously concealed from the public, which, moreover, had been misled by carefully constructed speeches intended to deceive. Mr. Lloyd George made a pitiable exhibition of himself in this connection. He had worked himself into a theatrical passion in the House of Commons on October 11, 1912, when he gave his audience to understand that any rumour that Ministers might have speculated in Marconi shares could only have emanated from "foul lips." He brazenly told the Select Committee (March 31, 1913) that he had been eagerly awaiting the happy moment when he would be free to disclose the American flutter, and later on he informed the National Liberal Club that his winter had been made miserable by his inability to do so. He was asked by Lord Robert Cecil, "Did you make any communication to the Chairman of the Committee that you wished to come before him at an early date?" To which the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, "I understand that the Attorney-General had done it on behalf of the three of us."

"*Q.* But beyond that you made none?" "*A.* No. I understood he had said I was willing at any time." Mr. William Redmond intervened with a friendly lead. "I think the Attorney-General's evidence shows that he spoke for all."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "He told me that he had already told Sir Albert Spicer that, and I did not think it necessary, *and I am not good at writing letters.*"

Many persons would be disposed to agree with Mr. Lloyd George that he "is not good at writing letters," but surely he would have enhanced his reputation had he written rather fewer letters this autumn and this one short note last autumn, say on November 1, 1912, to the Chairman of the Marconi Select Committee:

Private and Confidential.

11 Downing Street, S.W.

Dear Sir Albert Spicer,—Now that the Marconi Select Committee has been constituted under your Chairmanship I am anxious to appear before it at the earliest possible moment in order to supplement what I said in the House of Commons on October 11th, which I find has been misinterpreted in many quarters, if not in all, as signifying that I had never held any Marconi shares, whereas as a matter of fact at this moment I still hold 2000 shares in the American Marconi Company. Elibank holds the same amount and Rufus Isaacs about three times as many. It is admittedly an awkward business and some of my colleagues advise me to put off the evil day of confession, while the Post Office leads the Committee on a wild goose chase on the Marconi contract. But I feel that further reticence would be unfair to you. Moreover the Party will suffer least if we take the bull by the horns rather than run the risk of being found out. The *National Review*—which as you know is edited by a "cat's-meat man" *—has already called attention to the American Marconi Company, compared it to the South Sea Bubble, and mentioned Ministers, including myself, in connection with it. You will see for yourself that I cannot face a Jury. Will you therefore kindly fix one day next week for hearing me. We shall thus get the whole matter "cleaned up" because later on Elibank, who as you know has somewhat suddenly become an Oil magnate, may have to go to Bogota, which would increase the awkwardness of the situation should revelations be made in his absence.

Yours very truly,

David Lloyd George.

Unfortunately the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not then in his present epistolary mood. He preferred lying low, hoping against hope that something might turn up to save him from owning up. When the position became perilous he was a party to the unspeakable intrigue of going behind the back of the Chairman of the Marconi Committee and informing the two least scrupulous members of that body, Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth, of Ministerial American Marconi speculations, obviously in order to keep the enquiry off dangerous ground. These two "honourable" members did their dirty work to the best of their mediocre ability, but the chapter of accidents was against them.

On February 12, 1913, about six weeks after sending in my abstract of evidence I spent a delightful day with the Committee, especially interesting as is pointed out in the July number of the *Quarterly Review*, because the discussion ranged over Marconi *Companies* in the plural. I did not then know why Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth had that piteous "cross-Channel"

* Mr. Lloyd George's description of the present writer in the course of one of his Bedford speeches on October 11, 1913.

look when the Chairman asked me this comprehensive question: "Have you any letters, or copies of letters, bearing on the rumours that Ministers were financially interested *in any of the Marconi Companies?*" The reader will appreciate the significance of such a question coming from the Chairman nominated by the Government and a loyal Liberal acting in all good faith. Ministers' disclaimers of Marconi speculations had been so framed as to be generally interpreted as covering all Marconi Companies, and Sir Albert Spicer like other adherents of Mr. Asquith regarded rumours of such speculations as equally baseless and wicked whatever the Marconi Company. That was the A B C of the position. It was common ground. When Mr. Lloyd George's own broker went to the Treasury shortly after the Chancellor of the Exchequer's furious disclaimer in the House of Commons, he (Mr. Rice), according to his sworn account before the Committee, said to his client, "I see you have still 2000 Marconis; do not you think you had better sell them?" It never occurred to Mr. Rice to distinguish *American* Marconis from other Marconis because "Marconi" was the colloquial term for the whole group of associated companies which were regarded, as indeed they were, as practically all one. It is only since the enforced revelations in the *Matin* action, which was brought when the gamblers in truth saw the game was up, that the Coalition have been compelled to stake their existence on impossible distinctions between the various Marconi Companies.

To-day the National Liberal Club bears enthusiastic witness to the virtues of any Minister investing somebody else's money whether his brokers' or his bankers' or his colleagues' or the Part[illegible] funds, in *American* Marconis. It is doubtless regarded as [illegible] appropriate method of celebrating the hundred years Angl[illegible] American peace upon which a Niagara of twaddle is to be di[illegible] charged upon us in the near future. If to-morrow other Minist[illegible] were constrained to confess that they had "fluttered" in Spani[illegible] Marconis, which likewise had their boom in the Spring of last ye[illegible] when the mother company pocketed the British Governme[illegible] they would doubtless be fêted by the same Temple of Lux[illegible] for services rendered in promoting an Anglo-Spanish Entent[illegible] Ministerial speculations in Canadian Marconis would be ha[illegible] with delirious joy in the same quarters as conclusive evid[illegible]

that the only true Imperialists are to be found in the party which "toes the line" to the late lamented Patrick Ford; while if any of Mr. Lloyd George's colleagues were so unlucky as to be detected—which is quite on the cards—gambling in British Marconis either by themselves or through friends or relatives in the City or obliging intermediaries or nominees, all the resources of the Coalition—platform, pulpit, press, Parliament—would be mobilised to do honour to "the first Cobdenite who has given a preference to a British industry."

I cherished half a hope that I might have the benefit of Mr. Lloyd George's present letter-writing mania. As the Radical press, which is usually vocal when the Party are criticised, or when they see the ghost of a chance of using their gutter squirts on political opponents, had preserved a deathly silence on the subject of the Chief Whip's investment of Radical Party funds in American Marconis at £3 5s. which he had acquired for himself at £2 the previous day, as also upon what some people regard as the still more serious offence of purchasing Home Railway stock while his colleagues were engaged in settling the coal strike; as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Illingworth were equally coy, I thought I would have a shot at the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was billed to "burst" at Bedford for several hours on the Festival of Truth (October 11). On October 10 I wrote him the following letter:

National Review, 23 Ryder Street,
October 10, 1913.

SIR,—I trust that when you are inside your fortifications at Bedford you will answer the following questions of public interest, upon which there is widespread curiosity. They are asked in the October number of the *National Review*, and were repeated by me in the Bedford Corn Exchange last night:

(1) Did the Master of Elibank, with whom you had a "common venture" in American Marconis at £2 on April 17, 1912, conceal from you the fact that he was purchasing the same security as trustee of the Radical Party funds at £3 5s. per share on the following day, April 18?

(2) Were you aware that while you and your colleagues were engaged in settling the coal strike in March 1912, the Master of Elibank was investing some £20,000 of Party funds in Home Railway Stock, securities peculiarly liable to be affected by the course and result of Ministerial negotiations?

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
L. J. MAXSE.

The Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, P.C., M.P.

As the Chancellor of the Exchequer was as furtive as a ferret about this time I took the precaution of publishing this letter so that if he missed his correspondence in Downing Street he might have a chance of seeing these questions in the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Express*, the *Globe*, or the *Financial News*. To make assurance doubly sure I telegraphed to him at Bedford on the day of his meeting, and as the telegram was not returned it is a fair assumption that he received it. It ran as follows:

> The Right Hon. David Lloyd George,
> Bedford.
>
> Hope you will not omit to answer questions sent Downing Street yesterday published in to-day's London Unionist press.
>
> MAXSE.

His second Bedford speech contained an illuminating observation which should not be lost upon Unionist wire-pullers, as the "cat's-meat man" is a solid and formidable electioneering factor, who probably holds the balance of power in several of the poorer constituencies. Though not usually a plural voter the "cat's-meat man" is an active and assiduous politician, and as his daily visit is the single solace in many of the humblest homes where the cat is an object of affection, he is an infinitely more popular member of the community than a Chancellor of the Exchequer who divides his time between taking tips and imposing taxes. It was once said that any Government which taxed cats would perish in a month. One does not envy the fate of demagogues who arouse the wrath of that section of the community upon whom cats depend for their subsistence. At any rate there it is. Mr. Lloyd George's words are worth preserving apart from their electioneering value as proving that the questions reached him and that he cannot answer them. "I hear you had Mr. Cave, a respected Chancery barrister, and that he brought with him the 'cat's-meat man of the Tory party.' I will deal with just one proposal of the serious person at that meeting; I mean the sane person at that meeting—Mr. Cave."

We have now reached a critical point in the Marconi scandal as Mr. Lloyd George will speedily discover. Last month as the oracle of Bogota was unavailable I sought light at Bedford without much hope of getting it, and as it turned out the oracle of Bedford

was no less timid than his colleague at Bogota. It would not have mattered much what Mr. Lloyd George replied because his memory is painfully defective, while his inaccuracy almost amounts to mental deficiency. He is terrified of plunging further into the morass, as well he may be. Perhaps he is silent because he is conscious of the worthlessness of his own testimony. Failing at Bedford we must once more resort to Bogota.

There has been some hanky-panky, of which the public are still completely in the dark, but the Hush-up press will fail in its efforts to keep them permanently ignorant, just as it has failed in its efforts to prevent the country from being intensely interested in every aspect of the Marconi scandal. The subject bristles with fascinating problems, not the least interesting being the "Murray Mystery." Why did the Master of Elibank, Chief Whip of the Coalition and custodian of its funds, precipitately retire from public life in August last year at about the same time that Mr. Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster-General, made one final and despairing effort to rush his preposterous Marconi contract through the House of Commons undiscussed, although Mr. Asquith had promised a Select Committee before Parliamentary ratification? He failed because he had to deal with a singularly public spirited and staunch Member of Parliament in the person of Major Archer Shee, who refused to be bluffed into withdrawing his opposition and allow this disgraceful compact to be hustled through the House. Why was the Master of Elibank, who had taken the precaution to have his father, though a benighted Conservative, created a peer of the United Kingdom at the Coronation, so keen on becoming a peer himself at the cost of an important Ministerial seat in Scotland, to say nothing of cutting short what was described by cocoa sycophants as "a brilliant Ministerial career"?

Not only did Mr. Samuel know when he tried to bury the Marconi question in August 1912 that Ministerial colleagues were involved in American Marconis, *Mr. Asquith the Prime Minister was also aware of it when he made the Master of Elibank a peer.* Was he made a peer to avoid exposure and to get him out of the way? Why did Lord Cowdray select as his partner in oil a man who admittedly did not know the difference between oil and water? Was Lord Cowdray "sold a pup," or did Lord Cowdray demand

that the pup should be made a peer? What is at the bottom of all this booming of Lord Murray of Elibank's performances in Central America by newspapers which have done their utmost to stifle the Marconi business? Mr. Lloyd George vainly imagines that he can afford to ignore the late Chief Whip's treatment of his Party and the public, but he is mistaken, as he will find out not only to his cost but to the cost of the Government.

Lord Murray appears to have been got out of the country by his friends. Strange as it may seem he was advised by Liberals and not by Unionists to stay away, though his prolonged absence not unnaturally stimulates rumours damaging to himself and the Government of which he was once an ornament. Ministers would have closed down the Marconi Committee before any Ministerial revelations were made if they could, but fate was against them. They closed it down the moment the Murray disclosures began—doubtless for very good reasons. Because these necessarily opened the Fenner problem.

No one can accuse the *National Review* of precipitancy in this matter. Although entertaining the lowest possible opinion of Messrs. Asquith and Company—the Cabinet of Habakkuks—I should not have believed it possible that Lord Murray's own friends counselled his absence or that he would be such a fool as to suppose that the unpleasant incidents with which his name is associated could be automatically "cleaned up" by his indefinitely remaining abroad. I have waited for weeks and months for an authentic announcement of his return, which has been postponed on one pretext or another from month to month. There is little room for doubt that he trafficked on a shameless scale in "honours"—hereditary and otherwise—as is shown by the suspicious investment of Party funds on the eve of his Majesty's Coronation in 1911 and the rank bounders upon whom some of these "honours" were conferred. Men were doubtless mulcted under the Murray régime in proportion as they were undesirable. However that is another story.

For the present I am concerned not with the accumulation of Party funds by questionable means, but with the loss of Party funds through the incompetence of the Chief Whip who plunged into American Marconis—temporarily raised to the dignity of a trustee investment—during the height of the Marconi madness.

Apprehensive Radicals may as well be put out of their misery at once by learning that discreditable as was this investment from every point of view, it was by no means the worst made by the Party trustee from the financial point of view, for at any rate in this case the scrip was delivered, but in other cases, and as regards large sums, little trouble seems to have been taken to see that the goods bought and paid for were ever transferred to the Party bankers, while there is some doubt if we may believe Mr. Illingworth as to who the Party bankers are! Cynical Tories may be inclined to regard the Master of Elibank's friend Fenner as a valuable public servant, because it is estimated that about a third of his liabilities represent a financial loss to the Radical Party of £30,000. Was the Chief Whip's most intimate friend, Mr. Lloyd George, ignorant of the depletion of the war chest which nourishes and sustains the cause of progress in this country? When did the Chancellor of the Exchequer first become aware of the "dicky state" of the Party broker? Did Mr. George join in bringing pressure to bear to get the Chief Whip made a Peer so that he might make an impressive exit from public life? How much did Mr. Asquith know when he advised the King that a second peerage should be conferred upon the Elibanks in August 1912? What has happened concerning the missing £30,000? When did Fenner first become the Party broker? Has this loss been made good? If so, by whom, and for what consideration? Has any attempt been made to find Fenner, or does he know too much?

It is no doubt useless for the time being interrogating Mr. George, who owes all his facts to his imagination. His fortunes are inseparably bound up with those of Lord Murray of Elibank, and though, as he told the Marconi Committee, he is "not good at writing letters," it is incredible that he should have held no communication with the traveller in oil during these critical months. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the Marconi Committee:

> Perhaps I ought to explain why we two together were made this offer (i.e. the offer of American Marconis by Sir Rufus Isaacs). The Master of Elibank was then (i.e. April 1912) living with me at 11 Downing Street, under the same roof—I think he was with me for weeks, if not months, living together—and the Attorney-General and the Master of Elibank and I were on the closest terms of friendship; he was in and out constantly and met me at meals, and, I think, at golf and other transactions of that kind. That is the real reason why the Master of Elibank and I were brought in; it was [illegible]

he were picking a Minister here and a Minister there; it is purely and simply because we happened to live under the same *roof* and we three were constantly together.

Here we have a carefully considered explanation of the genesis of the notorious American venture—a dangerous boomerang like most of Mr. Lloyd George's "vindications." The flutterers fluttered together, not because they were Ministers but because they were intimate friends living together and sharing each other's every thought. On April 17, 1912, as we all know, these twins acquired 2000 American Marconis between them at £2 each, euphemistically described as the "market price," though there was no market at that time for Tom, Dick or Harry. These shares were bought without being paid for for "special settlement" fixed for June 20, about which there was a good deal of discussion before the Marconi Committee with which the reader need not be troubled, though it gains increased interest from the subsequent discovery that on the following day, April 18, the Master of Elibank bought 2500 American Marconis for the Party for "coming out" at the ordinary public price of £3 5s. per share plus 500 a few weeks later when they had fallen. Though no cash was required from the favoured twins the Party Trustee forked out his cheques for £3000, £1900, and £4519 8s. drawn on the National Bank, Charing Cross, on June 9, June 19 and June 20 respectively. We have this curious position, interesting to "cat's-meat men" and others, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Whip one day secure 2000 shares for £4000, while the next day the unhappy "Party" get 2500 shares for over £8000. Taking the Coalition and Commons view of the transaction, and the conspicuous good faith exhibited throughout by all the investors—two of whom had nothing to invest—ought not the poor old Party of Progress to have had a chance of turning an honest penny by getting in at £2, the "market price"? Is it possible—their relations being what they were on Mr. George's own showing—that such a frank, open, intimate friend as the Master of Elibank should not have informed his bosom associate, in whose house he was living at the time, that he thought so well of American Marconis that as he had just secured £8000 from a would-be baronet or unworthy Privy Councillor, he was putting the Party into this attractive security? There must have been much Marconi talk at 11 Downing Street during those fateful days,

as apart from the tragedy of the *Titanic* there was the great common venture on April 17; then the large trustee investment on April 18, the profitable sales by Sir Rufus Isaacs on joint account on April 19; Mr. George's brilliant coup on April 20, when he sold on behalf of himself and the Master of Elibank at a somewhat higher price than the Party had bought at. So far the politicians had done brilliantly for themselves, even if the "Cause" was somewhat out in the cold, and Mr. Lloyd George for once knew how to take occasion by the hand. Later on, as we know, demoralised by success he went a mucker in conjunction with the luckless Master of Elibank, while the latter plunged the Party still deeper into Marconis. A good deal of time must have been spent at the tape and the telephone, and I repeat that it is inconceivable that the open hearted optimistic Whip should have concealed from his host and comrade in speculation the splendid haul he anticipated making for the Coalition? Such secretiveness is foreign to his character.

Mr. Lloyd George's terror of answering a question on which he could not deceive a Welshman is intelligible. He has already got himself into a mess by his sworn evidence before the Marconi Committee, where he was treated much too tenderly owing to the delusion of good-natured, simple-minded Unionists that exposure was sufficient punishment. They did not know their St. Sebastian of Limehouse.

He explained that he could not complete the transaction and refund his broker from whom he had borrowed money for the second "spec" of May 22, because "I am waiting until the Master of Elibank comes back to settle up, because the liability is mine, as the order was given through me and the broker deals with me."

Q. Then you didn't settle it as between yourself and the Master of Elibank before he went away? *A*. *He has been away pretty well since August, I believe* [my italics].

Q. Really? *A*. Yes, he was in Algiers for some weeks, if not months, and New York, and I think he is in Colombia now, so I really have not had a talk with him about the matter.

If this meant anything, it surely meant that Lord Murray had been away from this country since August 1912, and that Mr. Lloyd George had had no chance of seeing him. Mr. Illingworth,

the present Chief Ministerial Whip, appeared before the Committee some weeks later, and gave a different account of Lord Murray's mysterious movements.

Q. You told us that Lord Murray resigned your present office on August 7 ?

MR. ILLINGWORTH: Yes, I think that was the date; it was announced.

Q. Was he in England after that ? *A.* Oh, yes.

Q. When did you last see him in England ? *A.* Well, I went to see him off.

Q. When was that, about, I do not mean to the day, but what month ? *A.* I could not tell you; it was when he sailed for South America. I saw him off at Waterloo.

Q. Was it this year or last year ? *A.* Last year.

Q. Was it December or November or October or earlier ? *A.* Well, I have nothing to date it by; it was after the House had met.

His Majesty's present Ministers have curiously unretentive memories. Mr. Illingworth could not even remember the month in which he had seen off his illustrious predecessor on his historic American tour. Anyhow his statement disposes of Mr. Lloyd George's contention that his most intimate political friend and confidant had been invisible since August 1912. The actual date of the great man's departure, which like everything else in this case is not without significance, was given to the Committee by his brother Captain Murray as *January* 1 of this year—oddly enough the eve of the Select Committee's investigation of the rumours concerning Ministerial Marconi speculations!

On another and more vital matter of fact Mr. Lloyd George misled the Marconi Committee, whether intentionally or not I do not pretend to know. In either case some reparation is due from him. He was invited by Mr. Faber, whose penetrating cross-examination makes even better reading in the light of subsequent developments than at the time—to declare "Excepting for the above transactions I have not, either directly or indirectly, benefited or attempted to benefit in any way from operations conducted either by myself or by any one acting on my behalf in any Marconi shares in this country or elsewhere." Mr.

Lloyd George promptly replied that not only did he make that declaration specifically but that he welcomed the opportunity of making it. "It is the first time the question has been put, and I am delighted that you have put it. I am obliged to you for putting it."

How different was the attitude of another "statesman" who almost burst with rage on being afforded a chance of disclaiming speculation in Marconi shares. He flounced into the Committee room like an hysterical housemaid wrongly accused of stealing the spoons and flounced out again without any cross-examination.

One is probably not uncharitable in assuming that among Mr. George's colleagues inside and outside the Cabinet are some, perhaps several, who would be anything but grateful if invited to make a similar declaration on oath as the Chancellor of the Exchequer was delighted to make, and it is a suggestive fact that the Prime Minister flatly declined to make enquiry as to whether any of his colleagues had held Marconi shares, and the Committee put up the shutters rather than risk hearing other Ministers. As already stated Mr. George misled the Committee on a vital matter of fact. After vouching for his near relatives —a point on which he is not challenged here—he was asked by Mr. Faber:

> With the exception of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Lord Murray—we know now that they had shares in the American Company—of your own knowledge could you extend that to other members of the Government? *Answer.* Certainly I would. I have no hesitation in doing it. But at the same time it is not for me to answer, though I am certain of it, and absolutely certain of it—perfectly certain.

Here, as always throughout the Marconi Mystery, dates are useful. The character of our public men upon which we used to pride ourselves is at stake. It was on March 31 that the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave this unreserved pledge on behalf of the entire Ministry, namely, that except as regards the transactions already disclosed in which Sir Rufus Isaacs and Lord Murray were involved, no Minister had touched Marconi shares. This disclaimer, like Mr. George's disclaimer of the previous October, was unhesitatingly accepted in parliamentary circles and was interpreted as signifying that the chapter of Ministerial revelations was over. It sounded absolute and

unequivocal, but the statements of the slim require microscopic scrutiny. Was there any mental reservation on the part of Mr. Lloyd George on March 31, as there had been on October 11? Did he mean that he knew of no Ministerial Marconi speculations whatsoever except those then known, or did he merely mean that he knew of no other Ministers except the two mentioned as having further speculated in Marconi shares? The reader can see for himself the difference between these two meanings. One signifies that Mr. George was ignorant of the Master of Elibank's investment of Party funds in American Marconis, the other interpretation of his emphatic disclaimer would leave that transaction within Mr. Lloyd George's knowledge. I suggest that it was only natural that he should have heard of this transaction from his guest at 11 Downing Street, and under all the circumstances of the case no one will regard the first question addressed to Mr. Lloyd George at Bedford as unfair, irrelevant or pointless: "Did the Master of Elibank, with whom you had a 'common venture' in American Marconis at £2 on April 17, 1912, conceal from you the fact that he was purchasing the same security as trustee of the Radical Party funds at £3 5s. per share on the following day, April 18?"

Mr. Lloyd George encouraged the belief that we were at the end of Ministerial Marconi revelations by his emphatic statement on March 31, but at the end of May a fresh crop of rumours followed the defalcation and disappearance of Fenner, and the *Daily Express* and the *Globe* rendered conspicuous service by the manner in which they pressed this matter. Even the Committee could not remain indifferent, and in the beginning of June the Trustee in bankruptcy of the Fenner estate disclosed the startling fact of the further purchase of two lots of American Marconis by the Master of Elibank with Party money at about the same time he and Mr. Lloyd George were operating together on the Stock Exchange. The ingenuous Mr. Illingworth and the more ingenuous Captain Murray, M.P., were subsequently summoned, and though the last witness of all the latter was not the least instructive. I have always been surprised that this honourable and gallant gentleman's recital attracted so little attention, though one can fully appreciate the eagerness of the packed Committee to wind up their busi-

ness without completing any of their duties as soon as they heard it. Another such witness must have brought down the Coalition—even the Unionist press could not have saved them—and so it was resolved that there should be no further evidence, and Mr. Samuel was invited to invent some excuse for terminating the Committee's labours, which he produced in the shape of the statement that it was useless to continue discussing the Marconi Agreement, as the Company had repudiated it and the Government could not enforce it. He omitted to mention that he was already negotiating another agreement with the Company regarded in some quarters as more preposterous than its predecessor.

We are, however, for the moment concerned with Captain Murray—private Secretary to Sir Edward Grey, another intimate friend of Lord Murray and Whitewasher-in-Chief to the Government—who remained glued to a written statement which he repeated over and over again. Had he been prompted by some political superior? Captain Murray said, or rather read:

> Just before Lord Murray went away on January 1 (Mr. Lloyd George should please note this date) he handed over to me 3000 American Marconi shares. He told me that he had purchased them on behalf of the Party. He said that he proposed to keep them until the Marconi business was cleaned up, so that nobody should be involved but himself. He said he had told none of his colleagues; but that at the time when he was handing over to his successor—that is Mr. Illingworth—in August (1912) he had consulted Sir Frank Crisp, his legal adviser, about these Marconi shares and told him that he was not going to hand them over until later, because he wished to take the whole responsibility upon himself.

We need scarcely say, after the deceptions practised by other Ministers and approved by the Cabinet and the House of Commons, any statement not made on oath by a Radical Member or Radical Peer is of exiguous value, and therefore we may pass over hearsay evidence as to what Lord Murray told his brother about the spotless innocence of his colleagues. Captain Murray added that "Previous to telling Mr. Illingworth about this transaction at or about the end of May (1913) I did not disclose my knowledge of it to any one except to my brother-in-law, Mr. Oswald Partington." Then followed the reasons for suppressing facts which one would have imagined any Member of Parliament was in honour bound to tell the Marconi Committee. "It was disclosed in evidence before the Committee that Lord Murray

had purchased American Marconi shares, and I did not, nor do I now, consider that the number of shares held made any difference to the principle involved." What the "principle involved" may be in the mind of a Scottish Radical we have no idea, but there is evidently no difference between the speculations of individual Ministers or the Trustee of the Party of all the virtues. "The transaction, in my judgment, may have been indiscreet; but I believed it, and still believe it, to be perfectly free from any trace of dishonour. *Moreover, I thought it not unlikely that if the transaction were disclosed the opportunity would at once be seized outside this room of making political capital out of it at the expense of the Liberal Party.*" That is our old friend "the end justifies the means," which explains why Radical politicians inside and outside the Ministry resort to every form of falsehood when truth might injure "the Party." The indignant and fervid repudiations during the Marconi Debate of October 1912 are to be justified and only to be justified on these grounds, which *ex hypothesi* justify any Radical in suppressing any fact or suggesting any falsehood, or even committing perjury. Of old men died for their country. Now they lie for their party.

We return to the charge. Did Mr. Lloyd George unintentionally or intentionally mislead the Marconi Committee when he stated on March 31 that there were no other Ministerial transactions in Marconi shares. Was he a party to an understanding with Lord Murray and others, and who were these others that the scandalous transactions with the Party funds should be concealed at all costs? Captain Murray was asked by Mr. Butcher: "Did you gather that there was to be no disclosure to the public of the purchase of these American Marconis on account of the Liberal Party? *A*. For the reasons that I have stated here (*i.e.* that the Party might be damaged by the disclosure).

"*Q*. But that was the intention? *A*. Certainly; he (Lord Murray) did not wish to involve his colleagues.

"*Q*. And that intention you intended so far as you could to carry out? *A*. That is so.

"*Q*. Had it not been for the facts which came to light in this Committee I suppose we should never have heard of this purchase of American Marconis on behalf of the Liberal Party? *A*. *That is quite probable.*"

At the time of Mr. Lloyd George's evidence, Fenner, the Party broker, had not been "hammered," and even if he was known to be insolvent there seemed not the faintest risk of further revelation, and as with Mr. Lloyd George the end has always justifies the means, we stick to our original question. The inquisitive may be inclined to enquire how many more such transactions have been suppressed by Radical Ministers or Radical Members in the interests of the Radical Party, which seems to be a moral Moloch to which truth, honour, justice, fair play and everything else that men are supposed to revere is ruthlessly sacrificed. Captain Murray was "in the know" as regards the other Marconi transactions before they were disclosed to the public. He was asked by Mr. Amery:

Did he (Lord Murray) at that time inform you, or did you know, that he had had other transactions in American Marconi shares? *A.* I had heard from him, yes.

Q. And did you know that Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George had had transactions in those shares? *A.* I knew of the transactions of Sir Rufus Isaacs, yes.

Q. Did Lord Murray give you to understand that those transactions were going to come out before the Committee? *A.* Which transactions?

Q. Sir Rufus Isaacs' and Mr. Lloyd George's? *A.* I take it it was certainly assumed that as soon as Ministers were *brought before** the Committee they would come out, and Lord Murray *was actually in this country for very nearly two months while the Committee was sitting* [my italics]. Had the Committee summoned him the transaction would have come out at the time.

Once more Mr. Lloyd George should note that so far from Lord Murray of Elibank having been away from England since the previous August, which made it impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to settle up the joint account with his broker, he was according to Captain Murray in this country for two months of the sittings of the Committee. He was safe because, as we know, probably on a suggestion from the Post Office, the Committee started wasting an immense amount of time on the less important of its two duties, but directly the policy of procrastination was played out and the journalists were summoned to discuss rumours concerning Ministers, Lord Murray prudently betook himself to Bogota and on one pretext or another has remained abroad ever since. What he would have said had he been at home we cannot guess.

* "Brought before" is good.—L. J. M.

though it is clear that his evidence was a subject of anxiety to his colleagues and the Coalition.

Captain Murray also let another cat out of the bag. It appears that so far from urging his erring brother to return and "clean up" the Marconi mess, he informed the Committee in his written statement—we should like to know who edited it—that "taking all things into consideration," *i.e.* including the detriment likely to be suffered by the Party—the God—if the truth became known "and especially in view of the fact that the Committee already knew that Lord Murray held American Marconi shares, I wrote to Lord Murray and said that in the judgment of myself and my brother-in-law, we did not think it necessary that he should throw over his important business negotiations and return to this country." Being asked by Mr Faber when he had written that letter he could not remember "I have written to him several times."

"*Q*. But this particular letter to which you have just referred?

"THE CHAIRMAN. After this Committee commenced its proceedings?

"*A*. After this Committee commenced its proceedings, yes.

"THE CHAIRMAN. After the disclosures in *Le Matin* case?

"CAPTAIN MURRAY. After the disclosures in *Le Matin* case."

Did Captain Murray and his infallible brother-in-law, Mr. Oswald Partington, at one time we believe a Ministerial Whip until he was ejected by an intelligent constituency, take this heavy responsibility upon themselves of advising Lord Murray to remain away, or did they consult their political superiors *e.g.* Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Asquith? Is it a condition of the continued existence of the Government that Lord Murray should remain abroad? Were Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth "in the know"? Sir Albert Spicer, the Chairman, who was always studiously kept "out of the know" by Ministers because his code differs from theirs, in the innocence of his heart cabled to Lord Murray to appear before the Committee, but the ex-Chief Whip declined with thanks, treating his colleagues with scant courtesy—until the Fenner disclosures. The messages exchanged through the intermediary of Lord Cowdray, who appears to be the universal provider of the Radical Party, having found

billets for more than one promising relation of Ministers in his business—between the Committee and the exiled Elibank speak for themselves. They are far from dull, but even less dull would be the private communications at this critical juncture between Marconi Ministers and the ex-Marconi Minister.

Monday, April 7, 1913.

The Select Committee agreed that the following cablegram should be sent:

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Murray of Elibank P.C.

"*Marconi Select Committee desire your evidence, when can you attend?*

"CHAIRMAN."

A week later the Chairman read a letter from Lord Cowdray enclosing a cablegram from Lord Murray which Lord Cowdray assumed "was sent to me so that it could be decoded and that it is the reply to a message sent by you." We are quoting the Appendix of the Report of the Select Committee.

47 Parliament Street, S.W.
April 11, 1913.

To Lord Cowdray.

The following is extract of Cable from Bogota.

Received in London 8.39 A.M. April 11, 1913.

Confidential.

Lord Cowdray.

Please send following message Spicer and request reply:

"In reply to your cable of April 7 received to-day, shall be glad testify on my return. May I explain that I am over one month's journey from London and in the midst highly important negotiations with Colombia Government for my firm. That when I have finished my work here I have urgent engagements in Mexico, where we have important interests, as well as subsequently with my officials in the West Indies. In ordinary circumstances I calculate to return July. I trust delay will not be gravely inconvenient. Please inform Committee that I have never held any interest whatever in English Marconi Company. (In any case) I shall desire make personal statement in Parliament on my return.

"MURRAY OF ELIBANK."

More than a fortnight later, on April 28, the Committee allowed the Chairman to send the following reply to Lord Murray of Elibank: "July too late. If you desire give evidence give earliest date arrival in England.—CHAIRMAN, MARCONI SELECT COMMITTEE." There seems to have been a wonderful amount of dawdling over this business. The reader must keep the dates in mind as the Fenner transactions had not yet been established, when, on May 28, 1913, the Chairman read the

following cablegram which Lord Cowdray had received fro his partner of Elibank, who still preferred this roundabo method of communication.

S. Pearson and Son, Ltd.
47 Parliament Street, S.W.
May 11, 1913

Cable received from Cartagena.
To Lord Cowdray.

Received in London 3.46 A.M. May 11, 1913

Lord Cowdray. Please send following message to Spicer. Begin: In reply your further cable recently despatched to Bogota, I much regret that for reasons ca fully explained in my previous cable of April 10, in reply to your cable of April unfortunately, I will not be able to return home before July.—LORD MURRAY.

One is inclined to enquire whether the ex-Chief Whip ha received assurances from home that the Government anticipat shutting down the Marconi Committee before July. Then car the first Fenner thunderbolt. The Master of Elibank, wh Chief Whip and Patronage Secretary, had put the Party in American Marconis, while the parent Company was negotiati a contract with the British Government which would requi parliamentary ratification. On June 11, 1913, a much humbl Murray condescended to send a telegram direct:

To Sir Albert Spicer, Commons, London.

I beg Committee to accept following evidence from me:

1. That I have read Isaacs and Chancellor's evidence before Committee and co pletely and absolutely confirm their statement as to my joint interest with them American Marconigrams.

2. That in addition I, as Chief Whip, bought three thousand American Marco grams which I still hold through Fenter (sic) Stockbroker.

3. That outside foregoing I never had any interest personally, or as Whip, in a Marconigram shares in any shape or form.

4. That I consulted Frank Crisp about Fenner's default and together we agr not to involve new Whip in the muddle, but only to advise him later. Neither nor any of my colleagues knew of this *or any Whip investments* [my italics].

5. That if Committee desire, I will, regardless of business obligations, forthw return express speed to tender any further evidence required.

MURRAY OF ELIBANK.

Time Received 12.51 A.M. Quito, Ecuador.

To Sir Albert Spicer, Commons, London.

Referring to my previous cable dated to-day, I could of course make sworn sta ment since I cabled before British representative here if desired.

MURRAY OF ELIBANK.

* Query Illingworth.

The obvious comments suggested by this belated confession which, be it remembered, was only made after the offence was public property, is that what Lord Murray chooses to call his "evidence" was not on oath and has no more value than a statement in the House of Commons such as we had in the Marconi debates. Secondly, though he could "of course make sworn statement . . . before British representatives here if desired" the suggestion does not seem to have materialised. Nor does he seem to have responded to a further cablegram from the Committee offering to hear him "if you return before the Committee's final report." Lord Murray "consulted Frank Crisp about Fenner's default and together we agreed" to bottle it. So that before going abroad last January Lord Murray, who, according to Mr. Lloyd George, had been inaccessible since August, was actually aware of Fenner's impending "default," which occurred some months later. This takes us back to questions asked earlier in this article upon the Fenner problem and the mysterious circumstances surrounding Lord Murray's retirement from the office of Chief Whip on August 7, 1912, with its great salary and still greater prospects and his promotion to the House of Lords, an Assembly which, *ex hypothesi*, he despised and had done his utmost to humble in the dust. Not a few peerages have been sold in return for Party contributions. Is this a unique instance of a man being made a Peer owing to the heavy losses during his trusteeship of the Party? So far back as July 29, 1912, the Master of Elibank must have been aware of Fenner's condition. Again I ask what did Mr. Asquith know when he recommended the creation of yet another Peerage?

There are none so deaf as those who will not hear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is peculiarly hard of hearing on the subject of the late Chief Whip's investments in British Home Rails while Messrs. Lloyd George and Co. were engaged in settling the Coal strike in March of last year. Mr. George gave the Marconi Committee an impressive account of his portentous labours in the cause of peace on the coal-fields. Once more he is useful in fixing important dates. He was far too busy to take any part in the negotiations between *the* Marconi Company and the Post Office, though, as we know later on, he was sufficiently at leisure to operate on the Stock Exchange in a Marconi Com-

pany before the conclusion of the contract, and *à fortiori* before parliamentary ratification.

> No question came before me at all from that Committee [Imperial Wireless Committee]. I cannot find that there was any decision that I was called upon to make in reference to anything that had been discussed in that Committee. I have been looking up the matter and I cannot see anything. Then came the decision of the Postmaster-General, and the Committee, to accept the tender of the Marconi Company. At that time [beginning of March 1912) the Prime Minister, and two or three other Ministers, including myself, were engaged in negotiations with the miners' leaders and coalowners on the coal strike. I find, on looking up the columns of the *Times*, that I was engaged from February 22 to March 21, and we were all so occupied that we had no time, I am afraid, to attend to the ordinary duties of our Departments. We were engaged from nine o'clock in the morning until very often after midnight.

It was the all-absorbing topic of the hour to the public and to every member of the Government, and not least to the Chief Ministerial Whip who possibly saw an opportunity of recouping the Party whose funds were already being "muddled," and who was necessarily in the closest touch with the negotiations by virtue of his office and by his intimacy with Mr. Lloyd George, whose noble official mansion, 11 Downing Street, was the Master of Elibank's hotel at or about this time, though I am not positive he was there on March 6, 1912, when he gave instructions to the Party broker for the purchase of the shares in question. I make no apology for reproducing this interesting list. In case Radical Editors and the "Hush-ups" on our own side have lost their copy of the October *National Review* they may like to have it before them for reference and comment, also because a copyist gave the Government the benefit of a doubt they didn't deserve, with the result that the Party Trustee was credited with purchasing Midland Preferred instead of Midland Deferred—the more speculative security and incidentally one more likely to be affected by the course of the negotiations.

				£	s.	d.
March 6, 1912,	10,000	Midland Def.	71[illegible]	7198	15	6
"	5 000	Gt. West. Ord.	118[illegible]	5965	0	6
"	1,000	"	117[illegible]	1190	0	6
"	20,000	Nth. British Df.	31[illegible]	[illegible]	5	6
"	2,000	"	31[illegible]	[illegible]	1[illegible]	6
		Total		£[illegible]	16	6

Although, as I have said, I do not know whether the Master

ank was actually staying with Mr. Lloyd George at No. 11
fateful March 6, he seems to have conducted operations
ext door, 12 Downing Street, and he was doubtless con-
in and out of No. 11 even if he was not living there,
would be astonishing if he kept dark such a huge trans-
from his most intimate friend. One can almost hear him
"I have just received £20,000 from a prospective Peer.
utting it into Home Railways, which ought to rise when
ows have settled the coal strike." It isn't as though these
nen confined their conversation exclusively to Eugenics
e Higher Life. The reader will note that the securities
or other form of ordinary stock—not gilt-edged Railway
ients—and *pace* the *Daily Mail* which is more Ministerial
ie Ministerial Press—which dare not even mention this
topic—it would be impossible under the existing cir-
nces to imagine a more grossly improper investment.
he *Daily Mail*, which appears to divide its time between
its leg pulled by various Ministers, whom it rewards with
not to say slobber, ignores is that among a very large
of investments made by the Master of Elibank of Party
through his own broker, during two years, apart from
investment in Consols of £5000 apparently at the out-
his career as Whip, this £21,000 invested in Home
rdinaries during the coal strike negotiations appears to
en the solitary investment of Cobdenite funds in Cobden's
.

orrespondent of the *Spectator* (October 11), which has
splendidly in the cause of Clean Government, takes a
ically opposite view to the *Daily Mail* of this transaction.

EDITOR OF THE *Spectator*.

I do not accept as a fact the latest amazing financial scandal which Mr. Maxse
have unearthed. We have yet to hear from the Bogota gentleman. But
action, did it take place, is far more immoral than the Marconi operation.
er of Elibank, the buyer, was in a position to know that a settlement of the
rouble was at hand; but the innocent seller of the shares could have no
wledge. . . .

I am, Sir, &c.,

WYVERN.

gree with "Wyvern" in taking a serious view of this
and am anxious to satisfy him as to the facts. The

order for purchasing these shares on March 6, 1912, was presumably given to Mr. Fenner, of Montmorency and Co. (the Party brokers) over the telephone by the Master of Elibank. It was thus acknowledged in a letter from the firm of the same date namely March 6, 1912:

March 6, 1912.

The Right Hon. The Master of Elibank, P.C., M.P.
12 Downing Street, S. W.

DEAR SIR,—In accordance with your instructions, I have to-day forwarded to . . . . .* contract notes for the purchase of:

£10,000 Midland Rly Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock @ 71⅜.
£20,000 North British Rly. Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock @ 31⅝.
£2000 „ „ „ „ „ „ @ 31 11/16.
£5000 Great Western Rly Consolidated Ordinary Stock @ 118, and
£1000 „ „ „ „ „ „ @ 117⅞.

These Stocks will be registered in the same names as usual [my italics] unless I hear from you to the contrary

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,†

P.S The sum invested by the above is £21,365 16s 6d.

The covering letter to the Master of Elibank's secretary of the same date, March 6, 1912, from the Party brokers runs as follows:

————

March 6, 1912.

12 Downing Street, S.W.

DEAR SIR,—At the request of the Master of Elibank, I am forwarding you contract notes as under:

For the purchase of:

£10,000 Midland Rly. Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock @ 71⅜.
£20,000 North British Rly. Deferred Converted Ordinary Stock @ 31⅝.
£2000 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ @ 31 11/16.
£5000 Great Western Rly Consolidated Ordinary Stock @ 118, and
£1000 „ „ „ „ „ „ @ 117⅞.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

* There is no significance in this blank. We have no desire to bring in the names of private secretaries or others, who were merely carrying out instructions, nor do we propose to pry into the private affairs of the Murray family or anybody else. We are only concerned with the Chief Whip's official performances.

† These are reproductions of press copies of letters which apparently were taken before the original letters were signed. This explains their being unsigned. The letters from 12 Downing Street are written on stamped official paper and signed by a private secretary of the Chief Whip. The counterfoils of the contract notes are available.

week later the transaction is completed so far as the Master bank is concerned by the following letter from his secretary :

12 Downing Street, S.W.,
March 13, 1912

ar Mr. Fenner,—I am requested by the Master of Elibank, who is out of o send you two cheques in settlement of account herewith. I have added 10s. account, which I think you will find in order, and in agreement with the contract

Yours faithfully,

hen follows a letter from Mr. Fenner :

March 14, 1912.

ar Mr ———,—I thank you for your letter of yesterday, enclosing two cheques £21,365 16s 6d., and note that you have added 10s. to the account, which to a clerical error was wrongly rendered.

Yours truly,

—

12 Downing Street, S.W.

few days later Mr. Fenner writes as follows :

March 23, 1912

ght Hon. The Master of Elibank, P.C., M.P ,
Juniper Bank, Walkerburn.

ar Sir,—On looking carefully through the dividends paid by the North British, that the yield is under 4 per cent., and I exceedingly regret my error. I have, re, sold the Stock, and purchased Great Northern Deferred, which yields just 5 per cent., and is as good a Stock, if not better. This charge is made without pense to you whatever, and subject to your approval. If, therefore, I do not om you, I shall conclude that you approve of my action.

rkets here are inclined to be good—I think with the first sign of any Strike ent we should see a general rise all round.

me Railways are dull, merely on account of absence of business, and, of course, d traffics.

ing Shares and Oil Shares are extremely strong, and a fair business doing. nclined to believe that the Oil Market will be the next feature of the Stock nge.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

he reader will have noted that in the Party Broker's letter arch 6 it was stated that the £21,000 of Railway Stock " will gistered in the same names as usual " unless other orders given. What were these names? Mr. Illingworth, the nt Chief Ministerial Whip, obligingly explained to the oni Committee that he was a co-trustee of the Party funds, completely ignorant of their administration, which was

exclusively in the hands of the Master of Elibank. His position was "a mere formality." But surely this indicates some remissness which might bring a trustee into trouble if he signed whatever documents were put before him by his fellow Trustee? Lord Robert Cecil asked: "You had, no doubt, to sign the transfer?" Mr. Illingworth replied: "I should sign the transfers."

"*Q.* When Lord Murray left office on August 7 (1912), he handed over to you a list of the securities held by the Party, no doubt?" *A.* "Yes."

The reader, we feel sure, will be inclined to ask Mr. Illingworth whether this Home Railway Stock was duly registered in his name? Whether on signing the transfers he did not even notice the nature of the investments or took it as a matter of course that the Party should be investing in Home Railways while Ministers were settling the coal strike? One other question which will, we feel sure, satisfy our readers—especially any Radicals who may chance to see these pages—of the soundness of our repeated demand that the Master of Elibank should return from Bogota.

When Mr. Illingworth took over the duties and office of Chief Whip on August 7, 1912, and became in his turn controller of the Party funds, receiving a list of the Party securities from his predecessor, did that list contain the Home Railway Stock ordered to be purchased on the previous March 6 and paid for on March 14, and still more important were the securities in safe keeping at one or other of the Party Banks? Or alternatively, does this £20,000 form part of the lost £30,000 of the Party of Progress?

However disagreeable these questions may be to the Tapers and Tadpoles of the Radical Party, they are asked in the interests of that Party at large, which has been shamelessly exploited by gross ineptitude; they are intended as a warning to all parties to put their house in order and to have their accounts properly audited and as an intimation that the longer Lord Murray of Elibank postpones the promised "cleaning up," the worse for all involved.

Directly the Marconi Select Committee was shamelessly shut up I made it my business to try and probe the mystery

inter alia of its closing down, feeling convinced, from everything which had transpired, that there was a great deal more behind. I have collected a considerable amount of useful and instructive information, and no one can accuse me of haste because I have had all the facts stated in these pages and a great many more for several months, but I thought it only fair to await the return of the long-lost Master. As, however, there are no signs of him on the horizon at the time of writing, while a Press boom is being organised in his honour, and " mum " is the word among his late colleagues, I send this preliminary message to Bogota. If, on the other hand, the statement of a Radical organ that he is to return on October 30 should prove true he may find these pages opportune as a fair résumé of the position so far as it has developed.

L. J. MAXSE.

P.S. If he can tear himself away from slaughtering " the sacred bird," Mr. Illingworth might usefully investigate the Party securities with a view to ascertaining whether they still comprise the following and at what date these investments were made :

£10,000 Johannesburg Municipal Loan.
£10,000 Chinese Imperial Railways.
£5000 Vera Cruz Terminal 4 per cent. Debentures.
£10,000 Havana Terminal 5 per cent. Debentures.
£10,000 South Manchurian Rly. 4½ per cent.*
£5000 Anglo-American Tel. Pref. Ord.

* There is some doubt as to this security.

THE WHITEWASHING OF MR. AISLABIE

I SUPPOSE a good many people do not know who Mr. Aislabie was. Yet in his time he was as famous as Mr. Lloyd George is now. He was in fact the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Sunderland Administration which was wrecked by the South Sea Bubble. His connection with that great event put Mr. Aislabie under a cloud; his fortune, his career, his reputation, were at once destroyed by a censorious Parliament. He was execrated as a corrupt Minister and bonfires were set alight to celebrate his fall. Yet, as I hope to show, if he were judged by the enlightened principles which governed the Parliamentary consideration of the Marconi Case, he would be found almost as innocent as Mr. Lloyd George himself.

But first of all let me explain what the South Sea Bubble was. The ground and basis of the project was to get rid of the National Debt, which our old-fashioned ancestors regarded as a burden rather than a blessing. They were the more inclined to this view as the rate of interest was unduly high and a large part of the debt invested in irredeemable annuities. Now the happy genius of Defoe proposed a scheme to get rid of this burden, which enterprising Ministers developed. Put shortly, it was to offer a company the monopoly of trade in the Spanish Americas in exchange for taking over part of the debt. There was against it the trifling circumstance that this trade was the monopoly of Spain; but the British Government hoped to get this put straight by way of a treaty. The scheme was first floated in 1711, when the Company took over £10,000,000 of the debt on more favourable terms in return for certain privileges; in 1717 two millions more were converted, and by 1719 the ideas of the directors had so much enlarged that in exchange for certain further concessions to be wrung out of Spain they not only offered to take over the whole

of the National Debt, then standing at £51,300,000, but to pay £3,500,000 for the privilege, although they asked only 5 per cent. for eight years and 4 per cent. afterwards on the funds they proposed to convert. Now it may be asked, how could the directors hope, first, to induce the annuitants to exchange their Government bonds for South Sea stock, and, secondly, to make a profit on the transaction? The answer is that for the first they depended on that speculative instinct which is found to lurk in the breast even of the austerest Puritan, and for the second they proposed to offer a small quantity of their stock at a high premium in exchange for a large quantity of annuities at par. They offered a few new lamps that were bright and flashy for a large number of old that were safe and steady but dull, and they read the times so well that the whole body of annuitants were eager to make the exchange of an investment for a speculation.

But before the project could go through it was necessary to have a Bill in Parliament, and as there were rivals in the field there was certain to be opposition. The directors therefore set about the laudable enterprise of "currying the horse," as it was then called. They had not quite the genius to create an American South Sea Company, which would have made the proceeding entirely safe and regular, but they created fictitious South Sea stock to the amount of £574,000. This curry-combs, as we might call it, was placed in the discreet hands of certain directors, Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, and its disposition reminds us not a little of flotation arrangements which arouse the admiration of the financial and political world.

This stock [says Coxe in his biography of Walpole] was noted as sold at several days, and at various prices from 150 to 325 per cent., amounting in the whole to £1,259,325, it was to be esteemed as holden of the Company, for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the stock at any stated time; and no money was deposited, and no security given for the payment. By this contrivance no loss could have been sustained, if the stock should fall, and the gain would be received if it should rise.

With this ingeniously arranged stock in hand, the directors approached those most likely to see the merits of and advance their scheme. In those days, although women did not agitate for the vote, they had other and possibly even more powerful

means of making their influence felt. The King's two mistresses, the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Platen, were given £10,000 apiece, and the two nieces of the Countess, who may possibly have been following in their aunt's footsteps, were favoured with £10,000 more. The Court being thus appeased, the Ministry was approached. It is said, although unproved, that Sunderland got £50,000; Mr. Craggs, senior, the Postmaster-General, £30,000; and Mr. Charles Stanhope, Secretary to the Treasury, £10,000. Mr. Aislabie was not mentioned in this list; but the Sword-blade Company, with which his son-in-law had an account, was credited with £50,000. Now these figures, which were furnished by the directors themselves, are, of course, open to doubt; but it is at least certain that Mr. Waller, Mr. Aislabie's son-in-law, had an account with the Sword-blade Company in South Sea stock to the total amount of £794,451, and that Mr. Aislabie acknowledged that £53,000 of this belonged to him. There is also a dispute as to whether this stock was given for nothing or paid for: the prejudiced Coxe, who wrote seventy years nearer our time and might have been better informed, roughly calls it a "pretended" purchase; and prejudiced contemporaries thought it sufficient to know that even if it were issued to Ministers at 300 per cent., the public took it up at 1000 shortly afterwards. The Ministers were at least let in upon the ground floor or near to it, and in those too austere days this was counted corruption.

But to proceed. Mr. Craggs, the Postmaster-General, and Mr. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, agreed with the directors of the South Sea Company that the monopoly being so good a thing for the country, it must be pushed through the House of Commons with all possible speed.

> As the object of the Ministers [says Coxe] was to surprise the House of Commons into the measure of granting this extensive privilege to the South Sea Company and of preventing competition, they entertained the most sanguine hopes of success, from the specious advantages which they held forth to the public as the necessary consequences.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer led the way in a glowing speech, and the Postmaster-General followed with an equal enthusiasm. "As he took it for granted that every gentleman was

ready and willing to receive the proposal," there was really nothing to do but report progress.

Upon this ingenuous speech, " a profound silence ensued and continued for almost a quarter of an hour." At the end of this rather awkward pause, Thomas Brodrick, brother of Lord Midleton, professed a dislike of monopolies and suggested that " with a view of obtaining the best bargain for the nation, every other company or any society of men might be also at full liberty to deliver in their proposals." The Ministers, less resourceful in defence of monopoly than their modern successors, were, we are told, " confounded " by this suggestion, and had " recourse to violent assertions and personal reflections." When Aislabie remarked that " things of this nature must be carried on with spirit," there was a good deal of laughter, and eventually an undisciplined House forced the Government to throw the business open to competition.

The bidding that ensued with the Bank of England ended in an offer by the Company of £7,567,500, which might be taken as proof of the value of competition, although as a matter of fact it only made disaster inevitable. Walpole protested that the scheme would lead to a " general infatuation " and make the directors " masters of the Government " ; but the horse had by this time been well curried. " Sunderland," says Coxe, " had principally promoted the South Sea Act for the purpose of securing, by largesses of stock, a majority in both Houses of Parliament." We are not told what the price of a private member was at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but, the times being frugal, it was probably less than £400 a year. However that may be, the Bill was carried by a majority of more than three to one, and the shares soared upwards like a sky-rocket. The Directors immediately proposed a subscription of a million, and the sum subscribed exceeded two ; a second subscription was opened and filled with the same alacrity ; a third and a fourth followed, larger than those which went before. As the Bill was now through the House there could of course be no suspicion of corruption, and according to Coxe, the Ministry proceeded to make hay. In the third subscription alone, " Aislabie's lift amounted to £70,000, Sunderland's to £160,000, Craggs's to £659,000 and Stanhope's to £47,000." The Royal assent was given in April

1720, and by August the stock stood at 1000. The South Sea infection spread; "bubbling" became the rage.

Change Alley [says Mahon] became a new edition of the Rue Quincampoix.* The crowds were so great within doors, that tables with clerks were set in the streets. In this motley throng were blended all ranks, all professions, and all parties; Churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, country gentlemen and brokers. An eager strife of tongues prevailed in this second Babel; new reports, new subscriptions, new transfers, flew from mouth to mouth; and the voice of ladies (for even many ladies had turned gamblers) rose loud and incessant above the general din.

The projects hawked about were as extravagant as the credulity which invested in them: "To make Salt Water Fresh;" "For making of Oil from Sun-flower seeds;" "For the Transmuting of Quicksilver into a Malleable and Fine Metal;" "For Importing a Number of Large Jack Asses from Spain;" "For Fatting of Hogs;" and "For a Wheel for a Perpetual Motion." "But the most strange of all," says Mahon, "was 'For an Undertaking which shall in Due Time be revealed"'—an application to commerce of the modern political maxim 'Wait and See.' "Each subscriber was to pay down two guineas, and hereafter to receive a share of one hundred with a disclosure of the object; and so tempting was the offer that 1000 of these subscriptions were paid the same morning, with which the projector went off in the afternoon."

Now the South Sea Company, not content with a monopoly of the Debt and the South Sea trade, desired a monopoly in "bubbling," so they applied to the Lords Justices for a prohibition against some of their inferior rivals. These came down in consequence, but their fall brought with it the whole airy fabric. In vain the South Sea directors declared a permanent yearly dividend "not less than 50 per cent." Every one went mad to sell as they had formerly gone mad to buy. Walpole, that pure and lofty spirit, who had protested against the project, had sold at 1000, with which he modestly declared himself satisfied—although his wife held out for a little more; but Sunderland was nipped, and a great many others high and low. Thousands were reduced to beggary, and the whole fabric of our national finance shaken to its foundations. Such consequences result

* The centre of the great Parisian gamble which grew out of John Law's Indian Company in 1719.

when Governments support a monopoly and Ministers gamble in futures.

The rage of the country was echoed in Parliament. A Bill was introduced restraining the governors, directors, and officials from leaving the country, and for discovering their estates and effects; and in debating the Bill, one member, Mr. Shippen, the Lansbury of his day, declared "that in his opinion, there were some men in great stations, whom in time he would not be afraid to name, who were no less guilty than the directors." Upon this, Craggs, junior, famous in literature as the patron of Pope, "being somewhat nettled," replied "That he was ready to give satisfaction to any man that should question him, either in that House or out of it." "A great ferment" was the result of this injudicious remark, and Craggs had to explain himself away. Parliament again showed the sad lack of discipline prevailing in those days. It refused to be controlled by the sage spirits who suggested that there was nothing to be done, and embarked upon a course for which it has always been unsuited: it transformed itself into a Court of Justice.

A secret Committee consisting of thirteen stout and choleric English country gentlemen who did not understand the subtleties of the law and of finance, presently reported "that they had discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that Hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the House." General Ross, a member of the Committee who was evidently lacking in that fine tact with which the Falconers and Handel Booths of our modern legislatures are so richly endowed, reported that he had been approached at the committee-room door by a member on behalf of Mr. Aislabie, with suggestions which he regarded as insulting, and the offending member, in spite of the most plausible explanations, was expelled from the House.

But in the meantime Mr. Knight, the Fenner of the case, who strangely enough was not only the cashier of the Company but broker to Mr. Aislabie and Mr. Stanhope, had, to the great sorrow of these two Ministers, absconded. He was thought to be a most important witness, and the two Houses made tremendous efforts to get hold of him. The ports were ordered to be closed, a reward of £1000 was put on his head. He was chased

from Antwerp to Vienna, and when Austria refused to give him up the Commons considered whether they would shut out "all commodities of the growth and manufacture of the Austrian Netherlands, particularly lace and lawn," a scheme which so attractively combined protection and justice that it was referred to a Committee for report.*

Not to follow these proceedings too much into detail, the Committee reported severely not only against the directors but against Aislabie, Craggs, Sunderland, and Charles Stanhope. Mr. Stanhope was accused of getting an option on £10,000 from Mr. Knight on behalf of the Company; his defence was that Mr. Knight was his broker and that he had paid for whatever stock he got. Upon this Mr. Stanhope was acquitted by a majority of three, not only because of his defence which was excellent, but of his family which was popular. Thus Brodrick, in a letter to his brother, tells us: "Lord Stanhope, son to Lord Chesterfield, carried off a pretty many, by mentioning in the strongest terms the memory of the late lord of that name."

As to Lord Sunderland, the accusation was to the effect that he had been credited by Mr. Knight with £50,000 before the South Sea Bill had become law, and "without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given, for payment for or acceptance of the same." It might have gone hard with the First Lord of the Treasury if it had not been for the excellent understanding between the two Front Benches, which even then prevailed, and has since done so much for the preservation of threatened Ministers. Walpole desired to step into Sunderland's shoes in the act of defending him, calculating thereby both to please the King and Sunderland's friends; moreover, he had excellent reasons for not pushing the matter too far. Sunderland was therefore acquitted, and the death of Mr. Secretary Craggs left poor Aislabie alone to bear the brunt.

Now in this unfortunate situation Aislabie made an excellent defence. He was not fortunate in the House of Commons, where the little affair with General Ross, and the statement by Mr. Hawes, one of the directors, that Aislabie "had caused the book of accounts between them to be burnt" rather overwhelmed the Minister. He was expelled the House and sent to the Tower;

* House of Commons Debates, 1720-1721.

but by the time the Bill against him had got to the Lords, he had recovered his assurance and made two long speeches in his own defence.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer began with a reference to "the most cruel torturing punishments"—"the long, dark winter months" in other words—"before any charge is made or any facts alledg'd." After urging that as Chancellor of the Exchequer he had "no relation to this affair or to the execution of the South Sea scheme," he proceeded to argue that his dealings in the stock were a legitimate investment in a laudable enterprise. It was the duty of Chancellors of the Exchequer "to encourage, by their examples, all public undertakings of this kind," and, moreover, several of his predecessors in office "did condescend to be Directors of this Company which was never thought a crime." He had paid for his shares out of his own cash, and as for Mr. Knight, "he owed me a great sum of money long before this, having kept my cash for two or three years before." The destruction of accounts was a trifling matter, and there was the evidence of Mr. Hawes that they had nothing to do with the charges before the House. He exhibited some of his private accounts, declared that he had made a great deal less out of his investments than was thought, spoke feelingly of "the dirt and scandal that has been thrown upon me," and altogether behaved as we might expect of injured innocence in such circumstances.

He was nevertheless unanimously judged to be guilty, and punished in a way that our more humane age must regard with horror: the bulk of his fortune was confiscated and given to those who had lost by the project he had helped to promote.

As for the directors, they were punished with an equal severity. Sir John Blunt, the arch-promoter of the whole project, whose genius for adventurous finance would have won for him the admiration even of some modern experts now in the limelight, was attaindered in his whole estate, being only allowed £1000 by way of poor relief out of a fortune of £183,000. The others suffered with more or less severity according to their supposed guilt or their degree of unpopularity in the House, and the money thus obtained also went to compensate those who had suffered.

Now looking upon this case with the aid of the more enlightened

* House of Lords Debates, July 19 and 21, 1721.

principles which now govern our political justice, we must see that Mr. Aislabie was hardly treated. What he committed was, as we now say, an indiscretion or an indelicacy or an error of judgment. To call the transaction corrupt, as our ancestors did, is the sign of a rude and barbarian public opinion. It is true that Mr. Aislabie had invested—I shall not say speculated—in South Sea Stock; it is true also that he had some sort of underground channel of communication with the directors, through the absconding Mr. Knight, or by way of his son-in-law and the Sword-blade Company; it is true also that he appears to have had the shares at least at a low price, if not for nothing. Then it is also true that he was a member of the Government responsible for the contract, and even spoke in favour of it and tried to dodge it through the House. But we have no proof of any corrupt motive. Mr. Balfour has told us that even if there was proof of corruption in a Member of Parliament, his colleagues would refuse to accept it, and thereby elicited much applause from both sides of the House; but here we have a Minister condemned and punished although no proof of corruption is shown except the coincidence that he made the money and supported the Bill. Even if he took a favour from a contractor at the time the Government was considering the contract, we know nowadays a Minister may do that and remain as innocent as St. Sebastian. It is true that the harsh and unsympathetic Common Law of England has held in times past that no proof of corrupt motive is necessary if a secret favour actually passes between a contractor and an agent; but it would be a sad thing indeed if the tribunes of the people should be judged by anything so antiquated as the precedents of our Common Law.* It is true also, as has been pointed out by some harsh and censorious critics, that the Indian Penal Code takes no account of motive; but regards the giving of a favour, even a difference in the value of shares, to a Government official by an interested party as sufficient evidence of guilt on both sides. But a spirited Democracy will not look

* These rules apply; (1) The Court will not enquire into the Donor's motive for giving the bribe, nor allow evidence to be gone into as to the motive; (2) the Court will presume, in favour of the principal and as against the briber and the agent bribed, that the agent was influenced by the bribe and this presumption is irrebuttable (per Romer, L.J., *Hovenden* v. *Millhoff*; 83 L. T. 43).

for its principles from a bureaucratic Government like that of India. Again it is true that Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor of England and as some shrewdly suppose the writer of Shakespeare's plays, was thrust out of office and inhumanly punished for taking gifts from parties who appeared before him, although he protested that he took the gifts through inadvertence or absence of mind and without any corrupt purpose. It has only to be replied that the age of Bacon was even more barbarous than the age of Aislabie. And more barbarous still was the age of Chief Justice Thorpe, who is commonly reported to have been hanged out of hand by King Edward III for accepting gifts from five interested parties to the total value of £100, although we may well believe that he also denied any corrupt motive. All lawyers of this present age, in which lawyers are supreme, must be inexpressibly shocked at the thought of such an outrage—and perhaps even more at the evidence the case affords of the smallness of the fees prevailing in those uncivilised times. We have progressed since then. So far from hanging a Chief Justice for accepting a favour we regard the circumstance as a very good reason for making a Minister Chief Justice.

The time, then, has come for Aislabie to be whitewashed. It seems to me that this much-abused Chancellor of the Exchequer did nothing for which nowadays he would not receive the condonation of a sympathetic House and the congratulations of a grateful party. It may be that he advanced a monopoly, but he believed it to be for the good of his country; it may be that he received a favour from a contractor, but there is no proof which our House of Commons would accept that he had any corrupt motive in taking it. And if he put his money into South Sea stock it was as an investment and not as a speculation. Besides, and this should be final in his favour, he only did what he alleged his predecessors of the other party had done before him, so that his condemnation, accepted as it has been by Coxe, Mahon, Lecky, and the other historians of that age, must have been due to nothing but the interested malevolence of an envious Opposition.

IAN COLVIN.

NEW JOURNALISM AS THE PURVEYOR OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

It is just a year since the long-promised tempest in the Balkans burst upon Europe. The tempest has now blown itself out, but has left in its track four devastated nations, and several uprooted boundary marks. It is not the intention of this paper to recapitulate the history of strenuous battling and the more strenuous intriguing which has marked the past twelve months in South-East Europe. It is rather the purpose to point out certain facts and fallacies in the paths of diplomacy and war which have failed to arrest the attention of those publicists in this country whose business it is to instruct. In the matter of fundamental information the public has been badly served throughout the campaign. The reason for this is simple. For the most part the great London papers that in the past relied upon the intelligence of the best foreign correspondence that money could procure, have now budgeted for a less expensive service. Instead of furnishing their own independent channels of information, they have substituted a cheaper and less efficient arrangement. Their second-rate material has been instructed to fawn upon the Foreign Office and its ramifications for such scraps of information as fall from this reputed rich man's table. The newspapers which once set the standard for efficient and independent foreign services have been the worst offenders in this respect, and their vacillating policies and emasculated information during the Balkan struggle have been euphonious echoes of the fatuous efforts by a Foreign Office lacking the wit or strength to back its pretensions in the councils of Europe.

The effacement of the war correspondent—a necessity which is obvious to all—has created a new method of serving up informa-

tion from the front. Each pretentious journal now has its military expert, who in pompous and academic language expounds the brief "official reports" which emanate from the capitals of the belligerents. These discourses, excellent though they are as military essays, suffer from the blight that attacks all staff-trained minds. The essayists settle upon a certain line of thought, and, soldier-like, nothing, not even first-hand information, will shake them in their self-established conceits. This dogmatism is the curse of the modern military writer, just as it is the blight from which no General Staff would seem to escape. The military downfall of Bulgaria is a striking example of the development of this murrain.

The outstanding lesson of the Balkan War is not that the philosophy of any one European General Staff is better than that of its neighbour; is not that one particular make of ordnance is superior to that of a rival factory. The true lesson is that the human conception of the probabilities of war is as circumscribed and fallible as ever; so cramped and limited is the power of discernment amongst experts in war that unexpected success is burdened with as many dangers as unexpected failure. There is nothing new in this: it is a precept as old as the history of war. Yet none of the military experts who dealt with the Balkan War have made this clear to the reading public.

When the military representatives of the Balkan Allies met to decide upon the course of their common action, their respect for the alleged prowess of their enemy was such that the very utmost they hoped to effect was a general occupation of the fringe of Ottoman Europe, and to maintain this invasion long enough to induce the Great Powers to coerce Turkey into a definite Macedonian policy controlled by European guarantee. If at the preliminary conferences any delegate had suggested that within one month of the outbreak of hostilities the military power of the Ottoman Empire would temporarily have been shattered and that the Allies would have been in occupation of Macedonia from the Rhodope to the sea, his counsels would have been received in derision. The utmost the military pundits could foresee was a sufficient show of combined force to demonstrate to Europe and the Porte alike that the Balkan States were in earnest. Thus it was that the Allies in their assurances to Europe maintained to

the last moment that the war was one of sentiment and not of greed and conquest; and for like reason did the concert of Great Powers announce grandiloquently that whatever the issue of this naughty resort to arms there would be no change in the territorial *status quo*.

With the clash of arms came a state of affairs that upset every calculation, military and diplomatic, throughout Europe. Montenegrin, Greek, Servian, and Bulgar in turn drove the Ottoman armies in precipitate retreat before them. Until the Bulgarians with vainglorious disregard of the first principles of war dashed their heads against the Tchataldja Lines there was not a solitary symptom of success in the Ottoman resistance. Nothing succeeds like success. In a pæan of ecstasy European diplomacy and military opinion forgot their premonitions, and talked glibly, even enthusiastically, of the fruits of victory. Bulgaria was the infant prodigy of the crusade. Her military genius was immediately exploited, and the well-informed guardians of Foreign Affairs in the London newspaper offices warned their correspondents to stand fast in Pera to see the Ottoman driven out of Stamboul and across the Bosphorus. As has now, unfortunately, become the custom in like circumstances, all sense of decent proportion was lost by the publicists. One great paper employed an instructor officer from the Staff College to visit the battlefields in Thrace. This officer, believing all that he was told by the Bulgarian officers who reconstructed the battles, gave to the public a panegyric of the Bulgarian General Staff, which, in the cumous colour of its enthusiasm, was a dangerous document. This is saying a great deal. We are not concerned here with the wrong precepts that instruction founded upon faulty premises may inculcate in the British Staff College, but these articles, translated into all the Bulgarian papers, were heralded as the unsolicited opinions of a foreign military authority of genius. The climax of all this encomiastic treatment of Bulgaria's share in the campaign led both Bulgarian diplomacy and the Bulgarian General Staff to believe that they could deal with their Allies as easily as they had, at the outset of the campaign, dealt with the Turks. Nothing of the seriousness of this, however, entered into the contemporary discussion of the campaign in the London Press. Even when in March last the Bulgarians came a second military

cropper before Tchataldja, the miasma, bred of the surrender of Adrianople, so perverted the diplomatic view that the purveyors of information in London again warned their representatives to await the Moslem cataclysm at Constantinople.

There has never before been a period of international struggle in which the information given to the outside world has been as inaccurate and misleading as the many phases of this Balkan War. The whole system of information upon which the British Foreign Office annually spends vast sums, and upon which it is to be presumed British diplomacy is to some extent moulded, has been proved to be not only inadequate but ridiculously inaccurate, and totally devoid of the most rudimentary elements of perspicacity. The London journals which batten on just as much information as the Foreign Office agents choose to tell them, find themselves even more stultified than the department to which they now show no independence. For the rest, they had depended upon the acumen and ingenuity of their military experts, who, blundering in rhetorical splendour of phrase along their preconceived paths, brought the unconquerable Bulgarians, with their inimitable General Staff, to the right about turn in front of their despised Allies, Servia and Greece. After this point even the stupidity of journalistic foreign departments began to fathom the morass into which parsimony and military essayists had brought them. Luckily the general public was more interested in the Crystal Palace and Olympic Games Funds than the continued struggle in the Balkans, and when interest was refocused for a few short hours, the narrative of horrors effected by Christian upon Christian, with a king as the chief narrator, served the appetite of the moment.

The great salient points of the campaign were in the first instance beyond the comprehension of those publicists who were supposed to deal with them, and in the second, when the academic premises were all disproved, were conveniently "burked," and the place they should have taken was filled with that horror-mongering that generally has replaced sound constructive journalism. To such a pass has profit-making and profit-taking brought the best among British journals. But to our subject. *Pace* the military experts writing for dollars in London, *pace* the advertising agents of the Creusot Ordnance Works and

of the Camberley Institution of Higher Military Philosophy, the Bulgarians at no point in their campaign warranted better fortune than was theirs in their struggle with their quondam Allies. Neither in the early days in Thrace nor in the conduct of their operations before Adrianople had they demonstrated any of the greater military qualities either of higher command or of intuitive sagacity that had been claimed for them. They had met with unprecedented success, and the generous manner in which they squandered this success is the surest commentary upon their military genius. The detail of their operations has now had time to come under reflective study by those qualified to assess results. We find that from the outset of the campaign the Bulgarian Staff exhausted their cavalry in a childlike endeavour to mask their concentration in a country of which a third of the people were of the same nationality as their enemy: that because an army composed of reservists broke and fled before them at Kirk Kilisse, they threw themselves upon the regular soldiers at Adrianople and Tchataldja in much the same spirit of military *abandon* that we ourselves displayed during the first days before Paardeberg: how nearly Lule Burgas was something less than a drawn battle for Bulgaria can only be gauged by those who knew the chaotic state of the Ottoman rearward services. Of the two attempts to take the Tchataldja Lines mention has already been made. These two failures cost Bulgaria nearly 20,000 casualties, and in no wise enhanced the reputation of the General Staff. Of the story of the second Balkan War the writer has less detail at his command. But judging from the eulogies which were bestowed upon the Bulgarians by dogmatic, biased, and hoodwinked critics in the British Press, they should have risen superior to the opposition they encountered. Instead of this they were driven from pillar to post with the same ease, and for much the same reason, as the Turks had been harried out of Thrace and Macedonia.

Bulgaria merits our sympathy insomuch that she believed all the flapdoodle that was written about her military prowess. Otherwise she has achieved in this war little more than she deserved. Her attitude to her allies was overbearing and arbitrary from the very outset of the campaign, and there is no shadow of doubt that she forced hostilities upon the Servians in a manner

that is reprehensible, no matter from what standpoint it be judged. It is not necessary to flog this horse, since she has lost practically everything that she had gained by the first campaign. To lose irretrievably Kavalla and Adrianople in one week is a purgative that should cool the blood even of a Dr. Daneff.

That this downfall of military Bulgaria was such a surprise and shock is proof of the writer's contention that owing to the new forces impelling British journalism the latter's service of foreign news has fallen upon evil days. This deterioration may or may not be what the public taste demands. The adage concerning communities and governments may be applicable to the relationship between the reading public and the newsvendors. It may be that a community secures no better news services than it deserves. There is, however, in the mind of the writer, a sneaking belief that the public taste is not so much consulted as the newsmongers' pocket. Be this as it may, there has never before been a period of international upheaval in which the information that the public has been given to swallow has been so inconsistent with the facts as have been these twelve blood-stained months in the Balkans. Even when the truth has been served, it usually has been rejected by the newsmongers as unpalatable with the theoretical fiction already disseminated.

CEORL.

VOLCANO-HUNTING IN JAPAN

No sport is the worse for a spice of danger. Mountaineering pure and simple, forms no exception to the rule. Who will deny that the satisfaction felt at conquest of a difficult peak is largely due to the consciousness that a certain risk has been successfully faced? So with the volcano. To the exhilaration which is the special reward of the climber it adds the excitement drawn from an immeasurable, but no less present, risk. It may demand less endurance, less agility, than your craggy and precipitous peak: but it involves a peril against which no amount of mountaineering skill avails. Much, of course, depends upon the configuration of the cone and upon one's knowledge of its behaviour. Volcanoes have moods and tenses. By careful study of these it is sometimes possible to decide whether or not a crater may be approached with safety. But observations of this kind make, at best, a slender reed to lean upon. Many of the most violent eruptions on record were preceded by no warning whatever—and eruptions of the precipitate sort are common among the volcanic mountains of Japan.

Risk, rare scenery, and hot springs are the concomitants of volcano-hunting in Japan. Ancient or modern, active or extinct, the monuments of terrestrial force may here be relied upon to furnish weird and impressive scenes. The *Globetrotter rabidus* has taught us to think of Japan as a land "where it is always afternoon;" where dainty and seductive *geisha* beguile for the opposite sex the tedium of daily existence. But those who have travelled farther afield have found a different Japan. They have found a wild hinterland where contorted primeval rocks rise side by side with lofty "mountains of accumulation;" where silent, time-worn formations join company with modern, violently active cones. Remarkable effects ensue from the juxta-

position of these contrasted types. On the one hand the shapely curves of the young volcano; on the other, the serrated lines of the splintered "composite" cone. Both, as often as not, are gloriously wooded—the work of the moist and genial air; while, over all, the rugged schistose or granitic peak adds its quota of sublimity.

Most precious of the products of terrestrial energy—in eyes Japanese, at least—is the mineral spa. Hot springs do indeed occur in regions built up of ancient crystalline rocks; but they are more often the legacy of the crater that is dead and gone. Ninety per cent. of the *onsens*, or spas, are to be found in the volcanic districts. Strange to say, the most active cones are not thus distinguished. Even the colossal Fujiyama, which the geologist hesitates to call extinct, has no hot springs about its ample base; while the adjacent Hakoné and Izu districts, where volcanic action is but a memory, abound in mineral spas.

Now in Japan the hot-spring resorts are the holiday resorts. When the dog-days descend upon the people of Western lands, there is a rush for the seaside. Your Japanese tripper, however, mounts to some high-perched spa where it is cool, where mosquitoes cease from troubling, and where, at any hour of the day or night, he may soak to his heart's content in "mountain water" which, like the Messianic milk and honey, is "without money and without price."

Thus the quest of the volcano in Japan should satisfy the traveller who, after the manner of the Athenian philosophers, is in search of "some new thing." Providing, at the least, a modicum of adventure, it will introduce to romantic and awesome scenes. As it necessitates complete departure from the beaten tracks, it will give opportunities of studying that somewhat elusive entity, "the real Japan." In Japanese eyes, volcanoes are sacred. In the temples at their bases the stranger will see the Japanese at prayer; in the spas he will see them at play. Of all the phases of their national life—excepting always that of the Japanese at war—these are the ones in which the "little people" of the Far East show to the best advantage.

One has not to search for volcanoes in Japan: there is an *embarras de richesse*. The records of the Tokyo Seismological Observatory show 165 "independent" volcanoes, as distinguished

from the secondary or parasitic. Over and above these are innumerable necks, stumps and "basal wrecks." Of the "independent" cones, some forty or fifty are still active at their summit, or principal, craters. To be more precise is not possible. Dead craters have a fashion of coming to life again, unaccountably and at short notice; and, in many cases, it is difficult to decide whether a volcano should be classed as active, or merely as a solfatara.

Among these multitudinous plutonic upheavals of all ages and dimensions—from the 12,000-ft. Fuji to the neck which scarcely merits description as a hill—ample scope exists for variety of form and action. The outside world knows but one Fujiyama; the Japanese know many. By them Fuji is recognised as the type of the young, normal and unmarred volcano. While none attain the dimensions of the great cone of Suruga, several show the same perfection of form. But the irregular and the abnormal are also largely represented, while the styles of action vary from the incessant but quiet 'breathing" of one volcano to the cataclysmic outburst of another which, with sudden and terrific violence, blows a vast hole in its side and then, as suddenly, relapses into ominous silence.

My first sight of an active volcano was impressive enough It was from the deck of an "Empress" liner approaching Tokyo Bay. In the far west, silhouetted against a sky aglow with the setting sun, the majestic form of Fuji rose high into purple space; but the nearer mass of Oshima, built up from the ocean bed, seemed to demand attention. The rugged crest in which the gently sloping sides of the island terminated, some 2000 feet above the sea, clearly betokened a crater of considerable size—it is, as a matter of fact, two miles in diameter; and over it hung a canopy of vaporous forms—the only clouds in the sky, if clouds they could be called—glowing red on the under side with the reflection of the crater's heat. Turning to a fellow passenger who, having often made the journey, was full of lore concerning it, I asked if the volcano had ever been ascended. "I did once hear of a German professor who went up as far as the crater," he vouchsafed, in a tone which suggested that only a German professor would be guilty of such foolhardiness. "Well," said I, "what account did he have to give of

it?" "Oh," replied the old timer, "he was never heard of again!"

This ought to have nipped in the bud any incipient passion for volcano-climbing on my part; but, as a matter of fact, it produced the opposite effect. I resolved forthwith to emulate the German professor!

To begin with, I made the acquaintance of the mighty Asama. People have been known to say, on vision of the great volcano of Central Japan, that they never want to see another. Wherein they do err; for Asama is at once the least picturesque and the most terrible of Japanese volcanoes. It is not possible to be intimate with Asama. One cannot walk into its crater, or descend therein at the end of a long rope. Curiously enough, the deity from whom the volcano receives its name is fabled to have been born from a cave at the foot of Fuji. Now Fuji is worshipped and loved; but Asama's is the homage of fear. Everybody—including the "Earthquake Investigation Committee" of the Imperial Observatory—is expecting a great eruption from its crater; and the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood have been officially warned. I say "great" eruption advisedly, for there are eruptions of sorts all the time—from the daily, almost hourly, "puff" to the violent detonation deep down in the crater like the report of a titanic gun, which rattles the *shoji* and sends people running out of their houses at Tokyo, ninety miles away. When one speaks of a "great" eruption of Asama, one has in mind something like that of 1783. On that occasion, besides firing forests, damming streams and wiping out villages with its rain of red-hot ashes, the volcano discharged a colossal lava-stream for fifteen miles down its northern face—the finishing touch to an orgy of destruction.

On the occasion of my ascent the volcano merely favoured me with a "puff." Being determined to see as much of the crater as possible, after a midnight ascent by the light of *chochin* (paper lanterns), I prostrated myself upon a narrow dyke projecting into the abyss. This necessitated going down the steep ash-bank which forms the inner rim of the crater—a proceeding which, in the absence of the solid rock of the dyke, would have been madness. As it was, my Japanese guide—judging by his yells of "*Abunai!*" (dangerous)—became much concerned for

my safety, while some ladies who were of the party hurried from the summit that they might not witness my horrible fate. From the sheer edges of the ash-bank, elsewhere loose and rotten, the crater walls sank precipitously, a depth of 600 feet, to a circular, broken but generally level floor, about a quarter of a mile wide, and sprinkled with steaming pools. Suddenly a loud whirring noise made itself heard above the crater's perpetual din, and from a vent near the junction of the floor and wall, a torrent of black smoke shot forth in a series of rapid explosions. Expanding as it rose, it issued from the summit in the familiar "cauliflower" masses, a pillar of ash-laden steam 2000 feet in height.

Less fortunate were the visitors and missionaries who reached the summit at sunrise on August 15, 1911. Just as the leading members of the party were about to peer into the crater, the volcano gave vent to one of its more violent explosions. Without the slightest warning, to the accompaniment of a deafening roar, tons of rocks and stones—lava fragments of varying size—were hurled into the air. Every one turned and fled for his life down the mountain, but not before two of the party had been killed and several injured. One of the victims was a Japanese policeman who had been sent up the mountain to discover whatever traces remained of a student who was believed to have flung himself into the crater some days before!

Asama is much visited because easy of access—the western railway skirts the base of the mountain. Not so Oshima, the island-volcano off the entrance to Tokyo Bay. Twenty miles of stormy sea lie between the island and the nearest point of the Izu peninsula. As steamers are scarce, and irregular in their times, the crossing has usually to be done in an open boat of the *sampan* type, with the off chance that a spell of bad weather may cause one's sojourn to be inconveniently prolonged. In very favourable circumstances I have accomplished the voyage to the island, the ascent of the volcano, and the return to the mainland in one day; but this involved a start at 4 A.M., and a moonlight journey home.

The broken top of the island, as seen from a passing ship consists of an ancient Somma or "ring" which, wooded on the outer slope, faces an inner active cone in more or less perpen

icular cliffs. This inner cone rises about 500 feet in the midst f an almost level floor of lava, thinly spread with sand and coriæ. It holds a huge crater, nearly as deep, with a well-iarked central vent, 80–100 feet wide, within which the lava-olumn rises and falls much as the mercury does in the tube of barometer. Through this fearsome aperture the volcano breathes" with incessant gusts of steam, discharged with a ull roaring sound.

Such is the volcano's normal state; but in 1877 and in 1912 iolent eruptions occurred. On the former occasion the activity 'as confined to the inner crater, in the floor of which a small ew cone was built up, but subsequently destroyed. Last year, owever, the whole upper part of the main cone appeared, from he sea, to be at red heat; the accompanying earthquakes and ıbterranean noises grew in intensity, and streams of lava ıreatened to descend the outer cone through gaps in the ring. ltogether the portents were so terrifying that the inhabitants f the villages on the coast took to their boats and fled to the ıainland, a thing they had never before been known to do.

"Call nothing magnificent," say the Japanese, "till you have ›en Nikko." The proverb owes its point to the fact that the ›enery of this district is on a much larger scale than that of the *an-kei*, or three great landscapes which have come to be re-ırded by the Japanese as typical of their country. The scenes ı question are of the dainty, picturesque order; quaint—almost izarre—in their composition; and they are all situated in the ›wlands of the coast. The Nikko mountains, on the other and, rise to over 8000 feet. They are old volcanoes which have ad their day, and, thanks to a rainfall of 100 inches per annum, ave clothed themselves, even to their now craterless summits, ith amazing verdure. A river of exceptional beauty traverses ıe district; there are numerous lakes—owing their existence › volcanic agencies—and countless waterfalls. One of these -where the Daiyagawa, issuing from Lake Chuzenji, plunges ıto an extinct crater 250 feet deep—has supplied the *motif* for ınumerable works of art. Grander landscapes than those of 'ikko distinguish the Alps of Hida and certain parts of Yezo, ut nowhere else in Japan can there be found so happy a com-ination of the beautiful and the sublime.

On the threshold of this "land of the Sun's Brightness," the Buddhist saint Kobo Daishi called it a thousand years ago groves of giant cryptomerias form an appropriate setting for the splendid tombs of the Shogun Iyeyasu and his only less illustrious grandson. But the thousands of white-robed pilgrims who annually visit this romantic region come rather to climb the sacred Nantaisan or enjoy the sulphur springs of Yumoto. They carry rosaries, these men, and observe the ritual of the Six Senses; but they are really picked members of rural travel clubs, who, by paying a small monthly subscription into a common fund, are enabled to go far afield and see the sights of the country. Mountain-climbing bulks largely in the itinerary; and, as most mountains—especially of the volcanic order—are sacred, the tour resolves itself into a pilgrimage. Religion apart, the system possesses a high educational and social value. The Japanese have a proverb, "The frog in the well knows nothing of the great world outside," and they act upon it. The rustic who has never left his native place is unknown in Japan.

The veneration which Japanese volcanoes receive has its origin in the belief that their phenomena are manifestations of divine displeasure. Temples have been built at the bases of the most active cones; higher up, *toru* (Shinto gateways) mark the point beyond which, till quite recent times, women were not allowed to pass; and priests have frequently been instructed by Imperial decree to propitiate "the god of the mountain" by their prayers. Most sacred of all Japanese mountains, of course, is Fujiyama. Next in order come Ontake, a grand volcanic ridge, 10,000 feet high, with eight craters along its crest; Takachiho, famous as bearing on its summit the Spear of the Sun-Goddess's grandson, Ninigi—there left when he descended from heaven to establish "for ages eternal" the Japanese Imperial line; Daisen, in Western Japan; Nantaisan, in Nikko, and Oyama, in the east. All of these are volcanoes, except the last mentioned; all are extinct as to their summits, except Takachiho, which has a large and violently active crater; and all are the object, as well as the scene, of reverent worship from thousands of pilgrims annually.

On the volcanoes which have associated themselves with the "granite giants" of the Central Highlands some difficult climbing

s to be found. Ten thousand feet is the average height of these peaks. Chains are hung in the steepest parts of Ontake to assist the pilgrims, and similar aids have been improvised on Myogisan, a skeleton volcano whose rocky ribs—the tops of radiating dykes—afford rock-work which will bear comparison with that on the Great Gable. But with Yakegatake, in the Hida Alps, no such measures are possible. This "Burning Mountain," as the name signifies, is one of the most ancient of Japanese volcanoes, reborn to vigorous life in 1908. An immense discharge of ash and water-vapour marked its resurrection. The latter, on condensing, formed with the ash a kind of cement, which thickly covers the cone for a thousand feet down from the summit. Withal, the upper part is so steep, that its ascent can only be accomplished on all fours—one must crawl to conquer. Fortunately the surface is gritty, like that of rough concrete, and is broken, here and there, by little gullies which descending streams have made. Otherwise, ascent would be impossible.

Northwards from Nikko, Nasuyama has baths which date from the seventh century. Spas dot the mountainside up to 000 feet and, even at that altitude, are thronged in summer. At about the same height, the Yamanaka Onsen, on Bandaisan, was destroyed in the cataclysm of 1888. The story goes that, of the two rooms composing the hut—which happened to lie athwart the line of fracture—one was carried away by the force of the explosion, while the other was left. And, *mirabile dictu*, the people in it escaped! How this romantic version got abroad is hard to say; for there can be no doubt that every soul in the hut—and there were forty of them—suffered instant death, anticipating only by a few seconds the four hundred inmates of the villages in the valley below. The "wind" of the explosion was sufficient to uproot ancient pine-trees not directly in the line of fire, and fling them hundreds of yards. What chance was there for a ramshackle shanty on the brink of the abyss? But the most astonishing thing of all is that the hut has been rebuilt on the same spot, and is tenanted once more—a circumstance duly appreciated by my Japanese guide and myself when, after a long day's climbing, we found ourselves benighted on the mountain, with deep snow on the side of the descent.

He who wants to see a sight of truly appalling grandeur wi scale the highest of the peaks surrounding the ancient crate whose desolated floor, once wooded, lies a thousand feet belov He will see that a fourth part of the great rampart has bee knocked away as by a mighty side-long blow, tearing open th mountain as it fell. From that fearsome breach stupendou red cliffs run in parellel rows, facing each other across a scen of unparalleled destruction. For six miles in a straight line th torrent of debris rushed till deflected by the hills opposite. B that time it had dammed a river, buried four villages and brough into existence three considerable lakes.

The North Hondo "line of weakness" is continued, across th Tsugaru Strait, into south-western Yezo, passing on the wa the "telescope mountain" Ganjusan, with its three concentri crater-rings. In the northern island some remarkable formation distinguish the coasts of Uchi-ura (Volcano Bay)—includin those resulting from two of the most recent eruptions, Usudak (1910) and Tarumai (1908). Both of these rise within eas reach of Muroran, which is reached by steamer in twelve hour from Aomori, the terminus of the northern railway.

The moment one leaves Muroran, one is "in the wilds." So young Englishman and myself found, on landing at Mombetsu a little port ten miles up the bay, after an hour's journey in coasting steamer. The "vehicle" offered us was a *basha* of th original type. That is to say, it was a box four feet by three feet and a foot or so deep, placed between two wheels with no sus picion of springs, and drawn by a spirited, half-trained "Hokkaid pony." Straw matting was spread on the bottom of the chariot and a paraffin-oil case thrown in by way of a seat, if required In this instrument of torture we were conveyed, over an atrociou road, for seven miles to a village near the foot of the mountain Here, indeed, the landscape looked peaceful enough; but w were soon to view a different scene. On surmounting a lov ridge which rose behind the village, we found, outspread befor us, a large, roughly circular lake. At any other time we shoul have been impressed by its peaceful beauty, to which well-woode shores and a number of green pyramidal islands effectively con tributed. But we had eyes only for the southern shore. Or the flank of the mountain parallel with it, and not more than

hundred feet above the lake, a series of five large and many small cones had been thrown up, from which a torrent of ash-laden smoke poured to leeward over its surface. For miles along the lake-side, and far up the mountain, stood multitudes of pines reduced to skeletons, and thickly coated with grey volcanic ash. On the ground, heavy rains had made the ash into a yielding paste, a foot deep. Through this, in the ghostly shade of the blasted forest, we painfully ploughed our way to the lip of the nearest crater and peered into the inferno. From the dark throat of the volcano showers of dust, lapilli and occasional large masses of lava were shot with a mighty roaring into the air. Two thousand feet above us, the pinnacled summit of the mountain overhung the main crater, half a mile wide; but that was silent. All the din, the fury, the destruction came from these parasitic craters in the grey, blasted forest.

"You have left the good wine to the last." So at least declared my companion, when soaking in the soothing waters of Noboribetsu, after a glorious climb up Tarumai, our sixth ascent. At mid-day we had stood on the summit of that ancient cone, gasping but delighted. From the rim of the outer crater we had looked on that most magnificent of crater-lakes, Shikotsu, 2000 feet below; while beside us towered the monument which Tarumai had raised to commemorate its great outburst in 1909. A pile of black bristling lava had been thrust upwards from its inner crater, like paint from a collapsible tube. There it remained (as it will for all time), 300 feet high and nearly a quarter of a mile in width, still steaming from a hundred rifts and crannies. And in vision of that old volcano's handiwork—so easily, so swiftly and withal so terribly reared, the consciousness of human littleness came home to us, and the Psalmist's pregnant query—*What is man, that thou art mindful of him?*

E. BRUCE MITFORD.

OUR BRITISH SHREWS

I this country we have only three well-known shrews, the common rew (*Sorex vulgaris* or *araneus*), the pigmy or lesser shrew *S. pygmæus* or *minutus*), and the water shrew (*Crossopus fodiens*); ut a fourth species, under the name *S. granti*, has lately been escribed by Mr. Ogilvie-Grant from Islay, in the Inner Hebrides, nd races not sufficiently distinct to receive specific names have een found on the other islands. This is an illustration of our scanty fauna, for other countries have many more, and the family, Soricidæ, is widely distributed, and numbers—roughly—about seventy species.

To most people the common shrew is known from the numbers found lying dead on roads and paths in the autumn, and by the shrill and persistent squeaking it gives vent to as it runs to and fro along its twisting paths through the grass and the hedge bottoms; but here popular knowledge ceases, and what people do not know they generally supply from their imaginations, so the tales concerning this little animal are many and weird, though the spread of education has shown the rising generation the foolishness of the most extraordinary. They no longer, as related by Gilbert White, believe that if a shrew runs over a cow or horse it will afflict the animal with "pains and anguish," only to be relieved by stroking the part with a bough from a "shrew-ash," i.e. a tree in which a hole had been bored, a shrew inserted alive, plugged up with suitable incantations, and left to die; but they still regard it as mysterious (as in some respects it is even to the scientists) and somewhat uncanny. Even the schoolboy, who so often keeps pet mice and birds, has nothing to tell about the common shrew, unless it be that when he caught one and shut it up in a cage with cheese and bread to eat, such as would have pleased his other mice, it did not touch the food and died in a few hours.

The fact of the matter is that all the shrews are difficult to keep in captivity, especially the common one, and as they are strictly insectivorous in their diet they have to be plentifully supplied with worms, grubs, and insects, and in no small quantities too, for, considering their size, they have enormous appetites.

Given suitable food and surroundings, the common shrew can be kept in a cage, and then becomes very tame and cheeky. I had one for some time. It was caught in the garden by a man who was mowing some rather long grass and saw the little thing slipping away like a shadow through the grass stems; he pounced on it, and came running to the house with it in his hand to know if I wanted " a mouse " for photographing. At that time I was making a set of photographs of mice, and had a scale of rewards for the different kinds. I was afraid that the shrew would be hurt, pinched in its captor's clumsy grasp, but I put it into a glass-sided fern-case, where lived a number of frogs, a blindworm, and two or three different kinds of toads. The little creature, which was an immature one in light-coloured summer coat, raced round to explore its new quarters; it smelt here and there, its little snout quivering all the time, then it dived under the moss, whence it brought out a worm that had been intended for a frog and ate it, next it went back under the moss and discovered the hiding-place of a " mud " frog. I do not know what it did to the unfortunate creature, but next moment a piercing scream of anguish filled the room, and in a minute the moss heaved and the frog came out. It sat and looked around, but when the shrew came near, it blew its sides out until it was like a balloon, and as soon as the shrew came closer, and without waiting for the little animal to touch it, it again uttered its heart-rending cry, which lasted until its extended sides had fallen in and all the air had been expelled. The frog was in such a state of mortal terror—I never knew before that frogs had enough brains to be afraid of anything—that I picked it up and put it into another case.

"The Mighty Atom," as the shrew was called, soon made itself at home. It made a warm nest of oak-leaves and grass under a fern, where it took short " snatches " of sleep in intervals of worm-hunting. One day my brother gave it thirty big earth-

worms, which it dragged off one after the other, and we concluded it had eaten the lot; but for once we had over-estimated even the "Atom's" appetite! Next day there was a horrible smell in the cage, and on investigating the matter I found the greater part of the worms hidden under the moss. Some were alive, but the majority were dead—and smelling! All had had their heads and tails bitten off.

It was most amusing to watch the manner in which the little shrew dealt with a big worm. He knew in a second when one was dropped in, and quickly located it (by scent I think), rushed upon it, gave it a bite at the head end, jumped out of the way of its squirmings, rushed off, rubbed himself on the moss to get free of the slime, hurried back, bit it again, ran off to clean himself, and then back again. When he had punished it well at the head end he would attack the other extremity, and when at last it was fairly quiet he would begin to eat it. When he had only one worm and was hungry he was not long in finishing it, but when there was the choice of several he only ate the fore portion and left the hind. He preferred, if he could, to drag the worms under the moss. I thought it was because they were easier to manage underground and not so apt to dirty him.

The little creature was very particular over his toilet, and would lick his fur after the manner of a cat or dog, but he did not sit up on his hind legs and wash his face as do the true mice. It should not be forgotten that these animals, though generally spoken of as shrew *mice*, are incorrectly designated, as they have no connection with the rodents whatever.

To go back to the food of the "Atom," he soon learnt to come when called, for from the very first he had been quite without fear; so as soon as he discovered that a hand put into the cage meant food, he would rush from his nest and take the worm and drag it away. Sometimes I did not let him have it at once; then he would hold on to the end and tug with all his might. Several times I lifted him inches into the air as he held grimly to the squirming end of the worm. No bulldog could have been more determined.

The shrew was also fond of spiders, flies, and any other small creatures that my brother and I could catch for him. At the end of a few days of "hand feeding" he became so bold that he

would climb up our fingers and try to get up our sleeves. Also, if annoyed at the absence of food, he would bite and worry our fingers like a savage little fury. Of course his teeth were too small to do any harm, but it was astonishing how he could pinch, and if he did no harm it was not from want of the will to do it!

The frogs, toads, and the blindworm had a most unhappy time, until I took pity on them, and moved them to fresh quarters. If he did not actually bite them he never let them rest, and was continually bringing them out of their sleeping-places by burrowing under them and heaving them up. The blindworm, too, was always being "moved on" by him, so at length I took them all away, and for a time the "Atom" had his cage to himself. One day I caught another shrew, and being short of a case to put it in, I dropped it into his. In great excitement the "Atom" rushed out, and followed the stranger round the cage and then under the moss. The newcomer was an adult in dark-coloured fur, and when I heard persistent squeaking from under the moss I was rather afraid lest the "Atom" might be getting into trouble. At intervals for the rest of the day they squeaked, that same shrill sound one so often hears in the meadows, but I thought they would settle down in time. Next morning all was peace; the little shrew came out of his nest to get a worm, but the newcomer was not to be seen. When it had remained invisible all day I became suspicious that all was not well. The day after I searched for it, but it was not to be found. I am sure that it could not have got out, and in the light of after experience I have no doubt that the "Atom" had eaten it! It is possible that the poor little animal died of fright and excitement (as a rule, amid ordinary cage surroundings, a shrew only lives for a few hours in captivity), but, remembering the continuous squeaking I heard, I strongly suspect that there was a fight and the victor made a meal off the vanquished!

For its size the common shrew is the most pugnacious creature in existence, and also one of the most voracious, not even taking second place to the mole, which is generally supposed for its size to be far and away fiercer than a lion, with an appetite which nothing will satisfy.

As the "Atom" appeared to be very well and happy in captivity I hoped to keep him through the winter and following

summer, in which I might have got some evidence to show whether the theory (expounded by Mr. L. E. Adams in *Wild Life*) that shrews are annuals is true or not.

According to his idea the shrews born in the course of a summer live through the winter, reproduce their kind in the spring and summer, and die in the following autumn, hence the number of dead ones found lying about at that time of year. The circumstantial evidence in favour of this theory is fairly strong, but proof could only be obtained by keeping a number of individuals in captivity. I thought the "Atom" might afford some evidence, but one day when rearranging his ferns I put in a plant that was too big, and never noticed that by climbing one of its fronds he could spring out. An hour or two later he was gone, and I failed to recapture him, though I set traps baited with worms, usually an unfailing attraction for a shrew. Poor little "Atom"! I hope he got safely to the outside world and did not meet the cat by the way. But I think if this had happened his dead body would have been found. Cats do not eat shrews, apparently from these creatures having either an objectionable smell or taste.

The water shrew and the lesser shrew are also found lying dead in the autumn, so probably the theory, if correct, applies to them too. All three species share another mystery in common. the males have on their sides, a little way behind the shoulders, glands, the function of which is not accurately known, though generally supposed to be for the purpose of secreting scent. That shrews have a peculiar and somewhat unpleasant smell is undoubted, but whether this is confined to the adult males is another question. I have noticed it in a greater or less degree in all specimens of the common or water shrews that I have kept in captivity, but strongest and most objectionable in the latter. The smell of my water shrews was so strong that I could not keep them in the house!

There are three ways of accounting for the "scent," granting for the minute that it is derived from the glands—a point I am doubtful of: first to deter enemies from eating the animal, secondly to attract the females to the males, thirdly to attract foes to the males in preference to the females, the preservation of the latter being of course the more important for the welfare of the species. Now as to the first idea, shrews are certainly seldom eaten by

cats, dogs, and foxes. The second theory may well be true, if, indeed, it is a fact that the males do smell more than the females; but to my degenerate human nose both sexes appear to smell equally strongly, which objection applies with the same force to the last idea; in short, it cannot be said that the use of these glands has been satisfactorily demonstrated, and the most that can be said is that the shrews are yet creatures of mystery.

Indeed, in many respects the shrews are less understood than any of our other animals; for instance, their breeding habits are not so well known as those of most other common creatures. The females are said to rear several litters in course of the summer, but here again the evidence is scanty, though undoubtedly the mother has more than one family in the season. Such nests of the common shrew as I have found have been woven of coarse grass and a few leaves and hidden among the stems of long grass which usually grows in the damp places beloved by the shrews, spots where their "runs" may be found going in all directions. One nest that I discovered was under an old rotten elm-stump which had fallen on to some marshy ground. This was made entirely of grass-blades and contained five young ones.

It is said that the common shrew hibernates during severe weather, and that its sleep is profound; but of this habit I cannot speak from personal experience, though, looking at the nature of its food, it is extremely probable that it does pass the cold weather in a state of unconsciousness. It has also been stated on good authority that it is strictly nocturnal. Certainly most small mammals are more active by night than day, but in the case of the shrew I doubt it. I have stood in a wood at midday and watched half a dozen common shrews running to and fro in search of food. Hither and thither they ran, backwards and forwards among the undergrowth, and whenever one approached the other their shrill bat-like squeaking was heard. That one sees little of the shrew in the daytime is due to its small size and retiring habits, which cause it to be passed over; but I believe it to be as active in the light as the dark—for one reason, the digestion is so rapid that it could not remain twelve hours without food.

The shrew lately discovered on Islay * is closely allied to the common shrew, but outwardly resembles the water shrew, being

* Mr. Ogilvie-Grant on "Mouse-hunting in the Hebrides" in *Country Life*.

black and white in colour, and it is also peculiar from the absence of a tooth. Intermediate varieties were found on other islands, and from the distribution of these and other island races of small mammals Major Barrett-Hamilton thinks that Islay and perhaps Jura were separated from the ancient land mass of Scotland at an earlier period than the other islands; but I venture to say that, though the facts are highly suggestive, it would be better not to place too much reliance on such evidence in view of the rapid variation some creatures are liable to when isolated under favourable conditions.* It would be very interesting to know whether this shrew would interbreed with the mainland shrew; but it would be a difficult task to carry out the experiment.

The lesser shrew is plentiful throughout the Hebrides, where it more or less replaces the common one, but in the rest of the country it is not so often met with. In appearance it is a miniature edition of its larger relative.

In many respects the water shrew bears considerable resemblance to the common shrew—it has the same sensitive pig-like snout, the same quick movements; but it is larger, its colour is black and white instead of grey and brown, and it is a bigger, stouter animal, not so elegant in shape as its smaller relative; indeed, the difference is sufficient for scientists to have placed it in a separate genus.

Though the general colouring of the water shrew is black and white, individuals vary to a considerable extent. The gradations between a rusty-black animal with a rusty-white "waistcoat," and one in which the black and white is clean and pure and its ears are tipped with white, are infinite. The latter type has its colours very sharply defined, but those of the former gradate into one another. These differences in markings do not seem to be owing to local races, as I have had specimens trapped on the same spot which were of the most diverse types, nor can it be ascribed to sex or age, though the handsomest individuals I have seen were adults.

* Take as an example the case of *Mus rattus*—the "black" rat—and its varieties. The buff type with white under-parts has received a specific name, but it is now proved that it will arise spontaneously in widely separated areas (I have bred it in captivity from black parents), though when isolated it breeds true and has all the characteristics of what we call a species.

This shrew, as its name implies, haunts the banks of streams, and is not really uncommon, but owing to its shy and retiring habits is seldom seen. There may be many colonies in the banks of a stream, and yet their existence will be quite unsuspected. When one does catch a glimpse of a water shrew it is a most fascinating little animal. It comes out of its hole and runs to and fro at the margin of the water, picking its way delicately, then it pauses to snuff the air—the "newspaper" of all creatures save man—then it will swim across the stream, floating very high in the water as it paddles away (when swimming on the surface its body is only submerged to the point where the white fur joins the black), but should anything startle it down it dives and vanishes in the depths of the water, looking like a silver streak ere it disappears from sight, for the bubbles of air entangled in its black coat reflect the light, as is the case with many other aquatic creatures. Dr. Francis Ward has lately shown by means of his wonderful photographs that the silvery appearance of many creatures under water is of great consequence to them, as it forms a mirror in which are reflected the surroundings, so that they are practically invisible to the other inhabitants of the watery world; but as far as I am aware neither Dr. Ward nor any other observer has remarked on the fact that the majority of aquatic creatures, especially mammals, are black or a dark greyish brown that appears black when in contact with water. A dark background is no doubt necessary for the bubbles to do their duty as a reflector, and to a small animal like a water shrew the protection must be very necessary, for even in brooks where there are no pike there are often elderly trout of depraved tastes, and it cannot be supposed that a heron which saw something moving in the water would pause to consider whether he should catch it or not! He would probably spear it first, and decide whether it was nice to eat afterwards.

The water shrew gets the greater part of its food among the aquatic insects and other small creatures of the stream, but it is not particular, and if other food is scarce will eat flesh, even that of its own kind, for it is not above cannibalism at times!

A sad instance of this occurred with two of these "mice" that I had in a cage, or rather aquarium. At that time I had little experience of the ways of these pugnacious little animals,

when wishing to study them confined two together. Their rters resembled as nearly as I could contrive the spot where r were captured. There was water to swim in, a bank of sand, ıe plants, and a snug nest of grass and leaves (or rather the terials to make one with), and last, but not least, a good supply worms. The first comer made itself at home without delay, ımptly seizing a worm and eating it, after which it set to work arrange its bed. This it did by sitting in the middle of and der the heap of dry grass and pulling in the ends all round, in ıich way it soon had a comfortable domed nest. It was not ıite contented yet; at intervals it came out, collected a mouthful the grass that was lying about, and ran backwards into its ome, until at last it was satisfied.

Presently I introduced No. 2, which was a dull-coloured hrew—the first was a very black and white one—and watched o see what would happen. No. 1 no sooner smelt the ıewcomer, who was nervously exploring the case, than it rushed ›ut, open-mouthed, squeaking furiously, and knocked No. 2 head over heels. All day long their squeaks resounded through the room, the latest comer being the one that made the most noise; but as it was eating all right, and showed no sign of being any the worse for the continuous duels, I thought they would soon settle down.

Next morning I went downstairs very early to supply the shrews with food, but all was quiet, and when I went to the cage I could only see one—No. 1! This puzzled me very much. I did not think the other could have got out, yet where had it gone to? A further search revealed that lying beside No. 1 in its nest were the skin, head, tail, and feet of the missing shrew. The little wretch had killed and eaten it!

The water shrew has an unpleasantly powerful odour, and I found it impossible to keep my captives in the house for the purpose of studying their ways; at least I did not mind so much, but other people objected to "those smelling little mice": so after one had been endured for a day or two it had to be exiled to an out-building, especially as objection was also raised to its presence on the score of the "company" with which these little animals are swarming. I believe the fleas found on them are peculiar to them, but my remarks that the parasites would

never live away from their proper host were unheeded and the shrew had to go outside.

To go back to the question of their food, when worms ran short, and spiders and flies became scarce, I several times gave them pieces of rabbit flesh, which they ate greedily, though what the effect of much meat on them would be I cannot say, but little bits certainly did them no harm, and were much appreciated. Mr. Pocock says they will eat snails greedily, but I have not tried them with these.

By the way, a word of advice to any one who wishes to catch some of these little animals: They can easily be caught by baiting an ordinary box-form mouse-trap with a worm; but they are so delicate and their digestions are so rapid that they are easily frightened or starved to death, and in consequence the traps should be frequently visited or the poor little captives will be found dead. When caught they should be placed in a cage with as natural surroundings as possible. This I believe is the secret of keeping them well and happy in captivity, otherwise they fret themselves to death in a few hours. Lastly, their food-supply should never be stinted, as they are most voracious feeders, but they are worth taking some trouble with, as they are among the most interesting creatures we have, and, as I remarked before, not yet perfectly understood.

FRANCES PITT.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

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WITH the signing by the President a week ago to-day of the Underwood Tariff Bill, the United States is now to test the virtue of "tariff revision downward," which has been the battle-cry of the Democratic Party for the last twenty years. It is absurd to call the new law a Free Trade measure. There is still a great deal of stiff Protection in it; on some articles the duties are higher now than they were under the old Tariff, but on the whole rates have been materially reduced and the consumer will either be a great deal better off—if it be true, as some economists contend, that prices are governed by tariffs—or the consumer will profit nothing by the reduction of duties, and industry will suffer owing to foreign competition.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and until the pudding has been cooked and brought to the table a congress of *cordons bleu* will be no wiser than the scullions. The Congressional cooks await with some trepidation the verdict, about which there is much speculation but no knowledge. The dish they have prepared may be a great success and the public may clamour for more; but also there is the danger that after the first spoonful or two they may repudiate it and demand the old-fashioned dishes which they know agreed with them, and not the new-fangled concoction, which they find hard to digest.

It is noticeable that the general sentiment of the country is to give the new law a fair trial. That does not mean that there is universal acceptance of it or acknowledgment of its wisdom. Republicans of the old school who were nursed on the bottle of Protection, manufacturers who have waxed fat on a Protection diet, dyed in the wool Republican newspapers who have never been able to convince themselves that any good could come out

of the Democratic Nazareth, have wrapped themselves in their gloom and joyously look forward to the day of destruction. That it will come they have no doubt. It must come. A Democratic Tariff has always done harm, and it would be questioning the working of a natural law to imagine that the long experience of the past is to be defied. In the fulness of time men will walk the streets hungry, looking for work; then the blind public will realise what has happened, the Democrats will be swept out, their pernicious schemes will be repudiated, the Republicans will come back triumphant, and contentment will once more reign.

But the croakers are in the minority. Pessimism is not encouraged. The fact is that no one knows what is going to happen. A great many people think they know, but their belief is not conviction. The public at large has an open mind. If the blessings that were predicted are to follow the public will enthusiastically acclaim the wisdom of Democratic statesmen; if evil is to follow it will be time enough to meet the evil when it comes, and it is folly to welcome it in advance. One must admit that the average American is displaying a good deal of philosophy and showing sound common sense.

Whatever the outcome, the passage of the Bill has given President Wilson his place in American history. It may destroy or make him, but no matter what the result may be, it cannot rob him of the reputation he has established. Whether the effect is good or bad the fact remains that to-day the Underwood Bill is law because the President willed it. No American President—certainly no American President in our time—has so dominated legislation as Mr. Wilson did the Tariff Bill. It was framed by Mr. Underwood in the House, and Mr. Simmons in the Senate, and for all time it will bear their joint names, but in reality it is the Wilson Bill. It was the President who determined that no time should be lost in carrying out the pledges made by his party during the campaign. It was the President who determined the broad principles on which the Bill should be framed and who had to encounter the opposition of Mr. Underwood; for Mr. Wilson went further than Mr. Underwood in striking down the duties on raw materials. At every stage of the measure Mr. Wilson was consulted, whenever there was any difference

opinion between Mr. Wilson and his party in Congress Mr. ison prevailed. In all that he has done Mr. Wilson has shown qualities of statesmanship and the genius of leadership. When Bill was first introduced there were dire predictions of the ect it would have on the party. It was freely said that it uld cause a breach in the ranks that would destroy the Presi- nt's authority; there was serious question whether the Bill uld be passed. Recalling the past, remembering that there more dynamite in a Tariff Bill than any other legislation that omes before Congress, there were people who cynically prophesied hat Mr. Wilson would be the victim of his own folly.

Nothing that was predicted happened. Neither in the House nor Senate was there any break in the party ranks. The two Senators from Louisiana voted against the Bill because sugar is to be placed on the free list, but this was expected. With that exception the Democrats stood behind their President, and the President is stronger and not weaker by the passage of the Bill. Mr. Wilson came into the White House an unknown man from the standpoint of national politics and with his reputation as a leader still to be made. It is probable, I think, that Mr. Wilson deliberately met the challenge and was willing that the country should have it known at the outset what his qualities of leadership were. Other Presidents have considered it the part of wisdom not to raise an issue at the beginning of their term, to conciliate, to study the men with whom they may have later to cross swords, to strengthen themselves with the people, to bulwark themselves with a faction so as to be able to rely on support when the attack must be made.

Temperamentally Mr. Wilson is unlike any of his predecessors, and Mr. Wilson has the advantage of his times. Mr. Wilson is neither a temporiser nor is he hesitant. During the campaign he described his mental process better than any one else can when he said that "his mind worked on a single track." It was an illuminating simile. An engine on a single line of metals must get to its destination, for there is no way by which it can be turned off. Mr. Wilson always has his objective in sight, and from it he is not to be diverted. When he came into the White House seven months ago the orders he gave to himself were to

make no stop until he reached the Tariff Station. His mind and all his energies were on that single track. Many persons tried to shunt him off and attempted to frighten him with stories of the dangers that were ahead, but Mr. Wilson's principle is that the way to get there is to get there. Seeing clearly that the only thing to be done was to pass the Tariff Bill, it was passed so far as he was concerned. To use his own simile, he was now the engineer, and the train had to follow him. The public was in doubt as to the skill of the engineer. They had heard of his ability, but they had been given no opportunity of a practical demonstration. Now they no longer question.

Mr. Wilson has advantages that were denied his predecessors. I have before called attention to the centralisation of power in the hands of the President. The old theory that the President is simply an executive officer required to administer the laws but not to shape them is now archaic. To-day the President occupies the same position in the American scheme of politics that the Prime Minister does in British. The President is not only the Chief of State, but he is also the leader of his party. He is not only the Executive but he is also the framer of the policy of his party. He is not only required to approve the laws after they have been enacted, but he is also required to originate the legislative programme. Although he has no seat in Congress and can only be heard there on formal occasions and by the consent of that body, he to-day leads Congress as much as Mr. Asquith does, and while voiceless his voice is never stilled. It is, as I have before pointed out, an extraordinary enlargement of the functions and powers of the President, it is an expansion of the unwritten Constitution that to some strict constitutionalists threatens American institutions. I shall not go into that vexed question now. It is sufficient to say that what I have described exists, that to-day the people look to the President rather than to Congress, that on the leadership, the courage, the determination, and the wisdom of the President rests the future of the party.

Theoretically Mr. Wilson ought to be the last man to use these extra-constitutional powers, and no doubt a few years ago he would have regarded the growing authority of the President with the same fear that a great many old school Republicans and Democrats do to-day. Mr. Wilson is a Democrat, and the

Democrats have always believed that there should be no infringement by the Executive on the powers of the Legislative branch. Mr. Wilson has been a close student of the Constitution; he holds it in high veneration, and the essence of the Constitution is a complete separation of the Executive and the Legislature. It is worth while noting as a study in historical development, that whereas in England the Crown at one time dominated Parliament and now no longer exercises any control over the action of Parliament, in the United States the reverse tendency is seen. In the past the President was actually subject to the will of Congress, although nominally unhampered by it, as Congress permitted the President to have no share in legislation, and unless a President could establish a *modus vivendi* with the law-making body he could accomplish very little, if anything. To-day, as I have explained, Congress frankly recognises the leadership of the President and accepts that leadership because the President is sustained by public sentiment. Of course if the President loses public support he is like the Prime Minister when the House adopts a vote of no confidence.

Theories apart—and theories usually do fall apart when they are confronted by facts—Mr. Wilson has adapted himself to the spirit of the times and assumed leadership. Some of his critics have called him a "boss," the greatest boss of modern times, but that is only juggling with words. A Prime Minister must boss his party if he is fit for his job. A Governor-General must be boss in his dependency if he is the real man for the place. A General bosses his army. A youngster in command of a torpedo bosses his crew. Mr. Wilson is, of course, the boss. He is his own master. He leads because it is his place to lead. The American Presidency is a "one-man job." A Prime Minister can, of course, compel the resignation of a member of the Cabinet, but that is a serious matter and not lightly to be undertaken, there is always the danger of finding his majority turned into a minority and having to go to the country. The American Cabinet is a Cabinet in name only. If the President to-morrow were to ask the resignation of say the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War, the three senior members, it would be a seven days' newspaper sensation, but nothing more, as the members of the Cabinet hold office at the

pleasure of the President, they are solely under his direction and control; unlike the British Cabinet, they do not have seats in Congress, and, what is even more striking as compared with the British Cabinet, they are not the leading politicians of the country nor have they been given seats in the Cabinet because of the firmly established reputations they made in Congress. Furthermore, the President does not have to worry about losing his majority in Congress. That majority is fixed for the term of two years. The President may lose his control over his party in Congress, but usually that does the individual member of Congress more harm than it does the President.

After Mr. Wilson had signed the Tariff Bill last week he made a short extemporaneous speech in the course of which he said:

I feel a very peculiar pleasure in what I have just done by way of taking part in the completion of a great piece of business. It is a pleasure which it is very hard to express in words which are adequate to express the feeling, because the feeling that I have is that we have done the rank and file of the people of this country a great service. It is hard to speak of these things without seeming to go off into campaign eloquence, but that is not my feeling. It is one very profound, a feeling of profound gratitude that, working with the splendid men who have carried this through with studious attention and doing justice all round, I should have had part in serving the people of this country as we have been striving to serve them ever since I can remember.

The President was quite sincere when he said this, and in that spirit not only his words but the Bill has been accepted by the country at large. "The Underwood law is a thing of the present," says one newspaper that does not believe in the Democratic fiscal policy and does not over admire the President.

For better or for worse it is now on the books, and business must bow to it. Its author, and all who supported it in Congress, and the President, who signed it, have the highest hopes, and predict that great things will flow from it. Mr. Wilson hails it as a fiscal declaration of independence. We have shaken off shackles, and are now free, or surely on the road to freedom.

If the hopes entertained are correct, this paper says, if the country thrives and the cost of living is reduced, the Democrats will retain their control of the next House and enter the Presidential campaign with advantage; if, on the other hand, the fears of the Protectionists prove correct and business depression follows, the Republicans will be in a favourable position. In a

word, as I pointed out to readers of this Review some time ago, the future of politics in this country is the Tariff. "Business is business," says the Washington *Star*. "There is not a single national issue that now appeals to sentiment." That is an exact diagnosis. If the Tariff works well the Democrats have nothing to fear; if the Tariff works ill the Democrats can hope for nothing.

In the speech made by Mr. Wilson from which I have already quoted he said:

> We are now about to take the second step, which will be the final step in setting the business of this country free. That is what we shall do in the Currency Bill, which the House has already passed, and which I have the utmost confidence the Senate will pass much sooner than some pessimistic individuals believe. Because the question, now that this piece of work is done, will arise all over the country: For what do we wait? Why should we wait to crown ourselves with consummate honour? Are we so self-denying that we do not wish to complete our success? . . . So I feel to-night like a man who is lodging happily in the inn which lies half-way along the journey, and that in the morning with a fresh impulse we shall do the rest of the journey, and sleep at the journey's end like men with a quiet conscience, knowing that we have served our fellow men, and have thereby tried to serve God.

To secure the passage of the Currency Bill Mr. Wilson will again have to show his ability as a leader, and in some respects this requires ability of a higher order even than he displayed in securing the adoption of the Tariff Bill. The Democratic Party was so firmly committed to the passage of the Tariff Bill that Democrats in Congress were forced either to vote for it or else admit that they obtained office by making promises they never intended to redeem, and thus declare that they were entitled to no further confidence. The Currency Bill is somewhat different. While the Democrats promised a modification of the monetary system it is such a highly scientific subject to the average man, and to the majority almost academic, that it does not arouse the passionate partisanship of the Tariff, in which every one feels a direct personal interest, as the Tariff is popularly supposed to be the mother of trusts and the cause of high prices. The President has said that the Currency Bill is necessary to complete the work of Tariff Reform, and the Republicans realising this are opposing the legislation, hoping that the failure of the Demo-

crats to enact Currency legislation will be to the political advantage of the Republicans. That, of course, would not imperil the Bill as the Democrats are in a majority in the Senate (the Bill has already passed the House by a substantial majority), but some of the Democratic Senators are opposing the measure and endeavouring to delay its passage until next year.

After the passage of the Tariff Bill the President was urged by these Senators to permit Congress to adjourn and to allow the consideration of the Currency Bill to go over until the regular session, which meets in December. It was represented to the President that Senators were tired out by the long struggle over the Tariff, that they needed a rest, and that no harm would be done by postponing action for a few months. But the President is too wise to walk into such an obvious trap. If consideration of the Currency Bill is deferred until next December the regular work of the session, the supply Bills and other necessary legislation, will make it comparatively easy for the Currency Bill to be shunted off the main track. By keeping Congress in session now there is nothing else to occupy attention and during this and the next month the Bill must be brought to a vote and either passed or defeated, with the responsibility for defeat resting on the few Democratic Senators who have seen fit to antagonise the President and the majority of the party.

It is not believed that the Bill will fail; on the contrary, the general belief is that the President was justified when he said that the second step would be taken, and that sooner than some of the pessimists thought possible. As the opposition is confined to a few men the attention of the country can easily be concentrated on them, and this the President will not hesitate to do. If these men can stand out against public opinion they will be able to defeat the Bill, but it is not believed they will find it prudent to do so.

The Bill is too technical to be of interest to the general reader, but one of its provisions may have an important bearing on the future of international finance. Under the existing law a national bank, that is a bank chartered by Congress, and which is the only bank permitted to issue notes, is not allowed to have branches as are the great joint stock banks of England and other European countries. A bank in the city of New York, for instance, is not

permitted to have branches in that city or elsewhere, a foolish restriction of the law which has defeated the very purpose for which it was designed. The theory is that if a New York bank should have branches in smaller cities the money of those communities would be sent to New York, there to be used for the benefit of New York merchants or speculators, while the community that supplied the funds would be discriminated against. It is typical of the localism so characteristic of the American that this law was enacted, it tells in a sentence the fear the little city has of New York and the other large money centres. The law, of course, has not worked as was expected in theory. The country banker is forced to keep a certain proportion of his deposits in New York and other large cities, and money flows where it is most in demand. When the rest of the country needs money, when funds are in active demand to move the crops to market or for other purposes, it is to New York that the country banker naturally turns to meet the emergency.

Under the Bill now pending any national bank with a capital of not less than £200,000 may establish branches in foreign countries. Many financiers believe that this power to establish branches will enable American bankers more successfully to compete in international finance, and that much of the very profitable business which is now done by London bankers will be transferred to the hands of American. At the present time all the transactions between the United States and Great Britain are carried on either through private banking firms, or British banks with American agencies, or American national banks acting as the agents of European firms, who receive most of the profits. Under the new law all the profits will be American, and the enormous volume of trade between the two countries gives an idea of the large commissions that have been made by London bankers in financing American operations.

Another feature of the Bill that will undoubtedly be for the benefit of American business is the power granted to the national banks to accept drafts or bills of exchange drawn upon them to an amount not exceeding one-half of the bank's capital. At the present time the banks are not permitted to accept drafts as European banks are, because the law prohibits a bank from "lending its credit" or "incurring contingent liabilities thereby."

A bank may discount bills, the security being the responsibility of the makers and endorsers, or lend money on notes protected by collateral or other security, but it cannot give its acceptance on a draft in the ordinary course of trade, no matter how certain it may be that the paper will be met at maturity. These and other restrictions show how out of date the currency laws of the United States are and the pressing necessity for their amendment.

Next month a mayor of New York is to be elected, and as usual in New York City politics the storm centre is Tammany. The decent people are asked to show their detestation of Tammany methods and clip the claws of the "Tiger" (the Tammany symbol) by voting for the opposing candidate, but they have been urged to do this so often and have so repeatedly disregarded the advice that one wonders whether the "decent" people are in a minority in New York or secretly approve of the Tiger even while loudly protesting their horror of the beast.

Against the Tammany candidate Republicans, Democrats, Progressives, and reformers of all kinds have united in support of Mr. Mitchell as mayor. Mr. Mitchell is a Democrat of high standing who was appointed by President Wilson Collector of Customs of the port of New York; but if the betting is any indication, Mr. McCall, the Tammany candidate, is in the lead. This year, if ever, Tammany should meet defeat, for sentiment is running strongly against that political gang of freebooters. The refusal of Mr. Murphy, the Boss of Tammany Hall, to renominate Mr. Gaynor, the late mayor who died at sea while on his way to England, incensed thousands of people. When Mr. Gaynor was nominated two years ago as a Democrat it was despite the opposition of Tammany, but Tammany having no alternative was forced to support him; but Mr. Gaynor was as independent of Tammany as he was of everybody else, and allowed no one to dictate to him. It was his independence and his courage that made Murphy determined to get rid of him; and after Tammany, which is in control of the Democratic political machinery, refused him a renomination he was nominated as an independent a day or two before he sailed on his last voyage, and it is the opinion of the best informed that had he lived he would have been

re-elected. Tammany is also in disfavour this year because of the Sulzer impeachment. There is little sympathy for Sulzer personally; he has cut a sorry figure, and the more he has attempted to defend himself, the deeper he has floundered in the mire, but nevertheless Sulzer is looked upon as a Tammany victim. He is to be destroyed because he was courageous enough or foolish enough—and one does not know which—to fight the powerful Boss; he might have enjoyed a quiet life and grown fat had he been subservient. No one can make of Sulzer an heroic figure, but he shines in comparison with Murphy.

Under these circumstances it may be asked why there should be any doubt about the defeat of Murphy's candidate. The answer is very simple. The next mayor of New York will have the supervision of the spending of about £200,000,000 in annual appropriations and contracts for tube railways and other public improvements. Tammany, it has often been remarked, is not in politics for its health. Tammany is in politics for profits, and huge profits are to be made out of municipal contracts when they are awarded to members of the ring. To Tammany New York is the richest and easiest gold-mine to be worked in the world. Illiterate but shrewd and unscrupulous men, mostly Irish, have made fortunes, not modest ones but great wealth even as it is reckoned in America, by having served Tammany faithfully and well. That is the inspiration to every Tammany recruit. In his pocket may be found the key to the treasure chest of New York. It is prize great enough to stir the most ambitious.

The city of New York exists to be plundered. Everybody knows it, everybody denounces it at odd times, but nobody is public-spirited enough to become aroused 365 times a year, and the plunderers work day and night and never know what it is to tire. Recently the *New York World* printed a leader under the caption, "A City Without Public Spirit," and thus savagely scored the citizens of New York:

To the great majority of the voters of New York a city election is merely a sporting proposition, like a baseball championship series. They own no property. They pay no direct taxes. They have no roots in the soil. They live a transient existence in apartment or tenement houses, moving from one part of the city to the other as the whim may seize them. The only elements that have a continuing concern about

government are the crooks, the corporations, the saloon-keepers, the contractors, and the professional politicians. . . .

The affairs of the city are so vast, so diversified, so intricate, that only experts can grasp them. The average man knows that the streets are unclean and usually torn up; that the garbage is indifferently collected; that snow is removed or not removed as the case may be; that rents are higher than he cares to pay, and that burglary is an everyday occurrence; but everybody else is in the same boat, and why should he worry? . . .

There is no public spirit in New York in the sense that there is public spirit in smaller and more homogeneous communities.

With no public spirit and with £200,000,000 as the prize it is not surprising that Tammany is able to keep control of the affairs of the city of New York.

A. Maurice Low.

SOME PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

N the September number Mr. George Lloyd has given the readers of this Review an extremely clear and able article wherein he states his views on the progress of British East Africa from the standpoint of a passing critic. As Mr. Lloyd himself points out, there are often cases in which an intelligent and unbiased passer-by is able to judge more fairly than those on the spot, whose reason may be clouded by the needs and passions of the moment. Such a case would seem to be that presented to-day by the Uganda railway in particular and the transport facilities of the Protectorate in general, which is discussed with such force in the article in question. Nevertheless, there must be other cases—I would venture to suggest a majority—in which the man who wears the shoes is likely to be a better judge of their worth and comfort than he who gives a glance, however searching, through the window of the maker's shop in which the goods are displayed.

Although British East Africa is hurrying—one might almost say scorching—along the road to prosperity, it need not be supposed that all, or even the most difficult, of the problems which have faced her have yet been solved. She is a country that has claimed attention by the very paradoxes that she presents and by the curious interest which attaches to her future; indeed it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a parallel, to our last-formed Colony, from which it is safe to draw any deductions.

The Protectorate forms on the map a considerable splash of red, but of this area the larger half, at all events, cannot be claimed as suitable for a permanent white population, consisting, as it does, either of desert, thorn scrub, or of the extremely fertile but comparatively unhealthy lowlands. That which is left is a glorious plateau of no great size, situated on the equator, but

boasting an equable climate, the plains of which afford splendid pasturage and are abundantly watered, and whose soil grows crops of infinite variety and able to vie in quality and quantity with those of any quarter of the globe, while its forests are of themselves alone sufficiently valuable to defray abundantly the cost of the railway which links this region to the coast. It is the population of this plateau and their conflicting interests which form the grounds for arguments and questions to which time alone can give a definite answer.

The three chief sections, but by no means the only ones, of this population are, firstly, the original inhabitants, those native tribes which under our rule have quadrupled in numbers and found material prosperity beyond their wildest dreams; secondly, the white population who have made that prosperity; and thirdly, the Indian population, who find the prosperity and batten on it, but who none the less are members of our Empire and as such inherit certain rights as well as certain duties.

That problem which to-day perhaps attracts most publicity in the Highlands themselves is that of Representation. The idea undoubtedly exists at home, and perhaps more especially in the Colonial Office, that the white civilian population of the Protectorate are a difficult lot. It is said that no matter who is sent to them as Governor, the settlers will find some cause of complaint against him, and that no amount of loans or doles will ever render them content; and from this the deduction is made that the white inhabitants are a rather peculiar and very evil collection. I venture to suggest, however, that this is not the right explanation of the undoubted friction that always has existed and still exists.

To my mind it is due rather to the species of Government to which the country is subject. What is this Government? It is in effect an absolute autocracy existing in hands that are 5000 miles away from the country and people over which it holds sway. Not only have those people, both settlers and officials, who have made and are making the prosperity of the land, no power, but they have no legitimate means of making known their views. In a word they have no representation. There is a further point, and one which renders this species of Government still more aggravating; namely that the *actual* Government does not even assume responsibility for its acts. This responsibility is foisted

on to the being who, for the time being, is ironically termed Governor, and whose task it is to receive in silence the odium of unpopular legislation. Time after time through the brief history of the Protectorate has this unfortunate individual had to take credit for acts of which not only was he not the instigator, but of which he has utterly and entirely disapproved.

Now it must not be thought that I imagine that any *partial* or nominal system of representation would effect miracles; on the contrary I believe, although this is not the view held by the large majority of those on the spot, that to give representation too soon is as dangerous as to withhold it too long. Nevertheless, the state under which, temporarily and probably inevitably, the settlers in the Protectorate exist is absolutely contrary to our British principles of Liberty and Justice and is more than sufficient to account for the ever present discontent. During this period there is, I suggest, only one salve to keep the raw from irritation; that is as large a measure as possible of sympathy from the rulers in Downing Street towards the ruled across the seas. It it is not perhaps too much to say that in the past this sympathy has not been very greatly in evidence. Money there has been ir fair abundance, but not understanding. It may seem a smal thing, but it does not add to the sense of the obligation of the rule to read a humorous speech in which this little Protectorate i alluded to as "Lululand." Can one imagine the effect of such speech were the land alluded to Canada or Australia? Yet it ha been truly said that however insignificant to an outsider a land ma be it looms as large as the United States to those who dwell there The truth is that the white population of the Protectorate r headstrong and violent *because* they have no voice, *because* they treated as children, and *because* they see their efforts mocked at their rulers. Their feeling of irritation vents itself on tl tongue-tied Governor. This Governor is almost invariabl poor man who dare not turn from the hand that feeds h Should he dream of so doing, a short study of the career of Charles Elliot—almost as certainly the most able as he was cl the most conscientious Governor the Protectorate has ever se will convince him that a few years as receiver-general of a followed by translation to some higher, quieter and better sphere is better than a brief blaze of local popularity follow

the cold inhospitable shelf, and he will resume the career of loyal —not to say sycophantic—servant of the Crown.

The two subjects which spell the future of British East Africa are in all probability our old friends Land and Labour, and on the judicious handling or the reverse of these depends the speedy or tardy realisation of the general prosperity of the Colony.

Dealing first with the land. When, some fourteen years ago, the railway, which formed the *raison d'être* for a Colony, was completed, the administrators found themselves with the disposal of many million acres of land which nobody wanted. To make the railway and Protectorate in general a paying concern it was obvious that a considerable proportion of this land must be alienated to any one whose presence or whose expenditure of capital would cause a demand for the remaining area. Accordingly a considerable acreage was distributed on easy or any terms to any one who was ready to take it up. The first-comers were for the most part attracted by the climate, beauty, and magnificent sporting resources of the country, and were lured thereby to form a home. The enthusiasm of some of these early colonists, the success of many of their experiments and an increased dislike to investing money in England led to an ever growing demand for the remaining land, but it was nevertheless some seven or eight years at least before the grants, big or little, had any actual value whatever except in the optimistic eyes of their owners. For instance, as late as 1906 land within a few miles of Nairobi could be had in large quantities for 2*s*. 6*d*. an acre, much of such land now changing hands at from £6 up to £10. Still shortly after that date a considerable proportion of the earlier grants began to assume an actual and negotiable value. As soon as this value became apparent, the Government very naturally began to consider what steps they should take to turn the same to some good account in the making of future grants. It was here that the absence of any one in the local Administration with any expert knowledge began to be severely felt. In 1908 a new set of Land Laws was hurriedly drawn up, containing many features to which the bulk of the colonists objected with intensity. It is unnecessary to enter into full details here, but perhaps the most violent opposition was to a clause which entailed the revaluation of the land after thirty-three years and again after sixty-six years, and the imposition of

a rent of 5 per cent. of such value. It was difficult to understand the advantage of inserting any such clause, since it is obvious and, indeed, was expressly pointed out, that the settlers were certain to have an opportunity to remove it, long before the completion of the first period, while it undoubtedly had, and still has, a most prejudicial effect on the influx of capital. Nevertheless, the prosperity of the country went on steadily increasing and the value of the land in occupation went on rising by leaps and bounds. During this period, owing to a lack of surveyors, a comparatively small area was allotted, and on the arrival of the present Governor a new Land Ordinance was introduced. It is difficult to say who was responsible for this last legislation, which has met with no further favour than its predecessors, most people attributing the same to whichever official at home or in the Colony happens to be for the moment their pet aversion. The aim of the new Act was to put up the newly surveyed farms to auction, bidders being limited to a very closely defined class, and having obtained the purchaser's money to ensure that he obtains for the price as little value as possible. Generally speaking the principle of auctioning new farms is unpopular. The main argument against it is that the money which the Government obtains as purchase money would be very much better employed by the new-comer in development than spent or misspent by that Government; and further, that it is only right that the entry of a poorer class should be encouraged instead of actually being prohibited. The counter argument is that the efforts of the community have made the land of such a value that it would be quixotic and absurd to give it away to such as might *chance* to be on the spot as recipients. Further, that the administration of the country is not done for nothing, and that this method of raising money is as fair a one as can be devised. Both sets of arguments have naturally their strong and weak points. That policy which whittles away from the value of the goods bought by postponing the giving of a title, by limiting its negotiability and by devising that such title when laboriously obtained should be of the feeblest possible description, is more difficult to defend. It would seem to be dictated in ignorance of the temper of the settlers. Like all Colonies the air breeds Democracy; and that Democracy will find no difficulty in limiting and curbing the powers of Capital, without the initial

aid of which there can be no prosperity. However repugnant the idea may be to the more Conservative-minded, it cannot be denied that the streets of Nairobi are full of budding Lloyd-Georges, who will be only too ready when the time is ripe to tax the prosperity of all and sundry.

It must not be thought that I suggest that the disposal of some millions of acres of valuable land on terms which will give even moderate satisfaction is a reasonably easy task. On the contrary, I believe it to be an almost impossible one. A proof of this is that though the settlers themselves have found it easy to be unanimous in opposition, they have not produced a scheme as yet which has commanded anything like general satisfaction. Still, I do think that it is likely to be a mistaken policy and one certain to be intensely unpopular for the Home Government to force measures on a people which contain principles which are universally disliked not only by the land-owners, but even by the majority of Government servants. It would seem feasible, if the settlers were primarily to lay down some few broad lines on which *alone* they could accept a Land Ordinance, for a body representing all interests to be formed which would have some chance of drawing out a scheme likely to give some reasonable satisfaction. Such broad lines would in all probability include the following: That the grant should be on the best terms available, preferably a perpetual quit-rent; that such a grant should be possible of completion as soon as reasonable; that a completed grant should be absolutely negotiable as far as Europeans and Americans are concerned; that by varied size and conditions settlers of all classes should be encouraged to enter the colony and become land-owners. On such foundations a reasonable scheme might be drawn up which would give satisfaction to the majority, but such satisfaction will not be unanimous until the last acre is out of the hands of Government.

The other great question with which the white colonists, and more especially any unfortunate Governor, for the time being are faced is that connected with the native population, and more especially with that portion of it which forms the labour supply.

Mr. Lloyd takes a sanguine view of labour difficulties. I hope, and indeed firmly believe, that his optimism will eventually prove justified. At the same time it should be noted that during the

s of Mr. Lloyd's visit there happened temporarily to be a :cient labour supply. Had the author been an employer either w months before or after that date he would not, I venture to , have thought so lightly of this problem.

The considerations with which this whole question bristles legion. To take a few. In the first place the native popula- n are the original inhabitants. They are as such entitled to ecial consideration from all who value the rights of property, ich as we term in this country Conservative. In the second lace they have prospered to an amazing extent under our rule, nd as such must be soon incurring the attention of their poorer rethren, and more especially those whom we term Radical. When we look over the administration of the country the condition of the native population was from a white point of view deplorable. The agricultural and cowardly tribes were at the mercy of the warlike and idle: the idle and warlike were at the mercy of famine and disease. The principal representative of the former were the Kikuyu tribe, that of the latter the Masai. The two factions, aided by Nature, played a game of see-saw. Thus the remnants of the Wa-Kikuyu emerged from the forest, took up their primitive tools, cultivated the teeming soil, and in a season or two gained some measure of prosperity and acquired cattle, wives and children News of this state reached the Masai, who came down like a wolf on the fold, killed as many Wa-Kikuyu as possible, ate as much as they could and went off with all the cattle that they could collect. The tillers being devastated the next item in the cycle might be a famine, to be followed by a pestilence. The effects of which struck down the idle and warlike Masai, who were reduced in strength and comparatively quiet for a time. During this period the Kikuyu took heart of grace and emerged from thei hiding-place for a brief term of comparative prosperity till the enemies were again ready. And so the cycle went on. Ou arrival put a stop to all this, and no longer were the Masai an other predatory tribes allowed to batten on their unfortun neighbours. The result has been that the latter have increa in numbers, wealth and prosperity almost beyond belief. Sy pathy may be felt for those raiding tribes whom our rule deprived of their principal pleasure in life, but this sympa can be carried too far. During the past twelve months the

sections of the Masai have been brought together into one large Reserve instead of remaining in two separate territories as during the previous few years. One usually fair-minded English journal of considerable standing has seized with apparent avidity on this fact to prove the greed and want of faith of their countrymen in general, and of the white colonists of the Protectorate in special. They omit apparently, almost wilfully, the following facts: First, that the move was made at the instance of the Masai themselves, by whom it was almost unanimously approved; second, that the territory which has been acquired in exchange is not only considerably greater in area than that which they have relinquished but is also in all probability more valuable. To avoid any further waste of sympathy on what are truly a decidedly attractive people it may be stated that under our rule their prosperity also has increased to such an extent that at the present day their average wealth per head in stock and land is not much less than £300.

When all is said and done it can hardly be gainsaid that practically the whole of the present prosperity of the native population is due to our rule, and if in return we ask something, we are only asking what every civilised Government exacts from its own population, *i.e.* that they should add by their existence to the general prosperity of the country.

Another consideration is the extreme suspicion with which any native question is looked on by most classes and all politicians in England. Though this suspicion is mainly the result of ignorance, it is nevertheless far from unsatisfactory in that it bears evidence of the high spirit in which our native dominions are ruled. Yet such suspicion is galling to the men on the spot, who are every whit as high-minded as their critics and have the further advantage of an actual knowledge of local conditions. Is it surprising that they note how easy it is to be generous at the expense of others? Supposing, as indeed was actually the case, white settlers had been moved to make room for the aforesaid Masai: would the same or any other journal such as supports the latter have taken up the cudgels on their behalf?

Again we must remember that, to make the Protectorate of any economic use, labour, and that in ever increasing quantities, is essential. At present the bulk of the work done has been development, and when labour has been scarce develpment has

mporarily ceased. From time to time there has been an ever louder outcry for more labour, but that outcry is as a whisper to that which will be heard while the coffee is rotting on the trees for want of labour to pick it, while thousands of natives on all sides may be seen sitting watching their wives cultivate that small patch of mealies which suffices to keep them in ample luxury. Then, again, the unfortunate Government is harassed by the thought that they themselves must have labour for every kind of public work, and a continually larger supply at that, every year. Up to the present they have employed means to obtain labour that have not been open to the ordinary settler. Knowing the necessity the latter has found little fault with this, but surely a time will come when under greater pressure the settler will not bear the sight of Government recruiting labour by methods which are beyond his power, while the Colonial Office smugly states that Government neither has ever recruited, nor ever will recruit, a single native.

During the past twelve months the whole of this most pressing problem has been before an able and painstaking Committee, and until their report has been thoroughly digested it would hardly be fair to comment other than generally. The most hopeful points to keep in view are that the native population is under our rule showing a very rapid increase in numbers, and that signs are not wanting that their list of necessities and luxuries may ere long be multiplied. Up to the present time the former have consisted of about five shillings-worth of food a year and the latter of as much strong drink as they can obtain. Indeed, one tribe has through this latter cause become to-day a byword and disgrace. As i stands at present, the situation is that there is work to be don and that there are men in plenty to do it. It is the task of th Government to bring the two together. In doing so they mu consider the political consciences of their masters at home a the somewhat overstrung tempers of their white colonists in Protectorate.

There is one element of the population which represent great, and I fear not diminishing, difficulty. I refer to the Indians who still flock to the Protectorate. That the imm tion of Indians goes on and that the present population is ra increasing cannot be denied; almost as incontrovertible is th the influence of this portion of the populace is as a whole far

good. It would appear that though Africa may suit Indians, yet Indians do not suit Africa, and where they appear in any considerable numbers it is no exaggeration to say that they are as a blight in a fair garden. Let any one who disputes this statement examine the conditions in Natal, by nature perhaps the finest of all the territories in the continent: he will find it difficult to reconcile what he finds with any pro-Indian theory. Probably there are not two per cent. of the thinking population of the white colonists of Africa who would assert that the unrestricted entry of Indians is in any way desirable; yet the unanimity of this opinion does very little to relieve the problem with which the local Administration are faced. They find themselves up against a very solid and influential body at home whose arguments are in many respects sound and at all events are plausible enough to sway the votes of that large class who care more for theory than for the interests and prosperity of their brethren overseas. The arguments of this class, of whom Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Swift MacNeill are such shining examples, would seem to be: that the Indian community are a portion of the Empire, and as such have a perfect right of free entry to any portion of that Empire. That as a matter of fact the Indian element of the population do very much of the real work required by the community, and that without them the white Administration of the country would find their task difficult if not impossible. Lastly, that the agitation against the race proceeds from the jealousy and greed of the white colonists who not only form numerically an insignificant proportion of the population, but who are like dogs in the manger in that they would acquire all that they can and stop development on all the rest.

The first two, at all events, of these arguments are as such sound, even if they omit to note that the Indian is in many respects placed in a better position than his white competitor; yet they do not entirely satisfy those who see the native debased, drink and crime increase, disease introduced, and the capital changed from a health resort to a place of evil reputation. Mere theory will not satisfy the man who goes through the Indian bazaar, sees it and smells it. This noisome spot, the filth of which is unbelievable, lies in the very centre of the town, and is so overcrowded that the medical evidence given before a Commis-

sion was to the effect that Indians were paying rent for a square yard of a tin-covered veranda on which to sleep. True much of the carpentering and similar work is done by Indians, and it may well be that the retention of such skilled workmen is desirable. Nevertheless, they shut out thousands of white immigrants who might indeed charge more but whose very presence would be the making of the Colony, and whose pay would be spent in the country instead of leaving by a "sure hand." At some future date it is as certain as any prophecy can reasonably be that the white population will take steps not only to restrict Indian immigration, but to regulate the undesirable element which now exists. Every month of delay and weakness in tackling the problem at its present stage can but result in increased difficulty in its solution and inevitable hardship for a greater number when it is eventually grappled.

The last problem on which I shall touch is that connected with the northern frontier of the Protectorate, and the relations that we hold thereby with our neighbour, the great native empire of Abyssinia. The questions involved are not such as hold high prominence among the white colonists in East Africa itself, where men are too busy for the most part in carving out their own fortunes and in shaping the white destiny of the Colony to look so far afield; yet they are of a kind always to attract the smouldering interests of students military and civil, at home, which interest may at any time spring into a blaze.

A glance at the map of the Protectorate will reveal the fact that the fine inhabitable plateau which really forms the Colony is separated from our northern frontier by a very large and practically uninhabited area. This area consists of a worthless and waterless desert of many thousands of square miles, much of it covered by lava rock and with an extremely sparse, and I might add an extremely nasty, water-supply. Any one who is foolish enough to cross this district will find an escarpment of varying steepness, and if he clambers up this he will come upon an extremely fine grazing country subject to Abyssinia. The contrast between our territory and that he finds on the top of the escarpment is very great. It will at once be observed that every worthless acre belongs to us and every valuable one to our neighbours, and he is apt to draw the deduction that those who formed

or consented to the boundary on our behalf were not earning their pay. Further thought, however, will reveal what was undoubtedly the case, namely, that the boundary was fixed with the idea of imposing a great natural barrier between ourselves and a turbulent neighbour. The suggestion was that it should only be possible for trouble to occur through raiding parties crossing the desert and meeting us in a position far from their own base, and where punishment would be easy to administer. At the time this idea seemed good, but apparently it does so no longer. Our later policy has been to establish small isolated forts on the far side of Nature's buffer. Such stations are too small to do more than offer baits to a warlike and indifferently controlled people, and are, moreover, extremely costly. Their object is apparently that of policing the border and affording protection to those few natives who exist on our side. But it must be pointed out that the orders issued to our troops against embroiling themselves with the immeasurably superior force across the frontier are so strict that they preclude the idea of giving any but a moral protection to anybody; further that the bulk of the small population existing on our side have come there in the last few years to shelter themselves behind those posts in order to avoid paying the not over-heavy taxes that are levied across the border and therefore are not especially worthy recipients of that protection.

Many of those who have studied the border question have felt that a casualty among the half-dozen white officers who, in as desolate a situation as it is possible to conceive, attempt to maintain our prestige along 400 miles of frontier, was merely a question of time and have wondered how we should stand when this occurred. The event is now with us, and Captain Aylmer, as gallant and able an officer as has ever served in that regiment of picked soldiers, the King's African Rifles, has been murdered in the execution of his duty. It has long been an axiom of our rule that no white life is too insignificant, and no distance too great, but that the long arm of our administration shall reach out and demand reparation and punishment should such a one be touched. Nor in Africa, at all events, and in East Africa least of all, can we afford that it should be otherwise. Perhaps such reparation will be forthcoming—for sure we have demanded it—

but if not we are faced with a position, and that of our own making, which we had well been without. Once again in Somaliland we see the danger of a show of force which is totally inadequate to effect its purpose, and once again we are faced with the two alternatives which necessarily result. Either we must face a large expenditure of lives and money, or another blow to our prestige, which will ring from end to end of native Africa.

While Abyssinia remains a nation, it is of importance to us that she remains a friendly one, and that friendship and mutual confidence can best be obtained along the avenues afforded by mutually beneficial trade. Such a channel exists in the demand for cattle that is for ever increasing in British East Africa, which demand the Abyssinians are eager to supply. The connecting link between supply and demand is afforded at present by Somali traders, but it is one that is by no means satisfactory. The Somali is oily tongued and a *persona grata* on that account with the authorities of the Protectorate, but it must be borne in mind that he has a supreme contempt for all whites and is far from enhancing our prestige in those places where he holds undisputed sway. An appreciation of this view would appear to have existed when some two years back the Chief Veterinary Officer of the Protectorate was sent up into Abyssinia to approach the Abyssinian authorities with a view to starting a legitimate trade between the two countries. The Abyssinian Government and the officer in question, with the assistance of our Minister at Adis Ababa, promulgated a scheme for the formation of a depot and customs house, such as exists on the Sudan Border for the supplying of cattle at a price mutually profitable to the Abyssinians and to East African colonists. For some unexplained reason this offer was never communicated to the settlers, but an answer was returned that the price was too high and that cattle were not wanted in East Africa, both of which statements would seem open to doubt. It is, however, to be hoped that this border question may yet be solved on these or similar lines.

Herein we have touched ever so lightly on one or two of the questions which trouble British East Africa. To suggest that they exhaust even a half of the problems which face the Governor and his officials for the time being, and of the colonists for the whole time, would be misleading. Among many other subjects of

urgency are the following: The extermination or preservation of game, the high freights demanded by the shipping combine, the use or abuse of quarantine, the question of communications and transport so admirably dealt with by Mr. Lloyd, the disposal and working of two million acres of forest of great value, education for all classes and conditions, the sanitary conditions of the capital, and the general health of the community, including the possible spread of sleeping sickness. A mere glance at this list, which might be increased *ad nauseam* with subjects of almost equal importance, must convince a critic of the need of an Administration of the highest class from top to bottom. Nevertheless, such are the resources and potentialities of the country that though good administration may hasten and bad administration may hinder its progress, the eventual result may be looked forward to without distrust.

CRANWORTH.

THE CHILD AND THE NATION

E problem of the child as representing the future must neces-ily be of vital importance to every nation, but there never s been a time in this country when the sense of responsibility wards the young was more universally recognised or made the sis of so much social and domestic legislation, collective and dividual effort.

The pulpit, the platform, and the Press are all equally loud i their insistence that the hope, salvation and future greatness f a country lie in her children, and that to neglect so paramount duty is not only morally and economically unsound, but to etray posterity and commit national suicide.

To-day is essentially the day of the child. Whatever else may go to the wall, the child is the first claim. How to house feed, clothe, and educate—in other words how to give a fair start a real opportunity to the millions of little lives that make up the rising and future generations are questions occupying the best brains in the land, which have brought to their aid all the powerful machinery, scientific, political and philanthropic, that modern civilisation provides.

Children represent national capital. To rear and maintain healthy, happy, intelligent boys and girls growing up into strong, responsible, contented men and women—that is the task we have set ourselves in this twentieth century to accomplish. Are we nearer to its attainment? Do the results, so far as we can at present see, justify the belief that in seeking the achievement of this great purpose we are taking the course that will lead to its ultimate fulfilment? It is as yet early days, and so much preventive work, which is of the utmost value, is necessarily in an experimental stage. One great advance has been made. At last we have had the common sense to begin at the beginning, to

ıake the baby the bed-rock. Hitherto our energies have been rincipally directed to mitigating the after effects of evils that ıould never have arisen.

It has taken us years to realise to any practical purpose he enormous part environment plays, not only in the development f the body but in the development of character. Slum areas re not conducive to the production of either saints or Sandows. 'he housing question, both rural and urban, is being taken eriously and systematically in hand. The slums of our great cities, 'hich are a national disgrace, are gradually passing away, and ıough the huge blocks of dwellings that have taken their place ave much to be desired, quick transit and garden cities are no onger the utopian dream of the social reformer, but a businesske reality that is rapidly developing, and will go far towards the olution of the housing problem in our great towns, while a complete revision of rural housing is now undergoing investigation, nd legislation is already foreshadowed. Some years of free ducation have led, perhaps inevitably, to free feeding. It was ontended, and not without reason, that to attempt to cram illourished, half-starved brains was not only inhuman but useless. scheme for the feeding of necessitous children has been adopted nd carried with very little opposition, and although of comaratively recent date great results are claimed as regards both hysical and mental improvement.

It seems not unlikely free clothing will follow as a natural onsequence, and with the boot and clothing clubs to which the arents contribute little or nothing, and the enormous amount of arments annually distributed through the schools and by private harity, free clothing is to a great extent already in existence.

The enlarging of the child's outlook in life, not so much by ook learning but by direct contact with nature, is one of the any experiments that has been carried out with almost uniersal success. Happy days spent in rural surroundings, memories f blue skies and green fields could not but be beneficial to those hose environment is too often narrow, sordid and vicious. ountry holidays for town-bred children provided by the County ouncil at a mere nominal cost to the parents, or more usually ıtirely at the expense of some charitable agency, have in thousands f cases become a yearly expectation and delight.

This is only a comparatively small part of the great work that going forward for the regeneration of the race through the child. ,very year municipal and other authorities are vested with new owers, and vast sums are expended to ensure better conditions ,nd healthier surroundings, while mothers are given every facility)y municipal and private enterprise to help and instruct them in the upbringing of their young. Lecturers and visiting nurses give information and advice, and literature containing valuable hints on health and infant care is widely distributed. Modern science and medical research are united in a great crusade against disease; experiments in curative and preventive measures are being carried out on an extensive scale, while a host of inspectors are constantly kept at work to see that by-laws for the amelioration and uplifting of the people are not being neglected.

Most of us who watch with keen interest and sympathy the efforts of the various elements at work congratulate ourselves daily that the claim of the child has not been put forward in vain, that the nation is at last alive to its responsibilities and duties, that a freer, healthier, happier childhood awaits those that are to be.

Others there are perhaps among us who, while appreciating to the full the magnitude of the task in hand but looking beyond the immediate future, betray a not unnatural fear that in the very eagerness to sweep away present evils and obtain immediate results, there is danger of creating new and possibly greater difficulties, while running the serious risk of losing much that is valuable. Great objects are not attained without great sacrifices Great movements for good have never been carried to a successfu issue without the exaction of very heavy penalties. The pric must always be paid, and while no one would grudge the tim labour, and money that have been so lavishly expended of recei years, there are possessions in the keeping of every nation with (from) which it cannot part except with grave danger and injury itself.

In our eagerness to give the rising generation every opp tunity, physically, mentally and morally, we have been partly through ignorance, partly by necessity, to tamper with sanctity of family relationship, to weaken parental responsibil to substitute State aid for maternal instinct, thereby destro

one of the greatest incentives for good and loosening the whole fabric on which our social and community life is built up.

Year by year we see a lessening in the ideal of motherhood; year by year parental authority is being further ignored and abandoned; while year by year the State steps in, not to compel the parents to undertake their natural obligations. but to relieve them of their primary duties. The schools with their free feeding, medical inspection, visiting nurses, cleansing stations, boot clubs and housewifery centres have long ceased to be educational in the sense that we apply to book learning, but rather have turned themselves into institutions where children are trained, receive those personal attentions, and in many cases are supplied with the necessaries of life that should be the right and privilege of every parent to provide.

Then the early age at which so-called instruction begins has converted our infant departments into veritable nurseries, for in many cases the little pupils can scarcely walk or speak. Though they doubtless enjoy the toys and games generously provided, with the regulation periods of sleep, under the supervision of a kindly mistress, and the mothers are usually only too willing that the State should relieve them of the trouble of looking after their offspring, there is something fundamentally wrong in all this.

And again the training of the older girls in those domestic and household duties that used to be the pride and care of many a humble mother has now become a thing of the past. The mother is no longer needed. The State has undertaken her work. Though it will not be denied that in many cases the mothers had neither time nor inclination, and that there is material gain in a teaching and training that is certainly more thorough and systematic, on the other hand the mother and daughter, perhaps even the nation itself, are the poorer for the loss of that family intercourse, that individual and personal touch that is apart from any housewifery centre. Surely we have wandered far from the old belief that a child depends for its existence and upbringing not upon the State, but upon the instinct, care, intelligence and unselfish devotion of the parents. In relieving the father of his primary duty to provide for his family, in usurping the most sacred rights of the mother in constituting itself foster-parent, the State is in danger of inflicting a mortal blow to that home

d family life which, as guardian of the nation's most cherished eal, should have been its first duty to uphold and preserve.

But the cost is not limited to principle. In order to carry ut the various social experiments to ensure such conditions hat the rising and future generations may have a fair start ecessarily involves vast expenditure. This entails heavy taxaion, and in the levying of these taxes there has been very little wisdom or foresight. To meet the constant and increasing demands made in the name of social reform resort has been had to the most reckless finance, which has not only reacted adversely on industry, raised the cost of production, and created unemployment, but has destroyed all confidence and security, and by the very methods by which it was forced on an unwilling electorate has gone far to endanger that sense of responsibility and mutual trust which have hitherto characterised the relations between rich and poor.

Again, we cannot regard without grave misgiving the increasing tendency among the upper and middle classes to limit their families, which in countless cases is in direct consequence of the heavy financial burdens laid upon them. Every act of Parliament seems to react on them, new liabilities are heaped upon them, their difficulties increased, their profits further reduced. Having provided other people's children with the "fair start," they now find it almost impossible to give anything like the same advantages to their own unless they altogether sink their social status. No wonder large families are becoming increasingly rare, and are a cause of condolence rather than con gratulation. The good industrious working man is an equa sufferer with the class above him. He is too independent t accept the proffered State aid, he makes provision for his ow children. Year by year he finds the cost of living going up, h rent is raised to meet the increase in the rates, his few luxuri are further taxed, not in order that the most deserving m benefit, but too often that the families of his wholly worthl companions may be supported. With one eye on the ballot-b and driven by a wave of sentiment and humanitarianism tha often as foolish as it is false, there has been no discrimination very little foresight, with the result that we are in dange —ducing from the wrong end. We are deliberately encoura ... valuable, the least responsibl

increase and multiply, while compelling those who have an equal if not greater right to be considered to furnish the very means by which an indulgent State may see them through and undertake all future liabilities.

These are but a few of the great problems the far-reaching effects of which are as yet only dimly foreseen, but which compel the attention of all thoughtful people, raising as they do questions of vital issue for the future. In the great task we have undertaken for the regeneration of the race through the child, much has already been sacrificed, much is again demanded. Do the results so far justify the sacrifices that have been made? It would be well-nigh impossible at this stage to make adequate reply to this question, but as it is required of all trustees periodically to render account and present a balance sheet, so the nation as trustee for posterity must from time to time be ready to lay open its books, to show its record of loss and gain, to look at facts as they are, not as it would have them be. After some years of great effort, costly experiment, much display of public spirit and unselfish devotion, we have a right to ask ourselves—are we nearer the attainment of our great object, are we as a nation growing stronger, healthier, more responsible, more contented? It would be difficult to give an unqualified affirmative to either of these questions.

(1) Are we healthier? Much may be legitimately expected of the great crusade against disease, whilst preventive and curative measures are already showing valuable results, which are again borne out in the steady decrease in the death-rate, especially among young children. On the other hand it may be maintained that through the advance of modern science and medical skill thousands of weakly and sickly lives are now kept going only to struggle out a weary existence and to give birth to others equally deficient. It may be after all that Nature, with her somewhat crude methods and rigid creed of survival of the fittest, is from the point of view of the nation and the individual the wisest and most humane.

The time and attention devoted to physical development, outdoor exercises and organised games, cannot be but beneficial, and yet it is significant that in order to obtain recruits both fighting Services have had to lower their standards of requirements. How many young men and women of the present day are

capable of doing continuous work that demands any great mental or physical effort without a breakdown more or less serious? With the exception of those industries where machinery has deliberately replaced labour, two are constantly employed where one was previously found to be sufficient. The cry is always for shorter hours and lighter work, and though this may be due more to the action of the trade unions and the prevailing idea that the worker has a right to greater freedom and the enjoyment of leisure hours than to actual incapacity to perform the allotted task, it is a fact that cannot be denied. The continual and increasing aggregation of the rural population into the great cities, and the consequent overcrowding and competition, the hustle and bustle of modern civilisation with its nerve-racking noises, the practice in trades of "speeding up," followed by long periods of depression and enforced idleness, cannot fail to tell adversely on the health of a people. Again it may be pleaded time and patience are necessary. You cannot retard the tide of civilisation; you cannot make a people healthy by Act of Parliament, though you ensure every condition, inflict every penalty and cover the land with sanatoria. Prejudice is strong, ignorance colossal, and human nature, however adaptable, cannot be forced beyond a certain pace. New difficulties must arise, experiments are costly both in time and money, failures are certain, but if we would serve the real interests of the individual and the nation we should show the people not only what the State will do for them, but what they can do for themselves, and teach them to realise the personal element, the personal responsibility of every citizen, so far as lies within his power, to make and keep himself and his children sound in mind and body.

(2) Is the sense of responsibility growing among us? It will not be denied that there is a great movement towards a wider recognition of duty and a deep desire for improvement, and there are many signs that give hope for the future. But among all classes we see far too much apathy, self-indulgence, shirking, dislike of any kind of preparation that involves the slightest sacrifice or personal inconvenience. There is a want of grit, perseverance, tenacity of purpose, the desire to see a thing through. But though there may be much that is unsatisfactory, we are not a degenerate people, and there is no need to join in the rather cheap pessimistic cry that we are going straight to

ie dogs. But as a nation we cannot stand still; we are not the
nly country in the world or even in Europe. There are others
ith an equal, if not greater, capacity for patriotism and self-
crifice, and in the final test the fate of a nation is decided not
nly by the number of her "Dreadnoughts" and Army Corps,
ut by the character of her people.

(3) Contentment will scarcely claim a place among the virtues
f this generation. But far from deprecating, many regard this
s a hopeful sign, a necessary preliminary to all upward move-
ients, and would have us believe that discontent is essential in
rder to stimulate and encourage a new order of things. How-
ver this may be, the growing discontent among the young people
f the present day does not tend to make either the home or the
ational life happier or easier. Among the masses the education
iven in the school is indirectly answerable for much that is un-
atisfactory in the home. Educated beyond their station in a
ewildering variety of subjects, the children too often grow up
estless and dissatisfied, totally unfitted for the positions they
ave to occupy. On all sides, but especially among the young
vomen, there is a want of balance, a strenuous straining after
xcitement and something new. Ideas are taken up and imbibed
vith feverish delight only to be immediately discarded for the
iext. Religion is losing its hold, while the beliefs which helped
nd inspired our forefathers have no meaning for the present
eneration. Contentment with their lot is the last thing sought
r desired, a spirit which is fostered and kept alive by the literature
f the day and the ceaseless activities of Socialist agitators and
vould-be reformers of every class and creed. We cannot look
ipon the tendencies of the youth of to-day without misgivings as
o the future. The destruction of home life. the growing in-
lependence, the shirking of responsibility, the insistent demand
of "all for nothing" cannot fail to endanger the highest tradi-
tions of community life.

And yet in spite of all deep down in the heart of the people
lies the conviction that the nation in its own way, in its own time,
is moving towards something better, a nobler ideal of itself. In
times of transition and experiment defects invariably appear
uppermost, are always the more obvious, and in consequence
assume an exaggerated importance. Time, faith, patience, are
needed, and again patience. Unfortunately in the carrying out

of this great work of regeneration too much is left to the faddist and to the political opportunist, who, whatever their qualifications may be, lack two essentials—patience and foresight. The faddist is immersed in detail, the opportunist is always in a hurry; so while, on the one hand, we see the National schools yearly becoming more and more benevolent institutions, on the other, politicians are scouring the country purchasing the people's votes by promises for them and their children. The problem of the child and the regeneration of the race cannot be solved by a few Acts of Parliament, municipal regulations, or doles from education authorities. However materially they may and do assist, the true salvation of a people lies in the people themselves and in the realisation of the powers they possess.

The State must do its part, but it has a right to demand, and should demand a corresponding effort on the part of the individual. The State has done much for the child; what shall the child do for the State? The State gives, the State should receive. Yet so little is this recognised among all classes to-day that it is openly acknowledged by political leaders that it would be fatal to the interests of their Party to advocate any form of compulsory service in defence of the country, which is, after all, but the first duty and highest privilege of citizenship.

Such is the growing spirit of the age, for which would-be reformers, doubtless with the best of intentions, are in no small way responsible. All those great qualities that make up the character of a people—self-sacrifice, self-reliance, self-restraint, and self-respect—are not inculcated by an indulgent State undertaking all obligations while exacting no return, nor is it by advocating such methods that we can best render service to the individual and the nation. In the eagerness to repair past neglect, to sweep away crying evils and obtain immediate results irreparable mistakes are often made, much that is valuable is often sacrificed. We can but lay the foundations, others must build; we can but point the way for others to follow, and we should betray posterity and be false to our trust if, in the very earnestness of the desire to reach the wished-for end, we lose hold of any one of those great principles and ideals which, however incomplete and deficient they may appear to the present generation, have nevertheless raised us to the position of the greatest of all nations.

DÉSIRÉE WELBY.

THE PROBLEM OF WALES

Any Party confronted by a solid and stable block of hostile constituencies is so manifestly a Party at a disadvantage that no excuses are required for a systematic attempt to trace the trouble to its source. In the Home Counties and in the Liverpool and Birmingham areas Liberalism is stagnant and almost negligible, but it has its compensations, and probably the greatest of these is Wales. Other districts may be lost from time to time but Wales presents a permanent problem. Wales, with Monmouthshire, returns thirty-four members to Parliament, three Conservatives by precarious majorities, and thirty-one Coalitionists. Twelve of these seats are embraced by the populous industrial area of South Wales, while the remaining twenty-two almost exclusively represent the agricultural interest. The problem of Wales therefore comprises two separate problems. Let us deal with the country districts first.

Everybody knows that the great question in Welsh politics is, and has been for the last twenty-five years, that of Disestablishment, but few people outside the Principality can realise how absolutely that dominates everything else and how exactly political differences follow religious. Rural Wales is ranged in two hostile camps, Chapel *versus* Church, Radical *versus* Conservative, with only about ten per cent. of neutrals (mostly in the country towns), tending to the Conservative side. Not only is the division very sharp but Nonconformist aggression has rendered it terribly bitter, and it extends to the most ordinary transactions of life. As the pulpit reeks of politics, so the breakfast table reeks of religion—or religious controversy, as it had better be called. "You're not a Radical, I suppose?" I asked a man casually one day. "This is what I am," he replied indignantly, indicating a gold cross on his chain, in his view a sufficient denial

to my words. Or again, "So-and-so seems very pious?" "Oh dear, no, on the contrary he's quite a sound Tory!" . . . There are practically no Liberal Churchmen in Wales and very few Conservative Nonconformists, and the result of the absence of any of the cross currents that temper English politics is that the Welsh have never formed an independent judgment on any of the essentially secular political questions that sway the rest of the country, and the polls offer no key to what their real opinions on these may be. To claim the rural Welsh in the proportion of ten to one as Home Rulers, or supporters of the Insurance Act, or Limehousers or Landbusters, because they send a majority that sits on the Radical side, is utter nonsense. They simply send a Chapel majority, and no other question has ever counted or ever will count till the Church has been dragged through the mire; and so the point I want to emphasise, as I shall emphasise it all through this article, is that, leaving aside for the moment the demerits of the Welsh Church Bill itself, the fact of its having passed (if it should pass) would be a Godsend electorally to the Conservative Party in Wales. We want the genuinely political questions brought to the fore. Only a deep sense of religious grievance and injury is holding the Radical Party together at the present time under the sting of the Insurance Act and in face of the dangers threatened to agriculture by the Land Campaign. In Wales, as in England, the natural bias of county constituencies is conservative when agricultural questions are not submerged. Wales will follow that natural bias when the time arrives.

A few words about Disestablishment. The intrinsic justice of the case, as any impartial Welshman will tell you, is all on the side of the Church, but the question has been talked threadbare and I am not going to argue it all over again here. I want to use the controversy merely as an instrument in opening the reader's eyes to the real Wales. I want to show him Welsh Nonconformity undisguised, to peep with him into Welsh village life, and to point out how a system of social and "religious" tyranny can be and is used for Party ends, so that he may understand the material on which the Conservative Party has got to work. . . . The first point to realise is that the driving force of the anti-Church Party, and incidentally the keynote of the Welsh Radical character, is greed—greed and bitterness, but especially greed. The money

trail is over the whole movement, as it was over Marconis and the payment of M.P.s. Do not be led away by the people who talk of Disendowment as an act of Justice and "Restitution" to Wales. Money left to the Anglican Church *is* money left to the Anglican Church, and no amount of half-hearted historical jugglery by Mr. McKenna can alter the fact. Again, do not be induced to think that Church sacrilege is a matter of principle. When the psalm-smiting fraternity refused Disestablishment without Disendowment that polite fiction also was knocked on the head. Lastly understand that the setting of all denominations on an equality, as it is called, is not sought in the interests of religion. M. is a parish in North Wales with a present income of £400, out of which a vicar and two curates have to be supported, also an expensive vicarage and a fine but crumbling old church. The parish is a poor one, but under the present Bill it is estimated that its income of £400 will dwindle down to £12. Is it "Religion" that engineers a debacle like this? No, the real grievance of Welsh Nonconformity is tithe. A store-keeper in a country district of Cardiganshire put this very clearly to me. "About here," he said, "there are three chapels with 200 members each, and one church with less than 100 communicants. I give according to my means to my chapel, but in addition I must pay £5 10*s*. a year on my bit of land to the solicitors of the parson." Well, that is an intelligible grievance, but the extraordinary thing is that, contrary to the belief of so many Welshmen, Disestablishment in this particular affords no relief. Tithe will have to be paid just the same, and the paltry sum at stake (though everything to the Church, it amounts to no more than a penny rate) is not even to be used for the relief of the rates, but for the endowment of museums and things that nobody seems to want. . . . The money greed! Yes, it may temporarily sap the activities of the Church, but remember, when the Church has been robbed of its endowments Welshmen will look round for new fields to plunder. Then it will be the turn of the men who imposed the Insurance Tax and the burdens of Limehouse Finance.

Next I want you to study Welsh Radical Nonconformity in its relation to village life. A good deal is heard on some English platforms of that intolerant autocrat the village parson. Why do not the same orators tell their dupes something about the

Welsh village tyranny of the unco guid? If it is "Reaction" for a village to be dominated by its leading resident in England, why is the same thing so happy an arrangement when it happens to occur in Wales? I do not want to seem to overstate the case, but if you want to understand Welsh politics you must first understand Welshmen; and if Welsh Nonconformity is to be judged by the lives and morals of its leading upholders in the villages, then it stands condemned as a hotch-pot of hysteria, hypocrisy, meanness, and vice. In the first place rural Wales is priestridden to an extent that Nationalist Ireland certainly never was. If you go to church you are branded as a Conservative. No freedom of conscience is allowed—to those who differ from the majority. Many a commercial traveller has told me the pitiable story of how possible clients bully his class, when they dare, about their religion and the regularity with which they attend public worship, giving or withholding orders according to their replies. In some parts so pious are the great that they have evolved a hybrid personage called a "temperance grocer"! When I was at Bangor a great disturbance was going on, Nonconformist homes were in an uproar, chapels were aflame, local Chadbands were consuming ink, paper, and breath in protest against the infraction of the old Welsh Puritan Sabbath, and what do you think the awful offence had been? Some English workmen (bless their hearts!) employed in the vicinity had *whistled in the street!* . . . This in one of the largest towns. In the country the poor have no souls to call their own. Before Conservatives can expect to make headway they must win Freedom of Speech. Where no one is independent enough to give rebels a lead they are driven to chapel in droves. Boycott, social ostracism, rough handling, and unemployment are the weapons they fear unless they not only vote but worship "straight." Here is the secret of the emigration problem as it applies to Wales; it is not that the landlords refuse to build houses or that the land will not support the people, but that the people will not support the gloomy, bigoted tyranny of the whited sepulchres who rule village life.

The truth is that the chapels of Wales live buried in the unpleasant past. It is a curious paradox that a clique professing to be Progressive should have so grotesque a weakness for traditional animosities. If the Anglican Church did once

tyrannise over Nonconformist liberty of conscience, and if a period of indifference to Welsh religious needs succeeded, has not the Church made amendment during the last half-century, and is there any possibility of it happening again? You would imagine that men professing as great an enthusiasm for Christ as the Welsh Dissenters do, would gladly help rather than despoil the Church that is doing the greatest work for Christ of any Church in Wales to-day. But no. You see, it is the daily bread, the wages, the MONEY, of Welsh Nonconformist ministers to keep alive these centuries-old grievances in the minds of their flocks, to lash them into periodical paroxysms of hatred, to scratch the old festering sores of memory and prevent their healing, and always to play upon that spirit of bitterness and resentment which, *by magnifying their influence, provides them with their* pay. It may seem ludicrous to broader English minds, but in Wales the Great Ejectment of 1662 is just as topical as something that might have happened last year. Successive generations of professors of a religion unlike any other religion in the world have kept it alive for two centuries and a half. These are Conservatism's real enemies—not the working man.

Thirdly and last, Welsh Nonconformity, and indeed the whole question of Welsh politics, must be considered in its relation to nationality. This question of nationality is a very important one. Is Wales a nation? Has it a separate nationality of its own? Of course there are people who sneer at any kind of Nationalism, just as there are others who would have an Eisteddfod for every pair of adjacent backyards. Wales, though her people do not assert themselves abroad, for instance, like the Irish or Scotch, is undoubtedly a nation in the sense of having national characteristics (some of which nobody need envy her), an old language that drags out an existence side by side with English, a morbid taste for preaching and song (though as a matter of fact even the Eisteddfod, despite its booming in the Press, draws fewer people in a week than a popular race-meeting will in an afternoon), and certain national hereditary aptitudes, as, *e.g.* for the milk business and the drapery trade. This is all very well, but it is not what is commonly meant by the phrase Welsh Nationalism. All chances of a Welsh Nationalism founded in a common past and subservient to imperial pride, a healthy form of local patriotism

which all might share, have been spoiled by a rank political overgrowth. Every essentially Welsh institution, celebration, or tradition nowadays seems to be regarded by the Radical Party as a potential means for furthering its own ends and exciting prejudice against its political opponents. There is always a subtle aim to keep Conservatives outside the pale, to have them looked upon as aliens, to capture Nationalism as a Party weapon, and to pretend that Liberalism is *the* Welsh National Creed. This pseudo-Nationalism is of quite recent growth. It has only existed in fact a little over a quarter of a century, and it was not spontaneous in its origin. It was flogged into being to serve a definite political purpose, *i.e.* the defeat of Conservative candidates at the time the late Lord Rendel won Montgomeryshire and broke the domination of the Wynns. All this is admitted by Radicals themselves, and it is obvious that a Nationalism which is only an artificially stimulated electioneering dodge, a Nationalism in which one-third of the nation is grudged its proper share, is no real Nationalism at all. The question then arises, are we to play at our opponents' game and aim at the creation of a Welsh Conservative Party, or are we to regard Wales as an intrinsic part of Great Britain and (to use rather an unsatisfactory expression) to proceed with the campaign against Radicalism on the lines of Anglicising Wales ?

Well, there are people who consider that the Conservative Party has gone far enough in recent years in trying to conciliate hostile opinion and outbid the Radicals for votes. On the other hand, they point out, independently of politics altogether, the process of Anglicising Wales proceeds apace. By this nothing inimical to proper local pride is intended, but merely that an influx of new ideas is bringing toleration and the hope of freedom in its train. All along the border England is pushing into Wales. In Montgomery, for instance, Welsh is scarcely heard now except for the telling of *risqué* stories—the inversion lending itself admirably to producing the point at the end! The coast resorts grow more popular every year, and numberless English families are making their homes there to cater for the tourists' wants. South Wales is not absorbing its new and cosmopolitan population half as fast as it arrives. Everywhere picture palaces are springing up, fiercely denounced by the brotherhood because

they bring the younger generation to a happier, healthier view of life before which the old system of chapel intolerance is inevitably breaking down. What that intolerance can still be I will illustrate, and it will show how essential to rational progress and political development some measure of Anglicisation is.

X is an Englishman who to his sorrow has sunk his entire capital in an hotel at a certain Radical village among the mountains of Wales. Here, as is usual in primitive communities, there are no public conveniences, and amongst other things no common water-supply. The villagers use water that comes off the land of a resident—a woman—whom they pay according to what they use. This woman is a Radical, a Dissenter, Welsh, and mean like the rest of her type. In course of time X's clientele increased, and he decided to build a bathroom. Now anybody who knows Central Wales knows that whatever else may be lacking there—tolerance, cleanliness, morality—it is not water. But X is an Englishman, a Conservative and a Churchman, therefore a man to be stabbed in the back. He is told he cannot have water laid on to his bathroom; he can come across the road to the tap in the wall and fill his new-fangled monstrosity with buckets when so required. Thereupon X informed his landlord and decided to get compulsory power. What happened? Immediately, as if by magic, all his local patrons ceased to come to the house at all. One, a labouring man bolder than the rest, was seen drinking a cup of tea in his stable yard. He was warned. And, most typically Welsh feature of all, X's little girl was deliberately bullied and ostracised by the children at the school. There is no redress in a matter of this sort in Wales. The personnel of the Bench forbids.* So X had to admit defeat. There is no tap to his bathroom yet.

* As an instance of the way in which Welsh magistrates allow apparent personal prejudices to affect their decisions, consider the following dialogue in the Porth Police Court, reported in the *Daily News*, when a collier was prosecuted for card-playing (not an offence in itself):

MAGISTRATE. Isn't this (viz. prisoner) the man who is corrupting the youths of this district by teaching them to play cards?

DEFENDANT. No, I have never taught anybody.

MAGISTRATE. I don't believe a word you say.

DEFENDANT. Well, you ought to, sir. . . . You won't believe anybody.

A fine of £5 was imposed.

Cases like this I could multiply, each one a stubborn, unpleasant fact. There is the suffocating atmosphere of Hawarden, where indeed Radicalism takes no sterner measures than social ostracism, but even so it is almost impossible for an active political opponent to live. There is the Mid-Wales community whose fanatical squire, a prominent Radical politician, has by his land monopoly been able to deprive the people of their only licensed house. There is the seaside resort whose ground landlord, also a Radical, is engaged in a great struggle to compel the Local Council to treble the value of his property without expense to himself--the very thing to which the Land Campaign professes to be going to put a stop! . . . What is wanted in rural Wales is something more than an ordinary political campaign to free the labourer from his chains. What is wanted is a social crusade.

Radicals tell us that the next General Election is going to be fought on Land. Nothing could be more favourable to Conservative prospects in Wales. Limehouse orations, if not cogitated upon too deeply, may tickle city palates, but in the country, where these things are understood, any attempt at revolutionary measures will cause a landslide, once the religious question has been got out of the way. Rural Wales has little cause to love Lloyd George. The Insurance Act is hated. It is realised that the whole policy of a Liberal Government is to neglect the country (except for taxation purposes) and to toady to the towns. Land valuation has proved a ghastly and expensive failure. Everywhere the farmers are in arms against a further inroad on their resources. Hitherto it has often been difficult to discover the politics of Welsh farmers. When not Radicals, being outnumbered prudencé has bade them lie low, but now in parts like the Border Counties and South Pembrokeshire they are Conservatives almost to a man, and elsewhere, to attempt a broad definition, *qua* farmers they are generally Conservatives, and Radicals only when their Nonconformist prejudices outweigh everything else.

Now the outstanding feature of the Chancellor's forthcoming proposals, as of all Radical legislation, will be its cost. Can farming stand it? Will farmers stand it? It should be borne in mind that despite an appearance of prosperity, the farmer's burden has very materially increased in recent years, and farming

is not exactly a lucrative profession. In Wales you find that few of the prosperous farmers really owe their prosperity to farming; they have made their fortunes as a rule in the milk business either in London or Liverpool, and have returned with capital to buy and adequately conduct a farm. There you have one of the most important requirements of modern agriculture—Capital. And what is the Radical attitude towards Capital? To disturb it and drive it abroad. . . . And again, does Liberalism assist the would-be purchaser? No, it is the Conservatives who offer loans at low interest from the State. . . . And Co-operation. This too Conservatism would foster with its Land Bank scheme. . . . Other considerations that militate against the Welsh farmer are poor and deficient land, lack of transit facilities and convenient markets (except in Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire), and a third is lack of technical education. Here once more Conservatism comes to the rescue. Less fancy education and more practical tuition, according to local requirements, has always been a Conservative plank. But the farmer's greatest handicap of all, which prevents him paying huge wages and doing all the other jolly things that idealists would have him do, is the price he is often compelled to pay for his farm *as a direct result of Limehouse Finance*. The process is something like this. Owing to increased taxation and the general unrest, a landowner decides to break up his estate. He is a man probably who has lived his life in the country, keenly interested in agriculture, with local associations from time immemorial, knowing his tenants personally, and generous in his dealings with them—one of the old aristocracy in fact. But who are the likely purchasers of such an estate unless the tenants acquire their own holdings for themselves? *Nouveau riche* manufacturers, often Radicals or aliens, men who have bought titles and now want land to match, men with no practical knowledge of farming, no interest in the land except for the prestige or amusement it can afford, and snobbishly intolerant of the traditions of the countryside. It is to escape the domination of these gentry that farmers make almost incredible sacrifices to buy their homes outright: they do not fancy the alternative of taking up small holdings for the ultimate benefit of that worst of landlords, the bureaucracy; the State does not help them; money has to be borrowed at a high rate of interest,

and they cripple themselves with mortgages for evermore. There in its actual working you have Lloyd George finance. . . . The Welsh are a homely peasant people. They have the ambition to be small proprietors—the proportion of small proprietors in Wales is double that of England. It is true that only a small proportion of small-holding applicants apply to purchase, but that is because the terms of the Act discourage any such thing. Stability and a minimum of State interference and tyrannous taxation—there you have the Welsh attitude of hope so far as the farmers are concerned.

With the agricultural labourer it is somewhat different. As a class he is Radically inclined even where the farmers are most Tory. Partly this is a tradition based on the false old insinuation that Radicalism is the poor man's Party and Nonconformity the poor man's religion,* but very largely it is because the Conservative position is never presented to him in the Press. Consider the position of the yokel in North and Central Wales. As a rule he speaks both English and Welsh with some degree of intelligence, but he can only read comfortably in Welsh. The general Press is therefore a sealed book to him. His only reading he gets from the scurrilous Welsh weekly prints which suppress all facts that might help him to an independent judgment. Naturally under the circumstances he views all political questions with a Radical bias. How would the Radicals like it if by way of reprisal all English workmen could be reared on an exclusive diet of *National Review?* . . . And here I should like to revert for a moment to what I said about nationality. You can see now why it is one of the great ambitions of the pseudo-national Radicals to bolster up the Welsh language, against the tendency of the times which is to make English supreme. Only so can a large portion of the rural electorate be kept under the thumb of the preachers and prevented from ever hearing the Conservative case properly presented at all. There is a stock fable that the Welshman is not a reading man, but prefers the spoken word. If the spoken word was spoken by Conservatives and Churchmen, there would soon be a startling change.

The leading concern of the agricultural labourer is wages. The

* In Glamorganshire alone, Welsh Congregationalists number among their enrolled members at least a dozen millionaires, according to the *Daily News*.

wages paid by the unco guid in Wales are low—very low if you judge by the standards of social reformers like Mr. Rowntree, the presumption perhaps being that the spiritual grace to be derived from working for a man who delivers himself on the Sabbath at Bethel or Rabab is worth another 5*s*. or so a week. When I was in Pembrokeshire, where wages are by no means so low as they are elsewhere (Cardiganshire, for instance), I took a cutting from a local paper reporting a meeting of the Haverfordwest Rural District Council. This august body divides its employés into three sections, first class, 17*s*. to 18*s*. a week, second class, 15*s*. to 16*s*., and third class, *under* 14*s*. And this is a public authority—the ideal employer of the Socialist imagination! Of course it may be argued that a rural labourer is as well off at any rate on 17*s*. to 18*s*. a week as a town dweller on a good deal more. Cash wages in the country are supplemented in many ways, and no sane man would encourage the labouring classes to expect such wages as would, by riding rough-shod over economic laws, inevitably result in the bankruptcy of the employer. But what does need pointing out is that if rural wages all over the country are really a scandal and distress to the kind heart of Mr. Lloyd George, reform, like charity, ought to begin at home. When the Chancellor abuses landlords in Oxfordshire or Wiltshire or any other county that happens to vote against him, and says nothing about employers in Wales, the presumption is that local labour is rewarded at quite a princely sum. It is on a par with the rest of the hypocrisy of Radicalism that it is not.

There is one point more, and it is a more personal element, hero-worship of Lloyd George. It may be laughable enough to educated people, but the Chancellor's place is next above the Deity in many humble homes. He has done what so few Welshmen do—made a stir in the big world outside Wales. His notoriety is, so to speak, a kind of second line of defence to his Party—if you don't love Radicalism for itself you embrace it because it means Lloyd George. This factor in the situation cannot be ignored, for, though there is the severest reaction against his policy, it is no good imagining that the conceited speeches which nauseate the rest of the nation are going to injure him in Wales. Comparisons of self to Biblical characters move the ridicule of the Saxon, but the Welsh will not laugh because they do not

know how to laugh. Even the Marconi gamble, opposed as it was to all the professed principles of the man, did not stagger Wales as it staggered England. What has injured him, however, is the departure of the Liberal Party under his guidance from the paths of Liberalism. It is a complaint that Mr. Chesterton, Mr. Massingham and others have all made, and its force is exemplified by the number of Welshmen you may meet who claim to be Liberals and will call themselves nothing else, but who are preparing to vote Conservative because Conservatism now approximates most nearly to the old Liberal principles in which they were brought up. Not we, they complain, but the Liberal Party has changed. " Where is the Freedom of the subject, where is the Individualism for which Liberalism stood? Peace they have only kept by a rigid adherence to Conservative Foreign Policy; Retrenchment they have abandoned; they have boggled with Reform."

M. O. SALE.

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

I

It is not often that the result of a Canadian by-election can be taken as a safe criterion of the opinion of the electorate as a whole. The Party in power can do so much for a constituency—indeed the process of "salting" is the business of the Party as much as it is the individual politician's in Canadian practice—and the Opposition can do so little that the average voter's keen sense of local patriotism often prevents him from voting against a Government he detests on such occasions. He sees that the return of an Opposition member will not help his side in the slightest degree (as long as one Party has a decisive majority in the House of Commons the other is out of action), whereas it will certainly cause his native town to lose those tangible benefits which a rival metropolis, it may be, is already receiving at the hands of a grateful Administration which is "near the pile," as the Welsh shepherd said of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Accordingly, he curbs his political conscience until the next General Election, when there will be an opportunity of making a clean sweep of the men in possession of the flesh-pots. This paltering with principles (it is nothing less) is an inevitable result of the demoralising "Spoils System," and a frequent effect of it is that a doomed Government goes on winning by-elections (as in the years immediately preceding 1896 and 1911) when the nation has already sentenced it to death. Thus the débacle of 1911, like that of 1896, was utterly unforeseen by the managers of the Party "machine" that was destined to be scrapped by the merciless hands of Jack Canuck with his mind made up. Of late years, however, the by-election has not always and in all places followed the course

of expediency for the time being; the larger cities are now so wealthy, the standard of political honour has been so much raised, that no amount of expenditure and no largesse of promises can bribe the more important constituencies into countenancing an unpopular and undesirable Administration. I have no doubt whatever that the time is not far distant when a by-election will throw as much light on the dynamics of public opinion in Canada as it does in the Mother Country.

It is impossible, however, to regard the success of the Conservative candidate in the recent by-election in Châteauguay, an important French-Canadian constituency, as anything less than a warning to the Liberal remnant that the country strongly disapproves of the way in which they have obstructed the Naval policy of the Borden Cabinet. It was generally believed that the Liberals would hold Châteauguay though the deceased member had only a majority of 40 two years ago—a narrow escape which loses much of its significance when it is remembered that the French-Canadian is supposed to be much more strongly opposed to Mr. Borden's Naval policy than he was to the ratification of the American Reciprocity convention, an issue which left French Canada cold in comparison with any of the English-speaking Provinces. Here at last, it was thought, the French-Canadian elector would have an opportunity of declaring his detestation of a scheme of Naval Aid which Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest living *Canadien*, had defined as the beginning of a system of paying tribute to the "Militarists" of wealthy England. Châteauguay, moreover, is one of the "Eastern Townships" group of constituencies, for the Liberal organisation of which Mr. Sydney Fisher had long been responsible. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that Mr. Fisher was one of the ablest and strongest of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Ministers. His ability was shown by his administration of the Department of Agriculture, which, seeing that 45 per cent. of the people of Canada are directly dependent on that industry for their means of livelihood, must always rank as one of the most important tasks a Canadian statesman can undertake. Even his opponents admit that Mr. Fisher fulfilled his task admirably and with the imaginativeness and power of initiative which are the characteristics of applied statesmanship. He has a practical knowledge of agriculture, in addition

to his other qualifications, and it would be a great boon to British agriculture, I am very sure, if a man of his energy and intelligence could be found to look after its interests. As for Mr. Fisher's determination, the Dundonald Affair says all that need be said on that score; he provoked a quarrel with that brilliant soldier, whose plan of reorganising the Militia has been carried out in detail since his laudable "act of insubordination," and achieved all that he had in view when the provocation was arranged. Mr. Fisher has never been popular; he was never a "good mixer," as the phrase is; he could not or would not suffer fools gladly. The Dundonald Affair did not add to his popularity, nor was his Civil Service Reform Act approved of by those minor politicians who think that every Minister should have a "glad hand" for the pettiest partisan—with something in the palm of it, if possible. On the whole we may say that he was better as an administrator than as a politician. In Châteauguay it is the custom for every Party to nominate a French-Canadian candidate for the Provincial legislature, and an English-speaking candidate for the Dominion House of Commons. No fault can be found with the way in which Mr. Fisher organised and fought his campaign, and yet he was so decisively defeated that many Liberal journals are inclined to despair of the future of their country, nay even of humanity at large.

But what is the true explanation of this unexpected catastrophe on a field which gave the Liberal nominee every advantage of position and prestige? It can only be a warning to the Opposition that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's influence in his own province is waning, that French-Canadians are not so strongly opposed as had been imagined (even by certain Conservative authorities) to the Naval Aid Bill, that the obstructive methods determined on by the intractable element in the Liberal Party are repugnant to the common sense of the twofold Canadian nationality. It must be remembered that Mr. Fisher himself is one of those politicians, high in the councils of Liberalism, who are supposed to be responsible for the adoption of obstructive tactics hitherto unknown in the Dominion Parliament. The full meaning of the Châteauguay object-lesson should now be manifest, but it is unlikely that Sir Wilfrid and his ex-Ministers will face it. The more closely the present situation is studied,

the stronger grows my conviction that Canada accepts Mr. Borden's Naval policy and will have no mercy on those who oppose it. Not until the younger men—the men who did not profit by their Party's long and reckless enjoyment of the spoils of office—are able to disestablish the old and worn-out "machine" will Liberalism begin to assert itself again. They are not committed to Reciprocity, neither are they opposed to the Naval policy of the present Administration, provided it is a first step in the direction of a Canadian Navy on the lines of that maintained and manned by the Australian Commonwealth. They clearly see that their Party must be revitalised under a new leadership and that the selfish efforts of ex-Ministers such as Mr. Mackenzie King to force on a General Election in the hope that they will recover their lost seats can lead to nothing but a further loss of prestige. Mr. Fisher's second defeat may not mean that he is permanently shelved, but it must greatly diminish his influence in the councils of the Party. A feeling of admiration mingled with affection for Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as the outstanding figure in the Liberal ranks and one who always acted on the sporting adage that "youth must be served" when he was in power, prevents any overt act of mutiny.

The *Ottawa Citizen*, which is in the confidence of the Government, has recently discussed the programme for next session. It has authority for the statement that a Bill will be introduced authorising the purchase by Canada of three battleships now being built in England, the same to be placed upon completion at the disposal of the Admiralty. As this will be a Money Bill, the Senate cannot amend it, but must either accept or reject it entirely and unequivocally. As far as I remember, the Canadian Senate has never yet ventured to reject a Money Bill; Liberals who advocate the abolition of a Second Chamber have always asserted that such a course would be against the spirit, if not against the letter, of the Constitution. The reliance of the wrecked Liberal "machine" on a body the abolition of which has always been a plank in the official programme, is illogical and inconsistent to a degree. The events of next session, after the Government's Naval policy has been endorsed in several by-elections (at the moment of writing there are vacancies in Ontario), will bring this home to the Canadian people, who are

displeased to find that Australia and little New Zealand have taken the lead in the vital issue of Imperial Defence.

2

Are the French-Canadians a race who have lost their fighting spirit, as some critics would have us believe? To judge by what one knows of the origin and psychology of the *habitant* there seems to be little ground for this point of a view. One of the papers in a charming book of essays* by Major William Wood (who was the first Canadian writer to re-examine Wolfe's victorious campaign in the light of Admiral Mahan's studies of the scope and intention of sea-power) points out that military and naval terms are still colloquially used in the French language of the Laurentian countryside:

> A few military terms are very common in ordinary life. The personal effects which we call our "things" are invariably known as "booty"—*butin*. The big round "steamer" on the winter stove is a *bombe*. A fur cap is a *casque*. And old *habitants* still talk of their village as *le fort*, in reminiscence of warpaths and scalping-parties. But nautical terms meet you everywhere. You steer your way about the country by the points of the compass. The winter roads are marked by buoys—*balises*; and, if you miss the channel between them, you will founder—*caler*, and become, like a derelict, *dégradé*. You must *embarquer* into, and *débarquer* out of, a carriage. A cart is *radoubée*—refitted. A well-dressed woman is *bin gré-yée*—"fitted out to go foreign." Horses are always moored—*amarrés*; enemies reconciled by being *ramarrés*; and winter heralded by a broadside of snow—*la bordée de la Ste. Catherine*.

In all probability the fighting spirit of *Les Canadiens* (which blazed up in Papineau's rebellion not so very long ago, as one measures the life of a nationality) is still very much alive a little below the surface. Major Wood's book is literature from beginning to end, and everybody should read it who wishes to understand the underlying factors in the spiritual development of Canada. It will be found a refreshing contrast to the everlasting advertisements by journalists in a hurry of the material prosperity of a country which has not yet been allowed to undertake the full responsibilities of self-defence—the first condition of a healthy and dignified national life.

* *In the Heart of Old Canada.* By William Wood. William Briggs: Toronto, $1.50.

E. B. O.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

WOMAN SUFFRAGE—A PROTEST

COMBE GRANGE, MONKTON COMBE, near BAT
October 21, 1913.

DEAR SIR,—May I venture to express the opinion that Lord Willoughby de Bro does a great disservice to the Unionist Cause in his article in the October number the *National Review*, by dragging in Woman Suffrage as a possible and practical card to play in the game of Parties? Most of us are heartily sick of the game of politi and of party tactics, and think it is high time that the affairs of the State should in the hands of Statesmen who in framing legislation will think only of their country welfare and security If Lord Willoughby de Broke aspires to play a part in tl great work, he will have to drop all idea of striving to secure a Party advantage "dishing" the Radicals over Woman Suffrage or any other wild cat scheme. As follow his argument it is this: Woman Suffrage is, for reasons not stated—a that might be difficult to furnish—"bound to come." Let us Unionists make the be of a bad job, and make sure of the new Voters—*i.e.*, by getting the right sort on register and keeping the wrong sort off.

Is not this very much what the Government have done about Home Rule? "Hor Rule," said they, "is bound to come. Let us make the best of a bad job—and mea while make sure of the Irish vote." All very nice, of course, but there was Ulste There generally is an "Ulster" of one kind or another for the mere opportunist politics. And we don't want opportunists. We are "fed up" with them.

Yours truly,
F. J. KINGSLEY

THE NATIONAL REVIEW

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

The Gushing Brigade

HAVING never belonged to the Anglo-American gushing brigade, who have probably done far more injury to Anglo-American relations than the entire *posse comitatus* of professional Anglophobes in the United States, we may fairly claim to say a word in season at a somewhat serious moment. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult unless one belongs to the gushing brigade, who are for ever grovelling before the Great Repulic to get a hearing, or to the "nasty" brigade, who amuse themselves by saying stupid spiteful things about the United States, which no one in England thinks but which it suits Anglophobe agencies to reproduce in the American Press. Nowadays it has become necessary to make a declaration of disinterestedness. A large amount of British capital is invested in Mexico—partly in oil. The present writer has no shares in any oil company, nor has he any interest whatever direct or indirect in any oil company, either in Mexico or in any other part of the world. Oil is not at the present time a particularly suitable investment for those who have to write on naval or international questions. It is a distinct advantage to be clear of oil. On the other hand he has some trifling indirect interests in certain public utility companies in Mexico. He may therefore fairly claim to take a sympathetic but impartial view of the situation. Now the main thing is that the British should not allow their relations with the United States to become compromised—and we would

venture to say the same thing to Americans—by a misappreciation of the outstanding elementary facts, of which the most important is the propinquity of Mexico to the United States.

Oil-driven Diplomacy

We have no desire to push the Washington Government—even were we in a position to do so—into precipitate action before President Wilson is prepared to move. On the other hand, how utterly farcical is the irresponsible idea that Mexico is a suitable field for a spirited British policy, and how useless to attack or abuse the United States for pursuing a policy which would undoubtedly be ours were we in her position. She is confronted by a grave problem at a highly inconvenient moment. The President is the soul of sincerity, and detests the idea of going to war. He will limit American intervention so far as the adjoining chaos permits. But if he is reluctant to enter and restore order in Mexico—a large order in itself—the Americans would be a unit in resenting any disposition on the part of outsiders to make the attempt. We may have our own opinion as to the possible forcing of the President's hand by events, but no newspaper admonitions from this side as to what he should or should not do will have the smallest effect—quite the contrary. It is a palpable case for masterly inactivity on our part. We have plenty of occupation at home and a formidable neighbour waiting to pounce. Let us remain spectators of Mexican affairs. Anything more disastrous than what the *Morning Post* called "oil-driven diplomacy" it would be impossible to conceive. Information from the other side indicates that American opinion is somewhat excited by the suspicion that Lord Cowdray is the director of British Mexican policy, just as Englishmen are invited to assume that Mr. Rockefeller directs American-Mexican policy. On this theory the Union Jack is to be hoisted over the Mexican Eagle Company, and the Stars and Stripes over the Standard Oil Company, and the two nations are to be stoked up against one another.

Mr. Rockefeller is undoubtedly a great power in his own country. We confess to being ignorant concerning Lord Cowdray,

America's Problem

who is best known to the public by his readiness to provide billets for prominent Radicals in distress, and for relatives of Radicals. He is likewise believed to be a munificent contributor to his Party's funds and to have made good heavy losses incurred last year, also to be a controlling influence in the *Westminster Gazette*. This is only gossip which has presumably floated across the Atlantic in more or less distorted form, and some of it may be untrue. Lord Cowdray has admittedly immense interests in Mexico, and is perhaps not always happy in his choice of "travellers," but this does not give him control of our Mexican policy, and Sir Edward Grey is not the man to concede to any financier a "pull" of any kind. We are aware that British prestige has suffered of late from certain unfortunate occurrences—and a deplorable appointment—in Washington as in other capitals, and that the reputation of our public men stands lower than it did. Nevertheless we recognise that Mexico is as exclusively an American problem, as Americans acknowledged the Transvaal to be a British problem. The best service the Foreign Office could render would be to abandon mystery and make our position perfectly clear to the American man in the street as well as to the American man in the Cabinet. Diplomatists are too apt to imagine that all is going well so long as the Governments are on friendly terms. This is but a fraction of any Anglo-American problem.

During the past month we have had specially welcome visitors in the persons of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Gracious

Welcome Visitors

Consort. Naturally no political significance attaches to a private visit. Nevertheless it is a source of keen satisfaction to the British nation, that the prolonged unbroken friendly intercourse between the two Courts and Dynasties should be renewed with the remarkable man who in the course of nature will one day become Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The venerable Monarch Francis Joseph—long may he live!—has always been regarded as a tried and trusted friend of England in foul weather as well as fair, while

preserving inviolate loyalty towards his allies, and deep has been the regret of Englishmen whenever the political relations between the two countries have been obscured—not infrequently by interested mischief-makers. Recent illuminating events have however combined to strengthen the ties between Great Britain and the Dual Monarchy without weakening either of our relations with any of our European friends, and it is to be hoped that our illustrious visitors, who had only previously paid flying visits to this country, will carry away some appreciation of the general regard entertained for the immemorial House of Hapsburg, as well as for the Austro-Hungarian people, as likewise the earnest desire among all classes of Englishmen that our goodwill and friendliness may be reciprocated. Austria-Hungary is a faithful member of the Triple Alliance. Her interests and her inclinations as well as her honour dictate it. We are equally faithful members of the Triple Entente animated by the same motives. But that is no reason why Great Britain and the Dual Monarchy should not remain the best of friends and consecrate their energies to preserving the common peace which is as vital to the one as to the other. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand already exercises great influence in his own country and has devoted his talents to developing her military and naval power. He is destined to become a decisive factor in Continental politics, and, as like other strong men he has strong prejudices, he is a man not only to be respected but to be reckoned with. Intelligent Frenchmen have noted the Austrian Archduke's welcome to our shores with sympathetic interest. They feel that only an unfortunate chapter of accidents has prevented Austria-Hungary and France from being as cordially related as they should be—there is no serious conflict of interests between them—and they cannot help hoping that in the conversations of Windsor the curious cross currents of Continental politics may have been discussed. Any frank discussion between Austria-Hungary and Great Britain could not fail to clarify the general situation to the advantage of really peaceful Powers like France. If the truth may be told about foreign politics—the Asquith Government have banished it from home politics—there is a strong if invisible bond between those nations whose position or composition or both

compels them to regard war as equally undesirable either as a gamble or as an investment.

The Voice of the Veterans

THE doctrine that the King is simply the Premier's Pen which certain organs have vainly endeavoured to sustain this autumn has gone by the board and we hear little more of it. Every one whose opinion is of any value now recognises its absurdity, and among those who have contributed most to the general enlightenment is that inspiring veteran, Lord Halsbury. What a reflection on the younger men that we have almost invariably to go to the great veterans for a lead on any question demanding vigour and courage as well as knowledge, experience, and insight. We instinctively turn to Lord Roberts, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Halsbury and other men of their generation when vital issues are at stake. What is the matter with the rising generation? Are the chief Universities so sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought as to render them incapable of producing anything beyond mugwumpery? The ex-Lord Chancellor, in a spirited speech at Chelsea Town Hall (November 5), moved a Resolution affirming "undying hostility" to Home Rule and pledging support to the Irish Unionists. Formerly such a measure as the present would have been rejected with the utmost ease, but under the Parliament Act "the Home Rule Bill was to be, not passed, but presented to his Majesty for his assent, and then it was to become law. That was the oddest democratic performance that he had ever heard of. The King was to have the Bill presented to him—what then? Was he, or was he not, to have a judgment? Was he not to be entitled to say, 'No, this is against the interests of my country which I am called upon to govern, and I must do my duty; I reject it.'" Lord Halsbury added that the right of the King to take such action could not be denied in theory. "It was said that the King's veto was abolished two hundred or three hundred years ago. Without discussing the historical accuracy of that statement, what was the meaning of it? It meant that a Bill was presented to the King only as a matter of form. Therefore the Prime Minister was put in the place of the King." The proposition only needs to be stated in order that

its absurdity may be appreciated. It was all nonsense to talk about the King's Veto being abolished. Lord Halsbury "did not assent to that argument. He was of opinion that it was part of the British Constitution that if something was to become law and to bind their liberty, that something must be assented to by King, Lords, and Commons."

The Usurpation

THE Government had abolished the Lords so far as they could and now "they tried by their argument to abolish the right of the King. Then what was left? Were they really in the hands of the person who happened for the moment to be Prime Minister? And must the King do what he was bid? If so, it was not much of a King. It was for his Majesty alone to determine whether or not the thing that was proposed to be done was for the good of his country or the reverse." Lord Halsbury's meaning is perfectly clear, and there is no excuse for Radical attempts to represent him as making any reflection on the person of the Sovereign. What he obviously meant was that it was not much of a Kingship if no responsibilities attached to the office, as our latter-day constitution-mongers argue. In this connection we would refer to an admirable letter in the November number of the *Fortnightly Review* replying to a foolish article by "Auditor Tantum," the reply being signed "Nunquamne Reponam." The writer of the original article had contributed his mite to the "silly season" by an effort to prove that the King is the Premier's Pen. "Nunquamne Reponam" thus effectively disposed of that proposition: "If this position be correct the British people are indeed subject to a tyranny by the existing Government from which there is no escape. If, to put an extreme case, the Government with the aid of the House of Commons were to pass a Bill to abolish the Monarchy, the King, according to this theory, is bound to give his immediate assent, although the question has never been submitted to the people; and it matters not that the new Second Chamber, promised in the preamble of the Parliament Act, has not been created. The uncontrolled right to pass into law any Bill that it chooses is vested in the Executive Government, if it

can secure the support of the existing House of Commons. According to these writers, the King has no power whatever, and is a mere cypher." Mr. Asquith was therefore uncontrolled dictator of the country so long as the Coalition held together. "It may be asked, where do the people of this country—the vaunted Democracy—come in? Where, indeed? What power do they possess except that of, at some uncertain date, ordering a counter revolution?" The correspondent of the *Fortnightly Review* added:

> The theory, however, seems to involve another, and much more important fallacy; that if the Crown should venture to require any proof that the people desire a Bill to become law, this is the same thing as an attempt to revive the Royal Prerogative of Veto. In the first place those who put forward this argument are merely playing upon the word "Veto." The Royal Veto, when exercised, stopped a Bill for a time which might be indefinitely prolonged. If the Crown were now—after a Bill, however revolutionary, had been referred to the electors—to continue to refuse assent, that would indeed be an attempt to revive the Royal Veto. To insist, however, on some proof that the electors desire the passing of a Bill, say, fundamentally altering the Constitution—especially when other signs seem to point to grave doubts on the subject—is altogether a different thing. There is at present no Second Chamber worthy of the name, and apparently it is not intended that any Second Chamber which may be created shall have any real powers.
>
> If it be true that the Crown also has no power, the sooner that it is known by the electors that the Executive of the moment is omnipotent and unchecked, the better. The danger at the present time is that Democratic forms and phrases are being used to stifle and strangle Democracy.

King Lulu I

THE true position has not been stated better anywhere. Contrast this measured responsible utterance with the vapid insolence of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. L. V. Harcourt, for whom, however, allowances should be made as he is understood to be obsessed with the idea that he is descended from the Plantagenets, and he may conceivably regard King George as a usurper to be jockeyed off his throne. In a carefully, premeditated impromptu speech fully reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of November 8, though neither the occasion nor the place of this historic deliverance is mentioned, Mr. Harcourt accused the Unionist Party of using the Crown, "if they could do so, as a counter in their gamble." Now if there is a word which under no circumstances any member of the

present Government should allow to cross his lips, it is the word "gamble." Even Mr. Lloyd George, who has little control of his tongue, is never heard nowadays to speak of "unearned increment." Mr. Harcourt added that "Cautious lawyers and profound Professors abandoned their learning to play their Party's game, reckless of the consequences. The same class of men who destroyed the House of Lords by their advice to it to meddle with finance were ready to drag the Monarchy into the arena of Party strife and to make it if they could the subservient and unconstitutional tool of the minority." Needless to say, this is the precise opposite of what Unionists desire or advise. All they seek is a Dissolution Before Civil War in order to prevent the Crown from being the tool of the minority who approve the Civil War Bill. Mr. Harcourt hoped and believed that saner counsel now prevailed "even in the most hot-headed circles, and he was glad to see that even Lord Derby said the other day that 'he would have no truck with any policy of dragging in the King.'" We do not know precisely what Lord Derby may or may not have said, but if he said anything justifying the applause of Mr. L. V. Harcourt he is to be sincerely commiserated. The Colonial Secretary proceeded: "It would indeed be a bad day for the Crown and the country if there ever arose a suspicion that the Monarchy was about to abandon its constitutional basis and act on anything but the advice of its responsible Ministers." In other words, the King has no option but to do the bidding of Mr. Lulu Harcourt. In other words, Mr. Lulu Harcourt is King. What made him so? The new Perkin Warbeck obligingly announces that "strongly though he believed the Throne to be entrenched in the affection and respect of the people, he was convinced that any extra-constitutional action would reduce it to a hopeless ruin which no one would attempt to re-build." It is many a long year since any of the Sovereign's Ministers has committed such an impertinence, though we are grateful to know the inmost thoughts of the Government. Both King and people are "up against" a brazen-faced clique of political adventurers whose motto is *l'Etat c'est Moi*. There is, however some doubt among them as to who is *the Moi*.

MR. ASQUITH, the Prime Minister, and Lord Haldane, the Lord Chancellor, took less than nothing by affronting public opinion in making Sir Rufus Isaacs Lord Chief Justice of England. As they must have fully realised the risk they ran of losing his seat at Reading at a critical juncture of Ministerial fortunes, their shamelessness gives us some inkling of the pressure brought to bear by the Marconi-ites who had already successfully shown their teeth when they threatened resignation during the Marconi Debate if any resolution but one approved by themselves was adopted by their colleagues and the House of Commons. So terrified were the Radical Caucus of allowing it to be known that Sir Rufus Isaacs' seat would be vacated in the autumn that they dare not allow any understudy to make himself acquainted with the constituency and the constituency acquainted with him. At the eleventh hour they had the utmost difficulty in scraping up a candidate for a contest which was recognised as a forlorn hope. It became still more forlorn by the ultimate selection of Mr. G. P. Gooch, who though incapable of taking a valuable tip from a Government contractor, has a chilling effect on the democracy, being the very antithesis of Captain Leslie Wilson, the Unionist standard-bearer, who makes friends wherever he goes. However, the drooping spirits of the Coalition were raised by the gleeful announcement of the *Times* that both sides had agreed to boycott the topic that most interested the people of Reading as of other places, namely the Marconi question. Doubtless if the boycott could have been made effectual the seat might have been retained for Progress and Panama.

A Costly Appointment

THE Unionist Party seems to be partially paralysed by indifferent golf. We know nothing whatsoever about golf, and our readers need have no anxiety as to our imitating great contemporaries which have practically turned themselves into golfing records under the delusion that the general public is interested in this dismal pursuit of fatigue without exercise. We merely use the game as an illustration, and through ignorance we may err in our simile. The first-class golfer, so far from hesitating to "lay a stymie"—if that be the proper phrase—for his opponent who he knows will lay one for

Indifferent Golf

him at the first opportunity, concentrates himself on that object. Now Radicals play the game to win, and in politics they are always "laying stymies" for their opponents. But soft-hearted Unionists think it "unkind" to create serious difficulties for the other side, and whenever the Radical Party is in a formidable bunker some "chivalrous" opponent comes forward and helps them out. It would have been "hard luck" on Sir Rufus Isaacs, who lives at Reading, to mention the word Marconi during the by-election—though not the least vital issue was the wound inflicted by the late Attorney-General on British public life. The business of Reading was dislocated by a by-election caused by a grossly improper appointment, which, though described by the *Daily Mail* as "universally popular," is approved, so far as we have observed, by no single person whose opinion is of the smallest value in any Party. And yet the cause of clean government might not be discussed in the constituency most affected by the misconduct of the Government! Save us from our friends. Happily, though officialism refused to "lay a stymie" which would hurt the susceptibilities of the Coalition, the "compact" collapsed, because the people insisted on hearing about every aspect of Marconis—Unionist speakers responded to the demand, and the spirited campaign of the "League for Clean Government" under the auspices of the *New Witness* supplied a much felt want and was an important factor in producing results which astonished all conventional politicians on the declaration of the poll. In a straight fight at the last General Election, the figures were:

Sir Rufus Isaacs (Radical)	5,094
Captain L. Wilson (Unionist)	4,995

Radical majority 99

At the recent by-election the figures were:

Captain Leslie Wilson (Unionist)	5144
Mr. G. P. Gooch (Radical)	5031
Mr. J. G. Butler (Socialist)	1063

Unionist majority over Radical 1131

Unionist majority over Radical and Socialist combined 68

THIS was an even more disastrous blow to the Government than the most sanguine Unionists or the most pessimistic Radicals had anticipated. The defeat was indeed heavier than appears on the surface. From the point of view of our Party it is highly desirable that the Radicals should not draw the proper conclusions, but it is vital for the Unionists to labour under no delusions as to the effect of any Marconi "compact" they may have made. In the first place let us note as a matter of infinite satisfaction that the promotion of Sir Rufus Isaacs and the scandalous conduct of the Government throughout the Marconi business was condemned not by the Unionist majority over the Ministerial candidate, or by the Unionist majority over Radical and Socialist combined, but by the aggregate vote polled by the Unionist and Socialist over the Ministerial total, *i.e.* by a majority of nearly 2200. That is the verdict of Reading on the Panama policy and the Panama Party. But, while throwing up our caps, Unionists must not fail to note that the increase in our poll was only 149 and that we simply played into the hands of the third candidate, Mr. Butler (the Socialist), whose platform from first to last, though presumably wrong on nine questions out of ten, was clear and uncompromising on the issues raised by the Marconi scandal. At least 500 votes were detached from Unionism to Socialism by our misplaced "chivalry," if weakness has any right to be described by a term which has always included courage, and we trust that those in authority will take note of the size of Mr. Butler's poll which quidnuncs declared would not exceed 300. Here is a clear case of a large loss of votes by the Opposition which cannot afford to lose them through neglecting a plain duty. The promotion of Sir Rufus Isaacs to be Lord Chief Justice of England, simultaneously with the promotion of the notorious Mr. Ure, Lord Advocate of Scotland, who has, we understand, secured an equally exalted judicial office in Scotland, produced a general game of Ministerial post which is still going on at the time of writing. Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, who under an amiable exterior conceals all the prejudices of what Matthew Arnold calls "the Dissidence of Dissent" and is "anti" everything which makes for the greatness of his country, succeeded Sir Rufus Isaacs as Attorney-General with a seat in the Cabinet which

Warning to Unionists

thus remains hopelessly overloaded with gentlemen of th Long Robe.

IT would be interesting to know whether any country has bee dominated by lawyers to the extent that we are to-day withou suffering disaster, for the reason that lawyers, sav where you have very exceptional men of stron character, mistake words for things and imagine verbiage t be Statesmanship. The vacant Solicitor-Generalship was awarde to a very "tame" Ministerial lawyer, Sir Stanley Buckmaste who earned promotion by his whitewashing speech in the Marcoı Debate. His appointment necessitated re-election, and w infer from the figures that in this constituency, the Keighle Division of Yorkshire, there was another Marconi "compact which effectually kept down the Unionist vote. Sir Stanle Buckmaster held his seat by a majority of nearly 900, a slight ir crease since the General Election. But in order to arrive at th anti-Panama vote, because Labour voters hate the Panam scandal quite as much as Unionists, however obsequious may b the Labour Party in Parliament towards Marconi Ministers, yo have to add together the Unionist and Labour poll amountin to 7498, while the Ministerial poll, *i.e.* those who approve o at any rate are willing to whitewash the conduct of the Govern ment, was only 4730. Once again we trust that Unionism wil take warning, though we feel sure Lord Lascelles, who mad a plucky fight, was not responsible for the policy of the by election. At the same time on a great moral issue of thi kind Unionist candidates should take the law into their ow hands, and decline the guidance of smoke-dried mandarins. O the same day as Reading, the Government had a peculiarl nasty knock in an unexpected quarter, namely Linlithgowshir in Scotland, the seat so long adorned by Mr. Ure, whose grea majority of 2000 was literally knocked to bits at the by-electio as the following figures show:

Linlithgow

Mr. J. W. Pratt (Radical) . .	5615
Mr. James Kidd (Unionist) . .	5094

Radical majority 521

THIS was in some ways even better than Reading. The figures confirm the contention of those who have urged in season and out of season that third candidates do more harm to the Opposition than to the Coalition, for the simple reason that they divide the anti-Government alias the anti-Panama vote. In Linlithgowshire, though we lost, there was actually an increase in the Unionist poll of 1329, and a decrease in the Radical poll of 220. At Reading on the other hand, though we won, there was, as we have seen, only an increase in the Unionist vote of 149, owing to the Socialist drawing many votes we could have secured, while in Keighley there was only an increase of ten Unionist votes and an enormous Labour poll of 3647. Do let us abandon the delusion fostered by Radical newspapers that Labour candidates divide an imaginary "progressive" vote, whereas they only split an anti-Panama vote. We likewise appeal to the workers of the Party everywhere to insist on the removal of any Marconi ban which great, wise and eminent persons may seek to impose for reasons that have not been divulged. In spite of the unutterable rottenness of many so-called Unionist papers which behave on half a dozen questions as though they wished this Government to remain in for all time, there is a strong and ever growing public opinion which misses few opportunities of putting the Government in a minority, north, south, east and west. Scotland is turning against them. Their position is doubtful even in South Wales. All that Unionists have to do to destroy a Government, which if not destroyed will destroy the country, is to pull off their kid gloves and fight with the naked fists against the needy, greedy, seedy Demagogues who give point to the aphorism that "Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few."

Scotland Turning

THE National Unionist Conference—the annual Parliament of the Unionist Party—assembled at Norwich on November 12 in the best possible spirits, as the victory of Reading and the narrow escape of Panama at Linlithgow augured well for the future. At the customary dinner to the Party agents Mr. Steel Maitland made happy and incisive references to Mr. Lloyd George, pointing out that "unscrupulousness was none the less unscrupulous because it employed scriptural allu-

Gehazi

sions * and comparisons to suit its purposes." One member of the Government notorious for his remarkable versatility "compared himself first to the Good Samaritan—and then when the Marconi business came—he should have thought it might have suggested a decent reticence—if nothing else—he compared himself to St. Sebastian—and then to Samson as a finale." Doubtless in time the whole of his Biblical portrait gallery would be exhausted. The one thing that amazed Mr. Steel Maitland was that "hitherto Mr. Lloyd George had left out the one person who, of all others, seemed most to suit, after the Marconi affair, the conditions of the case." Many of them would remember the old story of Naaman the Syrian going on a visit to Elishah the Prophet, and before going away offering Elishah a gift. "Now, in modern days that gift would perhaps be the imparting of a little private information suitable for making investments. Elishah, however, refused the gift . . . but when it came to the Prophet's principal subordinate, who held the purse—when it came to Gehazi they not only found that the gift was taken, but, if he remembered aright, Gehazi was a leper for ever after." It is likewise worth remembering that the tip taken by Gehazi came from Naaman, who was not a Government contractor, and while Gehazi became a leper as white as snow his modern prototype had to be elaborately whitewashed.

The Conference

THE Conference proper was opened on the following morning November 13, at St. Andrew's Hall, under the capable Chairmanship of Alderman Salvidge, who is probabl more responsible than any other single individua for the healthy political state of Liverpool. I moving the adoption of the Annual Report he declared th two items were specially prominent, namely, the question Ireland and the Marconi scandal. "The latter . . . show the kind of men who at the moment ruled over the destini of the country. They were men whose sole object was remain in office at any cost, believing that office was made f them, and that they were entitled to make as much as th

* We must not omit to mention a witty observation made at the Conference Mr. Hoare, the Unionist Member for Chelsea, who described the Chancellor of the chequer as having "Holy Scripture on his lips and Marconi scrip in his pocket."

possibly could out of it. They had degraded their position as Ministers of the Crown, and the longer the Government remained in office the greater would be their reckoning when they appealed to the country." In seconding Sir Savile Crossley also emphasised the Marconi business, which must be kept before the electors. In the very regrettable absence of Sir Edward Carson, who is compelled to husband somewhat slender resources of health in the interests of his great campaign for the unity of the United Kingdom, Captain Craig was the principal Irish speaker and received an enthusiastic ovation from the rank and file of the Party in moving a reaffirmation of the Conference's detestation of Home Rule, its condemnation of the Government for refusing to submit the question to the judgment of the country, its blindness in the face of grave warning, and its total disregard of the wishes of Ulster. The motion likewise expressed the "deep alarm" of the Conference at "the danger of civil war which the conduct of the Government has caused, and that it affirms its strong determination to support Ulster." Every point in Captain Craig's cogent speech was applauded to the echo, especially when, after calling attention to the pathos of the fact "that in this century of our civilisation Ulster people should be day by day training themselves simply in order that they might cling on to the rights and privileges which people in Great Britain enjoyed," he promised "that if ever they were needed in time of danger in Great Britain these 88,000 volunteers were ready to join their fellow citizens in this country."

"A Winner"

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE seconded in his own inimitable way. "Once more in the matter of the unity of the United Kingdom you have got what I believe is called 'a winner,' and if you don't mind taking the advice of a fox hunter, I advise you to stick on to the hunted fox and don't get holloa'd away by friends or enemies on to any other sport of any description. Don't mistake a fresh fox for the beaten one. Don't get holloa'd on to a cock pheasant." Adding—and no more practical advice could be given to Unionist Parliamentarians who err on the soft side—"It is a well-known hunting maxim in Warwickshire—take every advantage of the fox you can, because otherwise he is sure to take every advantage of you. We are obliged to tell the nation what we really think of our political

opponents. I say that to show any sort of chivalry or honourable consideration to men of that kind is not only dangerous to a high degree but is entirely thrown away. For Cabinet Ministers to threaten the Crown, to abolish the Constitution, to bribe the House of Commons, to empty gaols—is a highly dangerous policy; and to countenance, to condone, to encourage and to reward Cabinet Ministers who have not hesitated to accept tips from Government contractors in order to enrich themselves—well, that is something more than the limit." Mr. Henry Chaplin was in his very best form; indeed he has rarely spoken better, in moving his resolution on Tariff Reform, and he re-stated the case with convincing vigour, while Mr. Page Croft and Mr. Hewins must also be congratulated on the really eloquent speeches in which they supported it. After an interesting discussion on Land and Housing, in which Sir Arthur Boscawen, Mr. Ernest Jardine, Mr. Felix Cassel, and Mr. Courthope all contributed from the abundance of their knowledge, which was supplemented by Mr. Hayes Fisher—one of the greatest authorities on rating in the country—Mr. Worthington Evans—a very acute critic of the Insurance Act, which unlike Mr. Lloyd George, he knows from A to Z—moved a motion in favour of instituting an enquiry "with a view of adopting a voluntary scheme administered by the approved Societies and aided by at least equal subsidies from the State." Mr. Frank Meyer, the seconder, made a particularly bright and attractive speech which gave great satisfaction to the audience, not only on account of his youth but because he is the Unionist candidate in one of the Divisions of Norfolk which he has every prospect of winning. Lord Robert Cecil said a few earnest and effective words on behalf of the Voluntary System against Compulsion, and the Conference was entirely favourable to the projected enquiry.

Marconi

THE afternoon ended with a discussion on the Marconi scandal upon which the following motion was on the Agenda: "Tha this Conference of the rank and file of the Unionis Party deplores and condemns the conspicuou bad faith with which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have acte throughout the Marconi controversy and kindred questions." T those who, like ourselves, have been immersed in this particul

question, it was interesting to observe the attitude of the working bees of the Party. It might have been supposed that, thanks to the desperate efforts of the Hush-Up Press to prevent the public from realising the deplorable truth, such a representative gathering as that assembled at Norwich from all parts of the country might be indifferent, bored, and possibly sharing the desire of many of the newspapers they read to bury the whole business. If only the controllers, whoever they may be, of the *Times*, *Daily Mail*, *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph*, &c. had been present they would have realised the total failure of every effort to boycott this topic. Unfortunately our confrères practically never came in contact with any real and effective public opinion. They remain in their own little grooves, their own little offices where they are treated like so many gods, their own little clubs and coteries, their own little colleges, with no more knowledge of the sentiments of the "man in the street," of whom they perpetually prate, than they have of "the man in the moon." Of course one may be prejudiced, but "our special commissioner"—a singularly unprejudiced man—whom we despatched to Norwich for the express purpose of studying the atmosphere of the Party, reports that there are very few topics upon which there is greater keenness than the various aspects of the Marconi mystery, and that all the men who are doing the serious work of the Party demand that it be pressed to the utmost. In supporting the Marconi motion in an earnest speech, much relished by his audience, Lord Ampthill begged that Unionists should not let the subject drop: "If they did the harm done to our national standard of morality would be irreparable and the ugly stain which had been put on the House of Commons would be indelible." He spoke the mind of everybody present in saying that "he did not think that the Unionist Party in the House had dealt adequately with the matter." All over the country Unionists are asking themselves where and what is the paralysing influence which has prevented the Party from giving effect to the stirring declaration of Lord Edmund Talbot, the Chief Whip, after the glorification of the Marconi Ministers at the National Liberal Club, that the subject should be discussed from every platform. This announcement was received with delight, which has given place to amazement that so far not a single occupant of the Unionist Front Bench in either

House has given the anticipated lead. Not one of them has made the comment which is universal throughout the country on the scandal of the promotion of the Attorney-General to the Lord Chief Justiceship. It is an unhealthy state of things. If our chief parliamentarians go the way of some of our chief newspapers, what is to happen to Unionism and all that it stands for? A lack of nerve on one vital issue means a lack of nerve on all.

A Pretty Little Plot

NOT the least interesting or important action of the National Unionist Conference was the decisive manner in which Woman Suffrage was wiped off the slate. Henceforward it will be impossible for any one seriously to maintain that this fad is an item in the programme of our Party. All shadow of a pretext is removed for the pretence that the Unionist Party, or any effective part of it, is committed to deal with the subject. In the event of our coming into power no one can imagine himself or herself aggrieved or betrayed because the Government does not grant votes to women as a prelude to seats to women. This cannot be too explicitly proclaimed. Unionist Ministers will escape the hopeless position in which Mr. Asquith's colleagues find themselves owing to the fast and loose manner in which they have trifled with this question. It must be admitted that the little plot to "nobble" the Conference by the tiny minority of Unionist supporters of Woman Suffrage was cleverly conceived and in every way worthy of a better cause. A strong combination consisting of Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Willoughby de Broke, two very popular and distinguished members of the Party—both most acceptable to the Conference—had put their heads together and concocted a specious Whip which was handed to the Delegates as they entered the Hall containing these arguments in support of Woman Suffrage.

(1) Because it is just that women who pay rates and taxes should have a vote.

(2) Because women have a right to be heard on many political questions of the day, such as Disestablishment, Education, Housing, and other legislative projects affecting the home.

(3) Because it has always been part of Conservative policy to enfranchise all those who are possessed of the existing qualification of electors.

(4) Because Conservative leaders like Lord Beaconsfield, the late Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law were and are in favour of the enfranchisement of qualified women.

(5) Because Woman's Suffrage is coming, and it is foolish of Unionists causelessly to place themselves in antagonism to those who will shortly be voters.

(6) Because if Unionists oppose all forms of Woman's Suffrage they will have no influence on the manner and extent of their enfranchisement.

We cannot stop and answer these points seriatim except in the briefest possible manner.

(1) If every one who pays taxes is entitled to a vote the case for Manhood Suffrage is at least as strong as the case for the enfranchisement of selected women.

(2) Women are "heard" on any question of the day they care to discuss.

(3) If it was always "part of Conservative policy to enfranchise" women why was it never done during the long spell of Conservative rule?

(4) On the argument of authority it may be pointed out that neither Lord Salisbury nor Mr. Balfour ever lifted a little finger to secure votes for women in the hey-day of their power, while Mr. Bonar Law has contented himself with giving a silent vote. *Per contra* the late Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Lansdowne, to say nothing of Queen Victoria, may be cited among keen opponents of Woman Suffrage.

(5 and 6) We cannot argue with Die-Hards who advise us to sacrifice principle to tactics. We can only express our surprise at such advice from such a quarter.

The Dénouement

LORD ROBERT CECIL moved his motion in a speech of exceptional ability and persuasiveness, and he was admirably seconded by Lord Willoughby de Broke. Never have two such excellent speakers addressed a friendly audience with so little effect. Their hearers were adamant—healthy evidence of the hardening of public opinion during the past year. Time was short as the moment of adjournment was at hand, but the speakers persisted, and it looked as

though the idea might have entered their ingenious minds of talking out their own motion directly they appreciated the hostility of the audience, with the result that only the Woman Suffrage case would have appeared in the newspapers and no one would have known the opinion of the Conference. Fortunately the public were spared this false impression by the action of the Chairman, who rightly and wisely insisted that there should be a vote even though no time remained for further speeches. The proceedings may consequently be regarded as almost ideal. The Woman Suffragists did all the talking, and we Antis did almost all the voting. Mr. Arnold Ward moved the following amendment to the Woman Suffrage motion: "That it is not expedient to grant the Parliamentary franchise to women on any terms until this great Constitutional change has received the express sanction of the electorate." This amendment was carried on a show of hands by an overwhelming majority and by another equally decisive vote it was carried as a substantive motion with every demonstration of delight, and the Delegates went away feeling that they had discharged a valuable public service, all the more because at the very last moment they had the opportunity on the initiative of Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Fell to condemn the payment of Members of Parliament and to express the hope "that the next House of Commons will restore the principle of gratuitous parliamentary service."

The Meanest Bill

ANOTHER topic in which the Conference was particularly interested was the Robbery of the Welsh Church, which was brought forward by Mr. Ormsby Gore in a first-class fighting speech pointing out that there was the same deep-seated resentment against the meanest Bill as there was against Home Rule. If they were to be Conservative about anything they must be Conservative about the National Church and that connection between Church and State which sanctified our Government. Every constituency should be asked whether it was fair to rob the Church in Wales of its churchyards while the Nonconformists kept theirs. The clause legalising this outrage was passed under the guillotine. The Prime Minister waxed eloquent on the duty of preserving the sacred spots of the Mohammedan religion. "Why all this interest and zeal

over the sacred forms of the Mohammedan religion when the sacred spots of our national Christian Church were regarded as things that might be secularised at any moment?" In seconding, Mr. Hoare produced the gem recorded on a previous page. The motion was supported by two Welsh working men, Mr. Sam Thomas and Mr. W. Young, who made reasoned and racy speeches much appreciated by their audience. Mr. Ormsby Gore complained of the comparative indifference of a large section of the Press about the Church in Wales. Could the Church desire a higher compliment than to be deemed unworthy of Cinematograph treatment?

Tariff Reform

At the mass meeting held at the Agricultural Hall, Norwich, in connection with the Conference, to which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain sent an immensely popular telegram, "I wish every success to your meeting to-night," Mr. Bonar Law made one of his very best speeches, as may be gathered from the ill-mannered comments of our Panama politicians. The tide had begun to turn against the Government two years ago and now it was in flood. Ministers had hopelessly lost the confidence of the country, having suffered the greatest misfortune which could possibly befall them, "the the calamity from which there can be no recovery; they have been found out. For years they have posed as the Pharisees of politics. They have made broad their phylacteries. They were not as other men or even as these Tories, and now words are unnecessary. They stand before the country for what they are, Pharisees still, but Pharisees stripped of their phylacteries, naked, and not even ashamed." The Unionist policy of Tariff Reform was plain and straightforward and incapable of misunderstanding. He would re-state the intentions of the Party in the event of their being in power in the next Parliament. "We shall not impose any new duties on any articles of food, but we shall impose a moderate tariff on foreign manufactured goods, a tariff not exceeding an average of 10 per cent., a scale of duties which is only something like a third of the reduced scale in the new American Tariff, which Radical newspapers are constantly telling us is practically a Free Trade system." Mr. Bonar Law added, "We shall also at the same time establish at once the principle of Imperial Preference. We shall give to our self-

governing Dominions what at every Conference for more than twenty-five years they have unanimously asked from us, and that is all that they have formally asked. We shall give them immediately a preference in respect of all duties imposed in the United Kingdom." Agriculturists might be justified in being hostile to such a policy if it stood alone, but the Unionist Party were pledged, apart altogether from the readjustment on general lines of local taxation which was urgently required, to use part of any tariff that might be imposed in reducing agricultural burdens.

The Irish Question

As regards the Insurance Act Mr. Bonar Law recalled the fact that about two years ago he had said in the House of Commons that if they happened to come into power before the Act was in operation the Unionists would repeal it with a view of amending it, but what could be done now? It was not easy to say. Governments were like men—the evil they did lived after them. "This only I can say, that if the opportunity is given us we shall do what the Government ought to have done, and what they refuse to do. We shall appoint a Committee, as far as possible non-political, impartial, and competent, which will examine into the whole subject, not only into the working of the Act but the whole principle of the measure and will consider whether or not it is possible, and whether it is in the interests of the nation even yet to turn it into a voluntary system." Mr. Bonar Law, as was wise, spoke cautiously on the Land question and refused to be swept away by minimum wage cranks however alluring their proposals, without further and better particulars. "What we want is an examination into the facts. If there were such an examination it would command the respect of the whole community, and whatever legislation was necessary would go forward not by means of a campaign against anybody, but with the goodwill of every man, woman and child throughout the country." The Opposition Leader was eloquent and emphatic on the Irish question, and his announcement, helping as it did to set at rest much malicious gossip which had found its way into the newspapers in the interests of certain limelight politicians on both sides who are frightened of the crisis confronting them, produced extraordinary demon-

strations of enthusiasm. He repeated explicitly what he had said before:

If the Government really persist in obeying the orders of Mr. Redmond, Mr. Devlin, and I see by to-day's paper that Mr. Dillon has added his—if they obey these orders, then we are face to face with national disaster and perhaps national ruin. If they do persist, our duty as a Party is clear, and I am sure we shall fulfil that duty. I have said on behalf of the Party, and with the approval of the Party, that if the Government attempt to coerce Ulster before they have received the sanction of the people we shall support Ulster in her resistance. (There was a great outburst of cheering at this announcement, and after it had died down many sprang to their feet and started the singing of "Rule Britannia" which was taken up with great enthusiasm by the rest of the audience, loud cheers again being given at its conclusion. It was some minutes before Mr. Bonar Law could resume.)* I am (he then said) glad to receive that expression of your approval of what I have just said, but I ask you to think what it means. It involves a great deal; it involves something more than making speeches—and from that pledge we as a Party will never go back (renewed cheers). It means this—and very many months before I made the speech at Blenheim I realised exactly what it meant—it means that when the time comes we shall be bound in honour to use every means, any means which seem to us effective, to prevent British troops being used to shoot down loyal British subjects. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Horrors of Civil War

In moving terms Mr. Bonar Law invited his hearers to picture o themselves the effect of sending British troops to coerce Belfast —the effect on the Army itself, on Ireland, on Great Britain, on the British Empire. "It is a picture which I confess utterly appals me. In ace of dangers such as these, though I am a Party man, and I uppose I may say that I have at least as strong a personal interest n the success of our Party as any of you—though I am a Party nan, party advantage or disadvantage in face of such a problem s that seems to me to count for nothing." For that reason he ad said at Wallsend, and he now repeated, "that if the Government have any proposals to make which will avert the horrors nat I have tried to depict to you, we will consider these proposals carefully, honestly, and with sole regard not to the interests f a party, but to the welfare of the nation." The speaker added, But, though I say that, I feel more strongly than ever that the lain, clear duty of the Government is to submit their proposals ither to a General Election or by means of a Referendum—I o not care which they choose—to submit their proposals to the

* Our quotations are from the *Morning Post.*

judgment of the people, who alone are entitled to decide this question." The Government received no mandate whatsoever at the last election for this Home Rule Bill. That point had been discussed over and over again. He preferred, however, to base his claim on the ground of the changed conditions since the General Election at which Mr. Redmond told them there was no Ulster question. Mr. Asquith said practically the same thing. The Premier was asked during his election campaign this question "Will you be prepared to permit the soldiers of the Crown to shoot down any of the Protestant minority if and when the latter should take up arms in defence of their present liberty?" And this was the Prime Minister's answer: "I have not the least reason to fear that the contingency apprehended will ever arise.' "Could Mr. Asquith say now that he had no reason to fear any such contingency, and if he could not the whole conditions were altered and it was absolutely necessary that the people and not the Government should decide the issue."

MR. BONAR LAW declared:

Ulster Determination

I know of nothing in the history of our country more remarkable than the absolute solidarity of the Protestant population of Ulster on the question. In all previous controversies before Home Rule they were divided. The Presbyterians in Ulster, or the great bulk of them, supported Mr. Gladstone in disestablishing the Irish Church. They supported him in his Land Law, but now there is no section in Ulster which is more determined—there is, I believe, no section which is so determined, as the Presbyterians to resist to the death this Home Rule proposal. In our great cities the line of division among our people is very largely, unhappily as I think, that of disputes between capital and labour. The conditions in Belfast in that respect are precisely the same as the great towns of England and Scotland; yet the dread of Home Rule is so utterly overpowering that these things which weigh so much everywhere else have ceased to exist in Ulster.

When the Ulster movement began it was asserted by Radical speakers and journalists that it was engineered from above and the democracy had no part in it. Then they suddenly changed their tune.

They said until the other day that it was only the Belfast mob which was doing it and that the business men of Belfast who had something to lose took no part in such disorderly proceedings. Well they have been answered. The meeting in Belfast last week in the Ulster Hall and the overflow meeting in the Presbyterian Assembly Hall

was, in my belief, the most striking event which has so far happened in this movement. The meeting consisted of practically the whole business community of Belfast.

They were the very class who most hated disorder, knowing that disorder injured and possibly ruined their business, yet they were as unanimous and enthusiastic as the workers in the shipyard, "and they declared without a dissentient voice that though they have counted the cost they will resist this Bill and will back up and obey the Provisional Government which has set up in Ulster. Facts like these alter the whole situation."

Birmingham

As the Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post* (see *Morning Post*, November 22) points out, "there seems to be something bracing in the air of Highbury." Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, though alas out of the fighting-line, has more political intelligence and courage in his little finger than can be found elsewhere in the four political Parties. No one can take counsel with him without being encouraged and stimulated, and when sailying forth from Highbury, men give us of their very best. It was in Birmingham that Mr. Balfour made his two supremely successful platform speeches, almost the only ones in which he has ever been in touch with his audience. On November 21 Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson stayed at Highbury for a great meeting on the Irish question, and both these great speakers surpassed themselves, putting new fire into an old question and blowing to smithereens all cowardly shifts, the spurious compromise, the insincere platitudes of the arm-chair Round Table politicians who fondly imagine that if Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Lansdowne, Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain sat at the same board as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Redmond, we should all live happily for ever afterwards. The Birmingham meeting has knocked this tomfoolery on the head, and there was a singular appropriateness in its receiving its quietus under the auspices and inspiration of Mr. Chamberlain. The Chair was taken by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who read a characteristic message from his father, "Hold fast and fight hard," and he gave eloquent welcome to the Unionist Leader and the Ulster Leader, reminding the former:

Mr. Bonar Law, there is one other question which here in Birmingham lies very

close to our hearts. We are Tariff Reformers—whole-hearted Tariff Reformers, because we believe that in Tariff Reform we can lay the foundation for the improvement of the social condition of the masses of our people, and for the closer union of the great Empire of which we are the centre. We have made in this matter great sacrifices in order to preserve concord, but we accept the conditions which you, sir, have laid down. We are content to move on the lines which you have indicated. We are ready to postpone the full fruition of our hopes, so that there be no going back, and so that our progress, though slow, be steady. Nowhere throughout the country has your reaffirmation of the position which Tariff Reform holds in our programme been received with greater pleasure than here. In this and in the other great tasks to which you have set your hand we wish you God-speed, and in placing ourselves in the ranks of your followers we raise our city's cry of "Forward" and "God defend the right."

Awakening of the People

MR. BONAR LAW received a great ovation, and he speedily showed that he deserved it by the wonderful hold he kept over one of the most experienced and critical audiences to be found anywhere. We can only regret our inability to do justice to as fine a vindication of Unionist policy as has been heard for many a long day. At the last General Election the Unionist leaders had tried to make the country understand that a measure such as the Parliament Act meant "not the destruction of the veto of the House of Lords: it meant abolition of the veto of the people of this country. It meant that power, absolute and uncontrolled, was placed in the hands of the Cabinet of the day so long as they could by any means—and they have not been scrupulous about the means—secure a majority in the House of Commons. Such a system leads directly to anarchy. It is a negation of representative Government, for the essence of representative Government is that on vital questions the will, not of a body of temporary dictators, but the will of the people of the country shall be obeyed." Unionist warnings were, however, neglected. "That is not surprising. The great mass of the people are not interested in academic questions. They are not interested in the theoretic powers of the Government. What interests them is the use the Government makes of those powers. It always was so. Look back upon our own history. King James I claimed absolute power. He claimed it, not only in private conversation, but in his communications with the House of Commons. He claimed it but he did not attempt to enforce it, and he died peaceably in his bed. Charles I made no claim which had not been previously,

made by his father, but he not only made the claim, he tried to enforce it, and he did not die in his bed. The position is the same now. Our people were not theoretically interested in the powers of the Government, but when they find that the Government propose to use those powers to dragoon the people of Ulster at the bidding of Mr. Redmond without the consent of the people of this country, then they are moved—and if they are moved by the prospect of it, how will they be moved by the reality?" Throughout the controversy we have had nothing better than this. After glancing at conflicting utterances of Ministerial small fry such as Mr. Churchill—whom nobody reads, though his nonsense is reported verbatim in the *Times* and *Daily Mail*—and Mr. Runciman, the Leader of the Opposition gave Mr. Redmond a dressing down which must have reminded his Birmingham audience of those historic speeches in which Mr. Chamberlain exposed the treasonable malignity of "the kept party."

Trouncing Mr. Redmond

IN Birmingham, where the Nationalist Leader had recently spoken, Mr. Redmond might pose as an Imperialist, but some of his previous speeches "were more than flesh and blood can bear. And I (Mr. Bonar Law) can understand with what feeling those speeches have been read by the men and by the women of Ulster." This was not a Bill to enable the Irish Nationalists to govern themselves, but it was designed "to use the whole British power to do for the Nationalists what they never could do for themselves—to force their yoke on a great homogeneous community which detests their rule. The very suggestion that the Government are even thinking of stopping short of a crime like that has filled Mr. Redmond with rage. He takes off the mask and shows us exactly what are his feelings for the people of Ulster. Cowering behind the British Army, which he believes or pretends to believe will be with him, he pours contempt upon the resistance of Ulster." Mr. Redmond had the effrontery to state that the entire British Empire approved the Home Rule Bill. Speaking as a Canadian, Mr. Bonar Law explained the view of Oversea Dominions:

They are in favour of extending local government with the consent of the governed, and in Canada they have a situation not unlike ours. How have they dealt with it? Quebec is a province peopled largely with men of French race and [illegible]

Catholic religion. The population of Ontario is largely of British extraction and Protestant religion, and they have given local self-government to Quebec, and they have given it also to Ontario. If you were to suggest to a Canadian that he should do in Canada what is proposed to be done in Ireland, that Ontario should be put under the heel of Quebec, or Quebec under the heel of Ontario, he would tell you that you were a madman, and that no sane man would dream of it. The real feeling of the Dominions was shown by the latest unification within our Empire. Natal occupies in South Africa a position not altogether dissimilar from that of Ulster in Ireland. In the other States of the South African Confederation there is a majority of men of the Dutch race. Natal is largely British. Was it proposed that Natal should be forced to join the Union against her will and that British troops should be used if necessary to compel her to submit? No. That is not the way of our Colonies. That is not the way in which sane men anywhere in the world would deal with such a question. The Natal Government were in favour of Union, but even that was not enough. They knew it could never succeed unless the people desired it, and it was only after a plebiscite of Natal had declared in favour of it that the Union took place. When people tell you that the Empire is in favour of the coercion of Ulster I say to you they don't understand the Empire, and that that is the last thing which any Canadian or Australian would dream of for a single moment

In the same impudent speech the Nationalist Leader attacked Lord Halsbury for bringing the King's name into the controversy. "Who is the man that accused Lord Halsbury? He is the man who only twelve years ago used these words, 'The Corporation of Dublin had degraded the National capital of Ireland by debasing itself at the feet of Queen Victoria.' Was it wonderful that the people of Ulster preferred any fate to being ruled 'by a man to whom loyalty is a bad character'?"

MR. REDMOND now boasted of the record of Irish Catholics in the British Army. As Mr. Bonar Law finely observed:

Belated Atonement

It is a record of which Irishmen may justly be proud. The services which have been rendered to the Empire in many a hard fought field in every part of the globe by Irish Catholic soldiers are indeed great, and they do far outweigh in our minds the jeers, the taunts, and the insults of Irish politicians. But what share has Mr. Redmond in this? Always the Nationalist organisations have poured contempt on our soldiers. They have used every effort to prevent Irishmen from enlisting in what they call "England's coward Army." They are doing it to-day. Look at what happened only the other day in Athlone. I will read you part of a sentence from a newspaper published a fortnight ago. This is it: "A night or two ago considerably over a thousand people, headed by the Athlone pipers band and the members of the national Boy Scouts, marched behind the soldiers booing vigorously and singing national songs." Those are the men who boast of the work of Irish soldiers in our Army."

What was Mr. Redmond's own record and that of his followers in Parliament:

Call to your minds a memorable scene in the House of Commons. It happened not long ago. None of us I think will ever forget it. When our Army had been defeated, when our soldiers were lying dead on the field of battle, when every man who loved his country was sick at heart, insulting shouts of triumph were raised on the Nationalist benches in the House of Commons. More than that, at the same time or about the same time a member of that party, a gentleman who I think is or was the Whip of the party, recommended his countrymen that when they were lined up against the Boers they should remember that they were Irishmen, and should shoot not the Boers but the Englishmen. It is the man with that record behind him who is now hounding the Government to use British troops to shoot down men who in every hour of difficulty and danger have stood loyally by their King. Think of it, think of it. It would be a comedy if it were not so tragic. British troops are to be moved against men who go to meet them singing our National Anthem and waving our national flag. This is to be done at the orders of men to whom our National Anthem is a party song and the national flag is a party emblem, and it is to be done in a city through the Nationalist quarter of which even to-day a dead soldier cannot be moved in peace to his last resting place, because the flag which he loved in life is wrapped round his body when it lies cold in death.

The reader can readily imagine the response of such an audience to such an appeal.

Haves and Have nots

MR. BONAR LAW said a noteworthy word on the social question which oppresses all thoughtful people. No one can pretend that all is well with the people of the only country enjoying the blessings of Cobdenism. The speaker "happened to be dining the other day in one of the great houses in London. I sat next to my hostess. Her husband is a man of great wealth ('Shame' and laughter). Well, I am not guilty of that crime. But he is one of those, and I know many of them, who do not look upon their wealth as something that he has the right to do as he likes with, but he looks upon it as a trust for which he is responsible, and of which he will have to render an account." How unlike the Radical Plutocracy! "My hostess said to me, 'I wish we could find out what is at the bottom of the uneasiness of the working classes.' Looking round on the luxury by which we were surrounded, I replied, 'I think I can tell you, what they want is that you should have a little less of this sort of thing, and that they should have a little more of it.'" That is a striking diagnosis of the situation which, taken

by itself, would have made this Birmingham speech memorable. It shows insight and courage, two of the most essential qualities of Statesmanship—and the rarest. There is weeping and gnashing of teeth in the newly acquired palaces and artificial deer parks of Mr. Lloyd George's friends who having, thanks to his "bear raid" upon landed property, bought "seats" cheap, now flaunt their vulgar and often ill-gotten wealth in the faces ot a neighbourhood impoverished by the People's Budget, which squeezed out the squire for the benefit of the titled Radical "bounder." These "bounders" are execrated in almost every place they are devastating, and if the working classes think that vulgar self-advertising wealth has too many of the good things of this world while they have too little it is absurd to express surprise or blame. Some men appreciate the responsibilities of wealth, and are worthy of it. Many of those who have been bedewed with "honours" in exchange for cheques to keep a corrupt gang in clover are utterly unworthy of great possessions, and are no inconsiderable factor in the development of class hatred.

Tributes to Mr. Chamberlain

MR. BONAR LAW struck yet another note in concluding this thoughtful, wise, and resolute speech. His finely phrased tribute to the man with whom the name and fame of Birmingham are imperishably associated went straight to the hearts of his hearers. It was always a pleasure to come to Birmingham because, if he might say so:

In my mind, as in the minds of countless thousands throughout the Empire, the fame of your city is chiefly due to its association with the name of Mr. Chamberlain. Many years ago the greatest compliment I ever received personally was paid to me by Mrs. Chamberlain, who told me that my speeches reminded her of those of her husband. It is one of the privileges of political life, and they are not very numerous, that it does bring one into contact with the great men of our time. When I entered the House of Commons thirteen years ago I had the strongest possible admiration for Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and the acquaintance, the friendship, which in the interval I have been permitted to form with him has only made that feeling stronger. He has led a strenuous life. He was a bonnie fighter. But even those who on political grounds opposed him most bitterly—many of them, as I know—have for his ability and for his character the deepest respect. In the course of his political career he changed his party, but he is one of those of whom Burke said they would preserve their consistency by changing the means of securing the unity of the end. That is his history. He changed his tool; he never changed his aim, and that aim ever was the good of his

countrymen and the greatness of his country. You are proud of Mr. Chamberlain, and now in his old age it is, as I know, a joy to him to feel that he has in the House of Commons a son who is bravely carrying on his work—a son of whom we can be sure, and no one is surer of it than I, that he will never do anything to dim the lustre of the great name he bears.

It was Sir Edward Carson's maiden speech in Birmingham, and he began by declaring that "no one who was engaged in the old Home Rule fight as he was could speak in Birmingham without a thrill of emotion when he remembered that Mr. Chamberlain fought their battle and won it. He had left to Irishmen guilty of the crime of loyalty a feeling of gratitude and affection. They had learnt from him that the way to fight was to make up your mind to fight to a finish. And what was the great motive power of Mr. Chamberlain? It was his great, his Imperial instinct which had led him above all things to forsake his party in order that he might carry out as best he could those great ideals which he knew would alone make his country great. It was that spirit which originally formed the Unionist Party." Mr. Redmond had accused Sir Edward Carson of talking more treason in one hour than he had talked in a lifetime. The speaker brought down the house by observing that "Mr. Redmond in the House of Commons prayed Heaven that our forces might be defeated in South Africa when his (Sir Edward's) own boy was fighting side by side with British troops." Sir Edward Carson did his share in stopping the "rot" on compromise which mugwumps on both sides are seeking to engineer:

My course, at all events (concluded Sir Edward), is perfectly clear. I will go straight on. Indeed, we have never taken the slightest notice of those statements as regards compromise. I will go straight on unhesitatingly, unflinchingly. That is what I am told to do by the people I love. That is what I am told to do by the people who trust me, and until they tell me that I am no longer to go on and show me reason for that I shall do all I can to fulfil the trust that is reposed in me. We at all events have never asked for any compromise, and never will. Some things are beyond compromise, and one of them is the filching away from you of the right to a government under which you were born, and we cannot, having regard to our history and traditions, take upon ourselves to put in pawn the rights of those who come after us. We are and we will remain citizens of the United Kingdom. We have at the present moment exactly the same rights as you have, the same privileges, and the same Government, and we have no more; but we will take nothing less.

We only wish that more Unionists made pilgrimages to the shrine of patriotism at Birmingham. There would be fewer of those waves of wobbling which from time to time submerge the weaker brethren. There is no room for any compromise whatsoever on the Irish question, and the only way to deal with the conflicting signals of distress hoisted at brief intervals by different members of the Cabinet who realise the imminent collapse of Toe-the liners is to demand unconditional surrender. Our terms err on the side of moderation. All we ask for is "Dissolution before Civil War."

Cure for Wobbling

Considerable importance attaches to a speech by Lord Lansdowne at Brighton a few days prior to the Birmingham meeting, in which he said, "We have pressed, and mean to go on pressing, for a general election." He added something which has not been said sufficiently often of late: "I say to you with absolute frankness that the idea of settlement based on the exclusion of Ulster does not at all attract me." It is an odious and grotesque project, but its discussion has this advantage, that it completely knocks the bottom out of Home Rule because unless Home Rule is to establish the union of Hearts promised by Mr. Gladstone there is nothing to be said for it. As Lord Lansdowne pertinently reminded our Patapoufs and Popkins:

> For five-and-twenty years some of us have been fighting Home Rule not merely because of our respect for and admiration for Ulster and the Ulster people, but because we were convinced that Home Rule was grossly unjust to the Unionists of all parts of Ireland, because we believed it would be a set-back to the country in the path of advancing prosperity along which she has travelled with such rapid strides during the last few years, and, finally, because we believed that a Nationalist Government in Ireland would be a source of weakness and danger to the United Kingdom, if not the Empire.

And so say all of us.

Exclusion of Ulster

LORD LANSDOWNE added: "None of those special objections would be removed merely by the special treatment of Ulster." Lord Lansdowne went on to say, in spite of his previous argument that the Opposition could not reject overtures from the Government on that basis: "In the first place, I believe most of us would sacrifice a great deal in order to avoid the disaster for which I believe

we are at this moment heading." We would have no dealings whatsoever with the present Government on any subject for this simple reason that you can't believe a single word most of His Majesty's Ministers say. A formal conference or informal conversations would be a mere trap to disarm the Unionist Party, to bewilder the public, and to give the Government the entrée into respectable society. If we may speak frankly like Lord Lansdowne, both he and his son-in-law the Duke of Devonshire, who lately sat on a platform with Mr. Asquith, are too great gentlemen to cope with the Marconi cabal. They are sincere, serious, high-minded men. They haven't an outside chance in any dealings with cynical place-at-any-price lawyers, speculative solicitors, professional mountebanks, who form the bulk of the Asquith Cabinet. There is nothing to confer with the other side about. Our policy is to consult the people. They are Home Rulers, we are Unionists. They have long sought the Repeal of the Union which the Unionist Party exists to maintain. The exclusion of Ulster is not even a makeshift nor a guarantee against civil strife, as may be gathered from Lord Arran's timely contribution reminding us of the Covenantor's oath which treats Ireland as a whole and pledges all covenantors to resist the establishment of any Home Rule Parliament in Ireland.

Touching Pitch

WE cannot believe that Ulstermen will ever entertain the idea of behaving towards the scattered and defenceless loyalists of the Nationalist provinces as British Home Rulers would behave to them. We count on Ulster saving herself by her exertions and England by her example. We stand in sore need of an example. It is the one and only thing that can save us. The rising tide of Unionism is our answer to the splendid call of Ulster, and we refuse to believe that any men who count in Ulster will turn their back on themselves. It should be noted that one of the attractions of considering overtures in Lord Lansdowne's eyes is that an opportunity would be afforded of turning the present preposterous Bill inside out. But that seems to us impossible without a General Election. The moment our Toe-the-liners cease toeing the line out they go. Lord Lansdowne realises the key of the position when he says, "We hold, and shall go on holding,

that the proper solution of this question is reference to the electors of this country." Then why not adhere to that policy? "Failing that we are ready to consider special terms for Ulster, accompanied by such changes in the Bill as the special treatment of Ulster may render necessary." It is something to know that "if both these things are refused, then we shall give Ulster, in and out of Parliament, all the encouragement we can in her resistance, and we shall hold his Majesty's Ministers responsible for any disasters which may result from their conduct. Thirdly, we shall regard a settlement thus imposed as lacking in authority and we shall hold ourselves free to reopen it should the opportunity arise." We respectfully repeat, "Don't have any dealings with the other side or you will be diddled as you were during the Coronation Conference." Eminent members of our Party are too apt to forget that one can't touch pitch without being defiled.

Nemesis of Anti-Militarism

NEARLY every tragedy has its humorous side, just as many comedies have their tragedy. The comedy of the Irish tragedy lies in the suicidal military policy of his Majesty's Ministers for the last eight years, headed by the arch humbug on the Woolsack. Lord Haldane, is very anxious that we should forget that he was once "the British Carnot," who reduced our regular Army by some 30,000 or 40,000 men on the pretext that he was about to organise a Nation in Arm. Needless to say the constructive part of his programme failed to materialise. Our attenuated Territorial Forces are simply the old volunteers under a new name plus a paper organisation. The nemesis of anti-militarism has now overtaken the anti-militarists. They decline to have an adequate Army to uphold British interests. When they find that "toeing the line" to the present Redmonds and the late Patrick Fords means shooting down loyalists at the bidding of traitors, the instrument is not forthcoming. We have kept the question of our military weakness until the close of the controversy as it is a peculiarly painful topic. Messrs. Asquith and Co. have deliberately paralysed our military power for purely party purposes, and our European position is in consequence in danger. Party is now about to pay for its treachery to the country because the future of Radicalism depends on obeying

Redmond's orders to the end of the chapter, just as the future of Redmondism depends on those orders being given and obeyed. Both Radicals and Nationalists consequently find themselves between the devil and the deep sea—emphatically the right men in the right place. Those who have played the German game by weakening the British Army are now hoist with their own petard. Ministers have not the means available for forcing Northern Ireland under the corrupt yoke of Tammany Hall in Dublin with their present peace establishment, and were the Reserves summoned to the Colours they would refuse to go and butcher British loyalists for the sake of those who have always spat upon the British Army. Nor would the Territorials be available for putting, even if they could, Belfast under Dublin. An order to the Fleet to blockade Protestant Ireland would probably send it into the Mediterranean, as the combined Demagogue of Dundee and Windbag of Whitehall knows only too well. For this reason he is whining for a "compromise," an additonal reason for the Unionist Party to stand to its guns and insist on a Dissolution, which is the only way out of the present impasse. We may dismiss a Referendum as the remedy of prigs and pedants who live in atmospheres far removed from the multitude whose votes ultimately decide. We should doubt whether one man in a thousand has the faintest idea whether the Referendum is something to eat, to drink, or to wear. Our too learned men must make allowances for plain people without their advantages, and abstain from further confusing the public by fresh nomenclature. You might as well go to the country on the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Demagogues in the Dumps

THE Windbag of Dundee is not the only Demagogue down in the dumps at the present time. Where is the Artful Dodger of Carnarvon Boroughs and his land-bursting campaign? So far he has only succeeded in bursting himself, which had been done before. As a prominent Radical cheerfully remarked earlier in the year, "Lloyd George has got a bullet in him which he will always feel when the weather is bad." The press did all that was possible to boom the much-postponed campaign, which at last opened in the beginning of October at Bedford, under the

auspices of a huge claque imported by special trains. For hours the orator poured out dull malicious twaddle to an audience which could scarcely conceal its boredom. Mr. Rowland Prothero administered a crushing answer in the shape of a letter to the *Morning Post* (October 17), the gist of which we gave last month. Mr. Lloyd George staggered on to Swindon, and repeated his performances at this convenient railway centre under similar auspices to those of the Bedford demonstration. Again the Press tried to make the world stand still, but it revolved precisely as usual and it was announced, apparently because England was so unresponsive, that Peter the Hermit would carry "the fiery cross" into Scotland. Meanwhile he has been completely knocked out by a Duke, than which there could be no more humiliating fate for a Demagogue. Dukes are the avowed targets of Demagogues. It is perfectly monstrous in a Duke to retaliate on a Demagogue and incidentally expose him to the world for the fraud he is. Only a very young Duke would have the "gumption" to do it. The devastation and depopulation of land suitable for agriculture and the rearing of a race of hardy yeomen in order to make way for ducal deer is one of Mr. George's favourite topics with town audiences, many of whom have neither seen a hardy yeoman nor a ducal deer. He has made great play with this topic this autumn. Any fool can present a moving spectacle of a wicked Duke surrounded by "gillies" and other "minions" gleefully watching the departure of emigrant ships, loaded with the cream of the population of the countryside, whose homes have been burnt over their heads and who are forced to cross the water in order that the Duke and his fellow Dukes may slaughter unoffending quadrupeds. In passing, we should very much like to know how many defenceless creatures the Duke of Illingworth has slaughtered in his ducal seat in the Isle of Arran, in the interval of auditing the accounts of the Radical Party.

A Sporting Offer

MR. PROTHERO brought Mr. George's twaddle about the sacrifice of the Highlands to the test by this very simple suggestion. "Offer the Duke of Sutherland £2 an acre for the purchase of 200,000 acres of his Highland property, and he would jump at it." In commenting upon Mr. Prothero's letter, we pointed out that "Mr. Prothero probably

speaks with greater knowledge of the Land question than any living man, and unlike many of our town theorists of both parties in the House of Commons it is practical knowledge, of which some well-intentioned Unionists are unfortunately destitute, and their ignorance not infrequently plays into the hands of their still more ignorant and very vindictive enemy." Mr. Prothero had not long to wait for confirmation of his judgment, as the Duke of Sutherland published a letter saying that he would gladly sell 200,000 acres of land or more, now under deer, to the Government for £2 an acre, adding "This is cheaper than land can be bought in any of the countries named by Mr. Lloyd George and is hardly above the price of prairie land in Canada." The moment the Duke of Sutherland made his very sporting offer to sell sporting land at prairie value, the entire Coalition executed its usual *volte-face*, and whereas before it had been represented that millions of acres of priceless land suitable for agricultural purposes had been withdrawn from public user by selfish game preservers, now the Duke was denounced for trying to palm off his worthless acres on the Government for much more than their real value. The net result so far is that Mr. Lloyd George's Scottish land campaign is indefinitely postponed as he can't in the face of his hesitation to close with the Duke of Sutherland's offer, which has been made in formal terms and at a still lower price, dilate in any Scottish town about the greedy land monopolists of the Highlands, and the East End of London has been selected as a more suitable venue for his next demonstration, where he will doubtless "Limehouse" as of old oblivious of the Duke of Sutherland, and other large landowners who have followed his example in offering great properties to the Government at knock-out prices. The meanness of the man is shown by his performance at the Oxford Union, which we regret to say so far forgot itself as to entertain Mr. Lloyd George. Having for years lived on the misrepresentation that valuable land is closed to agriculture by wicked Tory Dukes, he had the effrontery in reply to an interruption to describe the Duke of Sutherland's property as not "land" but "rocks."

The Duke of Sutherland is not the only fly in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's ointment. While he funks carrying his "fiery cross" into Scotland, another Demagogue has brought a "fiery cross" into England under circumstances both disquieting and ignominious to his Majesty's Ministers—particularly Mr. Lloyd George. Into the rights and wrongs of the terrible conflict which has paralysed the Port of Dublin for some months and reduced a considerable section of the population to destitution we do not propose to enter. There have admittedly been faults on both sides, and though in these flabby days any fighting man arouses the enthusiasm of his own side, the utterances of Boss Murphy of Dublin are scarcely calculated to convince the public—however wrong-headed Mr. Larkin the strikers' leader may be—that the employers' counsels are exclusively dominated by wisdom. We cannot therefore see why Unionist journals should waste so much powder and shot upon Mr. Larkin. Like all his tribe who take Mr. Lloyd George of Limehouse as their exemplar, Mr. Larkin has said and done many idiotic and disgraceful things, but unlike Mr. Lloyd George he has said some things which are both new and true. The particular phrase, "Damn the Empire" may never have crossed the lips of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but Mr. George did his utmost to damn the Empire during the South African War by the aid and comfort he gave to the enemy by his pro-Boer speeches and pro-Boer meetings which Birmingham alone knew how to deal with. Though again Lloyd Georgism may never have crystallised in Mr. Larkin's war-cry "To Hell with contracts," the Chancellor of the Exchequer has probably sent more contracts to hell than any living man and prevented more contracts from coming to life by destroying the basis which makes contracts possible. The main difference between the two men is, that the official agitator has been animated with a single eye to catching votes for himself and the people who keep him in power, while the unofficial agitator, utterly perverse, impossible and lawless as may be his methods, is clearly not after votes which he apparently regards as useless commodities.

Another "Fiery Cross"

Stung to madness by the condition of his own class in the worst slums of the worst city in Europe, where you have the vices of Tammany Hall government without any of its redeeming virtues, he strikes out blindly, but occasionally touches the spot. For one thing, however ardent a Home Ruler he may be, he has exposed the hollow hypocrisy of the Irish Nationalist Party with their pretended love of the Irish people, as also their incapacity to provide decent government in a city completely under their control. Mr. Lloyd George has never dared call attention to the Dublin slums because he is kept in office by the Party primarily responsible for this plague spot. Mr. Larkin has likewise revealed the true character of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, under whose tender mercies helpless Ireland would be placed if Home Rule became an accomplished fact. Surely the man who has done so much is worth rather more than half a brick. Amid much wild rubbish he occasionally says something worth hearing, and we should always remember that he comes from a hell upon earth. Our brave Government put him in prison as a "dangerous criminal," but on learning from their wire-pullers that "the Larkin vote" was assuming dangerous proportions in the by-elections, they let him out. Instead of fawning upon his terrified gaolers the released prisoner promptly crossed the Channel to flutter the Trade Union dovecotes, where there has been much billing and cooing among politicians, who since they got [illegible] a week, so long as they support the present "capitalist" Government, have become indistinguishable from the Radical Plutocracy and are not above wearing official livery and receiving official salaries when they get the chance.

Dublin Slums

Decidedly Mr. Larkin is superior to Mr. Lloyd George, and many other Ministerial Demagogues who live in the lap of luxury, scorch along the highways and byways in their thousand-pound motor-cars to the danger of the humbler part of the community, subordinate the peasant to the pheasant on their properties so that record game-bags may be achieved, build fashionable week-end cottages which have materially aggravated the cottage famine, and at odd moments stoke up class-hatreds against other members of their own class. So far as we know Mr. Larkin has not yet

Which is [illegible]ana?

succumbed to American Maroonia, though as he gets up in the world he must be on his guard against this form of temptation. But what is most disquieting to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the lightning rise of his rival is the extraordinary enthusiasm for the latter in organs which were once content to cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." The Ephesians of the Cocoa press appear to be in doubt as to which is the true Diana, and the gush about Mr. Larkin leaves little room for poor Mr. Lloyd George. Perhaps the unkindest cut he has yet received was at the innocent hands of the President of the Oxford Union, who, wishing to be polite to a guest, rebuked an undergraduate who enquired whether Mr. Lloyd George had any Marconi shares to sell—a question which the President described as "insulting." It was only the other day that *the* supreme act of virtue in a Minister was to hold Marconi shares, so long as they were not English Marconis. This was the attitude of the then Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in their evidence before the Select Committee, which was endorsed by the sycophants constituting the "majority" of the Committee whose report was vociferously applauded by the Coalition press. Now if you please it is an "insult" to mention the word Marconi in the presence of the distinguished "investor." Indeed there is not a bright spot on Mr. Lloyd George's horizon at the end of the year which opened so auspiciously for him, and the outlook is not improved by the knowledge that all his humiliations are home made.

IRISH COVENANTORS AND THEIR OATH

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster, as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious feeling, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of H.M. King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant, throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being thrust upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to resist its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names. And further we individually declare that we have not already signed this covenant.

OATH OF IRISH COVENANTORS.

rumours prevalent at the time of writing, as to a possible ement of the Irish question on the basis of establishing a e Rule Parliament in Ireland with Ulster excluded, appear

at the first sight to suggest an easy solution of a complicated problem. The Government would presumably accept it. The Unionist Party in England are credited with a like desire. The Nationalists might receive it ruefully, but would try to make the best of a bad job, and many people think that the Ulster Covenantors would acquiesce if without joy.

So at last there appears to be on the dry and sterile sky of politics a cloud—perhaps no bigger than a man's hand, which will soon bring abundance of the refreshing rain of peace. Alas! for human hopes and memories. There stands between any such compromise, unarguable, infrangible, stern and forbidding, the Ulster Covenant. The text is printed at the head of this short article, and like the legal married wife who presents herself at a subsequent marriage ceremony it cries with unanswerable authority "I forbid the banns."

I am speaking as a Covenantor, as one who has much to gain by the exclusion of Ulster, but also as a man who is forbidden by a solemn oath to profit by such advantage, and I would point out to the readers of this Review that the wording of this solemn League and Covenant precludes Ulster from accepting the rumoured compromise. The Covenant as will be seen from its text consists of inspiring sentiments couched in noble language. It is an oath so sacred that any man believing in and fearing God could only take it with the greatest caution and with a full sense of what he was doing, giving the deepest and most solemn consideration to its meaning.

Stripped of the intervening words there stands out the explicit undertaking:

> We whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of H.M. King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant, throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal

citizenship in the United Kingdom, AND IN USING ALL MEANS WHICH MAY BE FOUND NECESSARY TO DEFEAT THE PRESENT CONSPIRACY TO SET UP A HOME RULE PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND.

In these days of opportunism there are many scoffers at the binding properties of a religious oath. Thank God there is little atheism in Ulster. Men in that province—the farmers and labourers of Ulster—believe in the Almighty as they believe in the simple principles they learnt at their mothers' knees. They took this oath with a full knowledge of its meaning, and they know that retreat from such an obligation is worse than death. They will adhere to it in the letter and the spirit. Let Home Rule come, they will adhere to their pledge. Should war come, they will stand by their plighted troth. Let death come, they will not shrink, for these men of Ulster are a God-fearing people. It is upon them that the trials of keeping their oath will fall, but they will keep it nevertheless, until the verdict of a General Election releases them.

There may be waverers, but they are not among the simpler Covenantors whom I have met. There are a few educated men who have written letters trying to prove that black is white and the reverse, dialecticians whose intellects fight their honesty with surprisingly successful results. Men who value their lives and their pockets before their honour, men who for their own comfort and safety will not hesitate to sacrifice their good name and fame and transmit them tarnished to their successors, men whose animating aspiration through life has ever been, "Give peace in *our* time, O Lord."

These are the men who contributed the useless padding of their names to the Covenant which they contemplate possibly dis-[illegible]sing, but they will have to remember their fellow Covenantors [illegible] if they are Christians reckon with their Maker. The *men* who [illegible] sworn the Covenant will fulfil the duty that their oaths and [illegible] consciences impose upon them, and consequently refuse [illegible] any circumstances to countenance the latest conspiracy [illegible] up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland, and will take [illegible]ans necessary to resist it, even at the cost of their

If war must come let it come. They believe rightly that there are worse things than war—even civil war, and one of those worse things is the breaking of a solemn oath. They have sworn before the Almighty, and believing in their oath many Ulstermen outside Ulster have sworn to stand by them; and under their oath they will together face the consequences. But of this I am sure—that the sooner the wheat is winnowed from the chaff, the sooner the weaker brethren are sorted from the stalwarts, the better it will be for those who mean to do their duty—"In using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland." This is the key of the Covenant and it is the Covenant that makes it absolutely impossible for Covenantors to compromise on the lines of present rumours.

Arran.

courage, a minimum of truth, one single touch of sincerity might have redeemed the situation and enabled Englishmen to look foreigners in the face as they could before the day of our degradation.

For many years, indeed for several generations, we have made ourselves odious to the entire civilised world by our Sunday School sermons upon British moral superiority as contrasted with the pitiable condition of communities so benighted as to be unable to perceive the unbridgeable gulf between themselves and their London mentors. Not a corrupt episode could occur anywhere from China to Peru without the occasion being improved and the moral pointed by the pundits of Fleet Street of the "Thank God I am not a foreigner" school, who in unctuously depicting the appalling plight of foreign politics, as compared with Home politics, almost invariably wound up their preachments by attributing inferior morals abroad to the poisonous influence of Protection, our superior *moral* being of course credited to the purifying influence of Cobdenism which besides enabling us to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market exercised some mysterious spiritual influence which sanctified our whole public life. Protection meant unclean government. Free imports meant clean government. It was not merely a question of economics or even of politics. It was a profound moral issue going down to the very roots of our being. Should we become so demented as to yield to the specious sophistries which had beguiled other less happily situated countries into departing from the creed of conscious rectitude, we should find ourselves inevitably sliding down the inclined plain leading to Costa Rica or Panama. So ran the legend which assumed a hundred different forms and hypnotised a multitude of simpletons, who seriously and sincerely believed that so long as we consented to remain the common dumping-ground of the world, so long should we preserve intact our prestige. This *ex-hypothesi* was not founded on battleships or bayonets, but on what John Bright called the "moral idea" which enabled us to defy all detraction, and to arouse the "envy and admiration" of surrounding nations even though our unpopularity might cause our admirers to hesitate giving open expression to the esteem and regard which they privately cherished. So strong is habit and so ingrained the love of lecturing in

British journalists that only the other day an organ of light and leading in Lancashire, which has discredited itself beyond the majority of its contemporaries by its attitude towards our modern South Sea Bubble, because unlike many of them it had a reputation to lose, dilated at large on Hungarian Corruption. Our contemporary pointed out in approved fashion that such episodes as it professed to describe showed that Hungary lived in a different moral atmosphere to ourselves, while Hungarian politicians were convicted of offences unthinkable to the great, wise and eminent men who adorn our public life. It appeared that certain politicians at Budapest had endeavoured to enrich themselves illicitly, and that votes were unblushingly bought in that barbarous country as though such things were totally unknown to us who have seen whole constituencies debauched and corrupted by Limehouse bribes, while only the other day a British Government purchased a House of Commons by robbing the public till, to the tune of £400 per annum for every member—a policy worthy of Dick Turpin; which the majority of the House coolly ratified without affording a much exploited electorate any opportunity of passing judgment on a hateful transaction. Has the *Manchester Guardian* never heard of Mr. Asquith's colleagues seeking to make illicit profits—profits so illicit that the machinery of the Coalition was in the first instance employed to conceal the business from the public, and in the second place when this desperate effort failed and confession became unavoidable to whitewash and canonise the culprits. One of them was made a Peer and sent abroad for his country's good. Another became the appointed mouthpiece of the party of progress and purity on all questions of right and wrong, while the third has recently been elevated to the once honoured office of Lord Chief Justice of England. At his mercy lie the liberties, the reputations and the lives of those who have not the requisite political "pull" to attain positions for which they are flagrantly unfit. And yet some of our papers—we have to be thankful nowadays for small mercies, and several Radical organs are admittedly uncomfortable over the last and crowning outrage—continue to sermonise as though things are as they were! One such recently had the hardihood to publish an article on "The Underworld of Politics" and many of its readers must have eagerly turned to the *Daily Mail*, hoping that the boycott

of the truth had at last been removed, only to find, however, that the "Underworld" in question was our old friend Tammany Hall, the article consisting of the usual virtuous stereotyped onslaught on the American Augean Stables which lately sustained a smashing defeat at the hands of the enlightened electors of New York. Have we no "Underworld" that we can afford to cruise about the planet in search of other underworlds? Unfortunately we have, and still more unfortunately our underworld is at the moment our upper world, while Tammany has been sent about its business, thanks to the vigilant public opinion of New York, and the splendid campaign of the Press. Tammany lives by blackmail. The political "pull" across the water is carried to intolerable lengths and you have a people who won't stand what they regard as over the limit, though they will stand everything up to the limit.

Meanwhile we remain saddled with Panama government, and *mirabile et miserabile dictu* the mainstays of the Panama Party are not merely the Coalition Press, but newspapers popularly supposed to represent the "Opposition." The Marconi mystery is bad enough. How did the Marconi Company ever get such a grip on a British Government? The Murray mystery is bad enough. Why did Lord Murray, generally regarded as one of our most promising statesmen, suddenly vanish from public life, obtain a seat in the Assembly his entire energies had been devoted to humiliating, and incontinently bolt to Bogota the moment that rumours concerning Ministerial Marconi speculation were about to be investigated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, carefully packed with an obsequious majority of his own friends? No less mysterious, perhaps more mysterious, is the Press mystery, the truly amazing attitude of Unionist papers so-called whose "chivalry" or collusion is a subject of perpetual slobber by the Panama Party. The Press mystery dates from the moment the famous libel action against the *Matin* (heard on March 19, 1913) the origin of which still remains shrouded in obscurity, which afforded Ministers a convenient if belated opportunity of confessing that they had misled the public by their emphatic not to say furious repudiations the previous October, of the "foul" suggestion that any of them might have been tempted to speculate in Marconi shares during the negotiation of the Wireless Contract

between the Company, of which Mr. Godfrey Isaacs is the Genera
Manager and the plenipotentiary, and the Government, of whic
the Attorney-General, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and th
Chief Whip of the Party were members, and in which th
Departments of Law and Finance were or should have bee
interested. What is the use of paying a Chancellor of th
Exchequer of unrivalled financial ability, if we may believ
his diminishing band of admirers, the gigantic salary of nearly £10
a week, unless his services are available to protect the pock
of the British taxpayer from the demands of rapacious Companie
The Treasury has almost an evil reputation for economy. Whe
money is really required the Treasury is ever ready with a N
though under present auspices it is grossly extravagant i
financing projects believed to be productive of votes. Bu
ex-hypothesi no votes depended on the Marconi Contract. Whe
were the watch-dogs of the Treasury? According to Mr. Lloy
George speaking on oath—or we should not quote him as a
authority on a matter of fact—he was so absorbed in the Co
Strike at the time of the acceptance of the Marconi Tender i
March of last year that he had no time even to give it
passing glance, though, as we know, a few weeks later he ha
sufficient leisure to take a very keen and active interest in th
American Marconi gamble which he was so lucky as to ent
at first-floor prices with the advantage of ground-floor know
ledge, originating with the contractor actually negotiating wit
the Lloyd George Government.

According to the Coalition creed, heartily endorsed by th
"Hush-up" Press, there is considerable virtue on the part
Mr. Lloyd George and his co-adventurers, in that althoug
they had prior information to the general public, and got a
the shares they wanted for £2 apiece—whereas you and I woul
have had to pay £3 5*s*. for American Marconis (and even
that price could only have got 15 per cent. of our application)-
because in spite of these advantages, both in price and allo
ment they, including an ex-member of the Stock Exchang
who had entered the House at the unusually early age of ninetee
made a loss on the transaction. Where so much is bewilderin
one has no time for bewilderment, though one cannot contai
one's astonishment at the doctrine that conspicuous merit accru

to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—who so far as I can make out from somewhat nebulous evidence, at one moment had the opportunity of acquiring 1000 American Marconis for about £1000, on which, had his native genius prompted him to act at the psychological moment, he could have pocketed £3000 without ever putting up any money—for losing money on an irreproachable investment on which he might have made a comfortable nest egg. If he went in with his eyes wide open for the purpose of losing his money, such conduct was reprehensible in one who comes before the public as one of the industrious poor as opposed to the idle rich. If on the other hand, as we suspect and as was only natural, Mr. George bought or rather acquired American Marconis with the single idea of making money, he exhibited inconceivable ineptitude in losing, especially after he had commenced operations with a quick and substantial harvest of unearned increment. If the investment was wrong it was very wrong, and the Ministers involved stand discredited for acting on the tip of a Government contractor during the actual negotiation of a great Government contract which would anyhow require parliamentary ratification. Nothing of the kind has occurred within the lifetime of our generation, and its general acceptance could only be interpreted as indicating serious national decadence. So far from living on a higher moral plane than the benighted foreigner, we live on a decidedly lower plane, because every one with any knowledge of politics either in France, Germany or the United States is aware that such a transaction would have involved the instant retirement or dismissal of the two Ministers or alternatively the downfall of the Government to which they belonged. If on the other hand we accept the Coalition view and regard the American gamble as a peculiarly fit and proper investment for Chancellors of the Exchequer, Attorneys-General and Chief Whips, they must be classed for all time as hopeless "Mugs" for losing so much where they might and should have made so much. Mr. George is either unfit to be Chancellor of the Exchequer on account of a scandalous "flutter" in the shares of a Company whose parent Company was in contractual relations with his own Government on the strength of a tip from the negotiator, or he is damned as an inept financier. In either case none except salaried partisans or journals compro-

mised by obligations incurred to Ministers can approve the transaction. It is impossible either from the moral or from the material standpoint.

Observe how the Marconi miasma has pervaded our politics. The word "corruption" is anathema to the Coalition and even taboo to the Parliamentary Opposition in both Houses, which has been singularly feeble in dealing with this outrage. Was there ever a more corrupting episode? Mr. Asquith was once a sincere, a truthful and trustworthy man, whose word was as good as his bond. He had in days gone by the courage to say an unpopular "No." Look at him to-day, bereft of all his moral moorings—a piteous spectacle for God and man. He sticks to nothing, he sticks at nothing, and has apparently one single object in life, namely to cling to the great office he daily dishonours. Mr. Ure in high dudgeon has retired to private life. The occupation of the George Washington of the Liberal Party has gone. He has been squeezed out by the Prime Minister. After a prolonged and virulent attack of Stumpitis the late Lord Advocate has retired to a humdrum existence on the Scottish Bench, where he will decide knotty points arising between the Free Wees and the Wee Frees. Unionists can scarcely resist shedding a sympathetic tear over the departure of the orator who at the height of his fame told his audiences, even if he did not believe it, that should the Unionists be returned to power, Old Age Pensions would be stopped. Latterly he had fallen from grace; he could not compete with his colleagues, where formerly he excelled. Our Panama Premier knocked him into a cocked hat. The Mother of Parliaments has become the Father of lies. Take this enormity. On August 14, on the eve of the close of the Session, Mr. Bonar Law, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, questioned Mr. Asquith on a subject then attracting much attention and exciting no little apprehension. The following passage is reproduced from the Official Report so there can be no wriggling out of it.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE

MR. BONAR LAW: I beg to ask the Prime Minister a question, of which I have given him private notice: Whether it is true, as reported in the daily Press, that the Lord Chief Justice [Lord Alverstone] has resigned or has tendered his resignation, and, if so, when such resignation was first tendered, and when it was accepted; and

also whether the right hon. gentleman has advised the appointment of any successor, and, if not, when is it intended to do so ?

THE PRIME MINISTER: No; so far as I am aware, the Lord Chief Justice has not resigned. The last communication which I had with him I am glad to say led me to entertain the hope that in the course of time he will be able to resume his active duties.

MR. MACVEAGH: Another mare's-nest.

Happily Parliament is not sitting at the present moment, and we are consequently spared further additions to the Mont Blanc of mendacity which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have succeeded in rearing over every aspect of the Marconi question. That his meaning was not misunderstood by the House, is evident from the ingenuous interjection of Mr. MacVeagh. Mr. Asquith deliberately declared that there was no truth in current rumours concerning the retirement of the then Lord Chief Justice, Lord Alverstone, or of the prospective appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs to a vacancy that did not exist. He told the House that he anticipated that Lord Alverstone would be able "to resume his active duties." There was not the ghost of a chance of Lord Alverstone doing anything of the kind, as Mr. Asquith and his colleagues on the Treasury Bench, who are thus *particeps criminis*, well knew. When the Prime Minister suggested that there would be no vacancy the Government knew there was a vacancy, and the Cabinet had already resolved to appoint Sir Rufus Isaacs. The statement was obviously made to tide over the Recess, as was freely admitted in Parliamentary circles at the time—not that Parliament minds being made a fool of. It is accustomed to it.

The subsequent appointment of the new Lord Chief Justice—Sir Rufus Isaacs—was precipitated not so much with a view to the reopening of the Law Courts as in order to terrorise those engaged in probing the Marconi question, who *ex hypothesi* would be overawed by the prospect of a trial before Sir Rufus Isaacs and a jury of which Mr. Godfrey Isaacs might be the foreman, and to anticipate possible action by the Stock Exchange, which was known to be investigating the flotation of the American Marconi Company. Any serious investigation by practical and honest men of business, unaffected by political bias, inevitably involved condemnation of a transaction which would not bear the light of

day, and was consequently avoided like the plague by the Marconi Select Committee.

The standard of the Stock Exchange is avowedly higher than Parliamentary standards. It would consequently be absurd to express surprise at the Committee of the Stock Exchange condemning where the House of Commons and its Committee applauded. Business would come to a standstill if jobbers or brokers dealing with one another from hour to hour were permitted to look one another in the face and tell unblushing falsehoods on matters of fact such as are not only tolerated in Parliament, but are regarded by a large and perhaps increasing section of our salaried legislators as a legitimate part of the game and one of the most attractive attributes of high office. Indeed any politician not possessing this peculiar and popular gift is liable to be looked askance at, and to be passed over in the distribution of posts. At one time, it is true, and not so very long ago it was considered a disadvantage to be found out. But we have changed all that, and if you are a Minister and are detected telling sufficient falsehoods, you risk an entertainment at some great Radical Club, where amid thundering cheers you start a fresh set of falsehoods and arouse the wildest enthusiasm by calling down maledictions on the villains who have exposed you. One need therefore waste no time in contrasting the two codes—the Parliamentary or Panama code and the City code, where mutual confidence is regarded as the cornerstone of business relations, which are perforce conducted "according to Cocker."

Nevertheless, however sundered may be the world of business from the world of politics, it would admittedly have been impossible even for the Asquiths and the Haldanes to persist in their intention of discrediting the exalted office of Lord Chief Justice of England in the face of the censure of the Stock Exchange (of which Sir Rufus Isaacs was once an infant prodigy) on the notorious flotation of the American Marconi Company reorganised by the excessively astute Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, of *the* Marconi Company, during a flying visit to New York in March 1912, after he had secured the capitulation of the British Post Office over the Marconi Company's Tender.

Although Sir Rufus Isaacs, late Attorney-General, had secured

his reward before the decision of the Stock Exchange was published. Ministers were so sensitive on the subject that the utmost pressure of the usual character is understood to have been brought in order to prevent the Stock Exchange from taking action which would necessarily be another nail in the coffin of a moribund Government. Any condemnation of a transaction approved by the rest of Cæsar's Wives, would not merely be a blow to the Marconi Ministers but to the entire harem, which comforted them before they were found out and whitewashed them afterwards. It would likewise be a severe blow to the Coalition Press, which enthusiastically endorsed the Ministerial Right to Speculate ds a cardinal article of the Coalition creed, while it would be scarcely less disappointing to the Hush-Ups who had sacrificed everything to suppressing the truth. One can readily imagine the ubiquitous activity of backstairs busybodies—those sinister Hustles and Bustles who crop up at every crisis—who live on jobs too dirty for politicians though politicians are responsible for setting them in motion. We can guess at the mingled coercion and cajolery—the threats to withdraw the business of Radical plutocrats from particular firms, the lavish promises of knighthoods, baronetcies, even Privy Councillorships and peerages if only the various Stock Exchange Committees investigating this unfortunate affair would consent to do nothing, or better still follow the inspiring example of Parliament and whitewash the whole business, promoting those concerned to any positions of dignity and honour that might be going. With a less independent body some success might have been achieved, but the Stock Exchange stood to its guns, and on November 13, after exhaustive consideration and reconsideration, the General Purposes Committee posted a notice containing the following judgment, which we reproduce from the *Financial Times*, an organ that has done invaluable service in clarifying the complications of Marconi finance.

The Committee condemn in the strongest manner the method of the introduction of shares of the Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company of America in the Stock Exchange, and they give notice that all introductions of this character will render members concerned in them liable to be dealt with under the Disciplinary Rules.

The Committee, being of opinion that Messrs Heybourn and Croft were guilty of a breach of trust to those brokers who left orders with them for execution at the opening of the market on April 19, 1912, have resolved that Messrs. Percy Francis Heybourn,

Alexander Bangley Croft and William Bagster Junior, then trading* as Heybourn and Croft, have brought themselves under the operation of Clause 3 of Rule 16,† and that they be suspended from entering the Stock Exchange for five years from the 17th instant.

By Order

EDWARD SATTERTHWAITE,

Secretary, Committee General Purposes.

One is naturally tempted to pause and emphasise what has already been pointed out, namely the infinitely sterner code governing the Stock Exchange as compared with the Coalition creed. When the Stock Exchange finds any of its members indulging in discreditable practices they are severely punished. When Members of the Coalition, especially if they be Ministers, are discovered in wrong-doing they become popular heroes. They are fêted and promoted and severe strictures are passed on those who have found them out. Radical politicians probably understand what is required of them. They may, so to speak, live "nearer the trough." The Stock Exchange clearly understands its own affairs, and the brave stand it has made for clean business offers a truly painful contrast to the ethical standard of our Panama Party. Of the purely financial aspect of the

* The wording of the Committee's resolution should be carefully noted, as there are three other members of the firm of Heybourn and Croft, who do not fall within the range of the decision.

† There are three sections to Rule 16, which are as follows:

"(1) The Committee may expel or suspend any member who may violate any of the rules or regulations.

"(2) The Committee may expel or suspend any member who may fail to comply with any of the Committee's decisions.

"(3) The Committee may expel or suspend any member who may be guilty of dishonourable or disgraceful conduct."

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, according to Rule 18 of the Stock Exchange:

"A resolution for expulsion or suspension must be carried by a majority of three-fourths of a committee present at a meeting specially summoned, and consisting of not less than twelve members, and must be confirmed by a majority of a committee present at a subsequent meeting specially summoned."

Under Rule 20:

"The Committee may dispense with the strict enforcement of any of the rules and regulations; but a resolution for this purpose must be carried by a majority of three-fourths of a committee present at a meeting specially summoned, and consisting of not less than twelve members, and (except in certain matters, exempted from confirmation) must be confirmed by a majority of a committee present at a subsequent meeting specially summoned."

Marconi Question I have kept clear and propose for the present to leave it alone. The readers of the *National Review* are less interested in the performances of Mr. Percy Heybourn, who was supported by the "majority" of the Marconi Select Committee in refusing to disclose information calculated to clear up or "clean up" the mess, doubtless because the "majority" dreaded further revelations disastrous to the Coalition cause. Here we are mainly interested in this truly palpitating Marconi problem as throwing an illuminating searchlight upon the character of British public men, which was at one time regarded as among our most priceless national assets.

The entire Marconi question is reopened by the verdict of the Stock Exchange, and in spite of the Hush-ups we all feel greatly encouraged to pursue our labours uncompromisingly and unflinchingly to the bitter end. Those of us who take a keen interest in public affairs and have no axes to grind—unless truth be an axe—cannot for one moment consent to acquiesce in the Parliamentary view that political ethics are necessarily lower than financial ethics. We are out for Clean Government. We fight for the levelling up of the morals of the Radical and Labour Parties—humorously termed the Party of Progress—to that of a common object of their invective—the Stock Exchange. One may be old-fashioned and altogether out of date, but it appears to me that when Ministers occupying high and responsible positions—perpetually paraded before the public as so many gods, receiving huge salaries for the single purpose of keeping them out of temptation—succumb, democratic principles, indeed the very existence of democracy, demands that they should be treated as ordinary people to whom one or other form of temptation has proved irresistible. In the case in question, the original offence of participating in what may now be described as a disgraceful ramp was aggravated ten-fold by the means adopted to conceal it. These observations apply to Ministers generally because those of Mr. Asquith's colleagues who countenanced the odious artifices employed to hocus the public are no less guilty than the group of gamblers endeavouring to save their bacon. There was first the gratuitous withholding of the preposterous Marconi Agreement from the House of Commons last year; then the indecent attempt to hustle the completed contract through

at the fag end of the Session without serious debate—and as we now know after the Fenner misappropriations were known to one Minister and probably to several—then the organised deception practised in October last year when the public were given to understand with the knowledge and approval of the Prime Minister by the Postmaster-General and others that no Ministers had speculated in any Marconi shares, although as we now know both Prime Minister and Postmaster-General and Heaven knows how many other Ministers besides were at the time aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and the late Chief Whip were all in American Marconis. Then came the trick of diverting the Marconi Select Committee from probing rumours concerning Ministers by an endless flood of futile official evidence, to say nothing of the red herring of a confidential Blue Book. Finally we had the bullying of journalists by a Committee, containing two members who had been privily primed about the American Marconi speculations in the interests of the guilty parties, and obviously in order to keep the Enquiry off dangerous ground. With a little luck, the moment might have come when the usual "majority" of the Committee would have formally intimated to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues that as there was no foundation for any rumours connecting Ministers with Marconi speculations, it was unnecessary to trouble such busy men to come before the Committee. And so the whole thing would have ended in smoke. How and why this far-reaching conspiracy failed need not be discussed here. The facts are familiar to the reader. We shall doubtless one day learn the truth about the *Matin* case, and we may be sure that like everything else which has come to light throughout this affair it will not redound to the credit of his Majesty's Ministers. Mr. Lloyd George was asked in cross-examination whether it was "a put-up job," but if you consult the evidence you will find that he carefully abstained from answering it. One would much like to know whether or no the Chancellor of the Exchequer had any hand in arranging this gro[ss] and grotesque libel on the Attorney-General and the Postmaste[r-] General. Did it reach the *Matin* from one of its regular channe[ls] of information? If so which? If not still more which?

Before coming to a new fact lately divulged and to so[me] facts hitherto undisclosed, it may be as well that the read[er]

however averse to figures, should appreciate the arithmetic of the flotation of American Marconis, as a good deal more is likely to be heard on this subject and it may be as well to anticipate the usual efforts to misstate the actual facts. The *Financial News* briefly sets forth the "story of the corner" with its customary lucidity. During his American visit in March 1912 Mr. Godfrey Isaacs made himself responsible for 500,000 of the new shares of the American Marconi Company which were about to be issued. He "placed" 150,000 in New York, leaving 350,000 to be dealt with in London. Of these he sold 250,000 to Mr. Percy Heybourn, leaving 100,000 still to be dealt with, of which his brother Mr. Harry Isaacs took 46,000, Sir Rufus Isaacs 10,000, and Mr. Marconi 10,000. Having thus disposed of 316,000 of the total aggregate of 350,000, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs in his own words "gave or placed" 2500 shares to each of the Marconi Directors, apart from Mr. Marconi who had his 10,000. Thus another 17,500 were disposed of, which together with Mr. Godfrey Isaacs' 2500 as a Director accounts for 20,000, and brings the total of those distributed to 336,000. The remainder, *i.e.* 14,000 shares, he "gave or placed" to the employees of the Company. On April 18, the day before the opening of the market, Mr. Heybourn took another 100,000 shares from Mr. Isaacs paying $2\frac{1}{16}$ for 50,000 and $2\frac{1}{16}$ for the other 50,000. This transaction was described by Mr. Powell, the Acting Editor of the *Financial News*, in his admirable evidence before the Marconi Committee, as "an option," although the official Broker of the Company insisted that it was a sale.

We thus get the portentous total of 600,000 shares disposed of by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs. The *Financial News* thus tabulates the position on April 18, 1912, the day before the opening of the market to the general public at $3\frac{1}{4}$:

Sold * to Mr. Heybourn	350,000
Sold to Mr. Harry Isaacs	46,000
Sold to Sir Rufus Isaacs	10,000
Sold to Mr. Marconi	10,000
	416,000

(The above four gentlemen formed the dominant power, as is evidenced by the size of their holdings—416,000 out of 450,000 shares).

* 100,000 of these were probably only under option, but the effect is the same.

Placed or given with or to Marconi Board (seven directors at 2500 each)	17,500
Placed or given with or to Marconi employees	14,000
Taken (and up to May last still held) by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs	2,500
Sold to an American group, and left on that side	150,000
	600,000

Putting aside the American shares, which were not in London at the time, we have 416,000 out of 450,000 shares in the words of our contemporary "entirely controlled by four men":

> Mr. Heybourn (250,000 at $1\frac{1}{4}$, 50,000 at $2\frac{1}{16}$, and 50,000 at $2\frac{7}{16}$).
> Mr. Marconi (10,000 at par, or perhaps $1\frac{1}{16}$).
> The Attorney-General (now the Lord Chief Justice), (10,000 at 2).
> Mr. Harry Isaacs (46,000 at $1\frac{1}{16}$).

As to the handful of shares "placed or given" by Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, it is suggested that there was probably some condition against selling. If so the "corner" stood absolutely watertight. "If there was not, and the Marconi Directors got 2500 each, at par (1 or possibly $1\frac{1}{16}$) of the shares which on April 19 were selling anywhere between £3 and £4, they stood to make over £5000 apiece by selling, and the sale of such small blocks could make no real difference to the success of the corner. It is quite possible (in fact, it is probable, though information is of the scantiest) that Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Marconi may have taken no active part in the management of the affair, but still, being two of the four large holders, they shared, as such, in the dominance of the situation."

Now for a new fact to which attention is effectively called in the able annual official report presented to the National Unionist Conference at Norwich. The passage on "The Marconi Scandal" may be commended as a model to some of the squeamish brigade, who apparently regard the whole duty of his Majesty's Opposition as consisting in helping the lame dogs of his Majesty's Government over any awkward stile. The passage in question is as follows:

> The public also learned through Sir Rufus Isaacs' evidence in a criminal action against Mr. Chesterton that he (Sir Rufus), while withholding the information from the Chairman and other members of the Committee, had privately informed two members of the Select Committee of Inquiry (but not the Chairman) of those transactions before

he and Mr. Lloyd George gave evidence, and also before the journalistic witnesses had been examined. The result was to give the immense advantage of knowledge of the actual facts to the Radical members of the Committee, who cross-examined these witnesses on the subject of the rumours to which they had referred in their publications—facts which might have been the origin of all the rumours. These facts led the Unionists to adopt the position that the House of Commons should express regret for these Ministerial transactions. The Coalition majority refused to accept a motion to this effect. Finally on August 20, 1913, after the House had risen, Mr. James Parker, M.P., Labour Member of the Select Committee, disclosed, in a speech reported in the *Yorkshire Observer* of August 22, that information was somehow or other conveyed to the Coalition Members of the Committee, or at any rate to Mr. Parker, before the report of the majority of the committee was finally adjusted, to the effect that the Ministers in question intended to apologise to the House of Commons for their conduct. The apology actually presented was very halting as it amounted not so much to an apology for what they had done as to an expression of regret for the consequences of their action."

To our contemporary, the *Globe*, which has played such a conspicuous and honourable part in the campaign for Clean Government belongs the honour of unearthing this further Ministerial intrigue with the Marconi Committee. On October 3 our contemporary called attention to Mr. Parker's speech at "a private meeting of the Halifax Labour Party" on August 20, subsequently reported in the *Yorkshire Observer*. The Labour Member of the Marconi Select Committee, who is also we believe Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, was reported as saying, and the report so far as we know has never been repudiated, "While he held that the American shares had no reference to the contract for the Government wireless station, and the American Company could not reap any benefit from such wireless stations, *he was glad to know before he agreed to the report which was adopted* * *that apologies would be tendered to the House by both Ministers concerned*." [My italics.]

The reader will readily realise the gravity of the accusation of Mr. Parker, who is evidently somewhat ashamed of signing the ineffable report of Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth, giving the countenance of the Labour Party to the worst forms of Capitalism. His defence is almost as damning to Ministers as anything they have yet done, which is saying a great deal.

* *i.e.*, the Whitewashing Report "adopted" by the Coalition majority on the Marconi Committee which was too strong even for the Coalition majority in the House of Commons.

According to Mr. Parker, whom we have no reason to di
because he is giving evidence against himself, we have
episode similar to the private intimation to selected men
the Committee, for use in their cross-examination of jou
that in spite of their furious repudiations of the suggestion
Ministerial speculations in Marconis, as a matter of fact thr
important members of the Government were substantial
of what we need now no longer hesitate to describe as th
gambling counters in the whole Marconi group. In order t
an acquittal from the Coalition majority dominating the
Committee, Messrs. Lloyd George and Company caused a co
cation to be made to them, presumably through their usual
Messrs. Falconer and Handel Booth—that they would
apologise to the House of Commons for misconduct, which b
of this promise they persuaded the Committee to condon
applaud. Naturally the Unionist Members of the Selec
mittee were as completely in the dark concerning this ad
outrage as they had been about the earlier confidences to
Falconer and Booth. The Chairman, Sir Albert Spicer
an honest man though a Radical, was, needless to say,
ignorant of this disgraceful business.

Having by these odious means secured their acquittal
precious Committee, Messrs. Lloyd George and Company
as might have been anticipated from every student c
careers, to deliver the goods. They offered no apology
House of Commons and the only regret they expressed wa
at having been found out, and when their own colleagues
one moment anxious that the House should itself place on
its independent regret at their performances, if we may
the friendly authority of the *Times*, Messrs. Lloyd Geo
Company threatened to resign.

I sometimes think that I am the only real and reliable fr
the Asquith Government. I have expended myself in givin
timely advice throughout the Marconi controversy, whi
tunately for my own Party they have contemptuously i
with the result of moving rapidly from mess to mess.
would have saved themselves untold ignominy if, wh
Outlook and the *National Review* called attention to the r
concerning Ministerial speculations in Marconi shares, th

frankly owned up, all the more as one of the Companies to which special attention was drawn by Mr. Lawson in his article a year ago, on the eve of the Marconi Debate, was this very American Marconi Company upon the flotation of which the Stock Exchange has now pronounced judgment. Of all the Marconi Companies it was selected as a suitable field of speculation by a man whom Mr. Bonar Law with gratuitous charity describes as a "Little Brother of the Poor," though the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be more aptly and accurately described as one of the "Little Brothers of the Rich." It is only fair to Mr. Lawson in view of recent events to recall a remarkable passage (see *National Review*, October 1912), which I make no apology for reproducing because as I did not write it I may describe it as peculiarly interesting to-day. Needless to say, it was severely left alone in his prolonged cross-examination by Members of Parliament who had received the "straight tip" to give a wide berth to the American Marconi Company.

Mother Marconi has been a prolific parent and her chickens are spread all over the globe. They have assumed half a dozen different nationalities—French, Spanish, Russian, American, Canadian and English. But only two of them are as yet sufficiently developed to deserve a place on the Official List of the London Stock Exchange. These are the American and Canadian companies, both of which have shared with their spectacular parent the honours—and profits—of the recent bull campaign.

The mother company held last December 564,855 shares ($5) in the Canadian concern and 34,174 in the American one. The latter holding has, however, been largely increased since, thanks to the brilliant coup executed by Mr. Marconi and Mr. Godfrey Isaacs last spring. The directors of their principal American rival had shortly before been sent to gaol for fraud in connection with the capitalisation of the United Wireless Company. They had distributed three million dollars of paper in a very short time and then gone into liquidation. Mr. Isaacs arranged with the liquidators to wipe out their derelict stock and then promptly created seven million dollars of American Marconi shares in its place! . . .

The result was a South Sea bubble mania on a small scale. The coup was so skilfully boomed that both Wall Street and Capel Court literally lost their heads over it. One fine morning in April—it was the 19th, a few days after the *Titanic* disaster—dealings were started in the new American Marconis. The five-dollar or £1 shares were bid for up to £4, and thousands of shares were bought at that figure. Orders came rushing in from Ireland and the provinces to buy lines of 10,000, 20,000, and as high as 50,000 shares in a line. Fortunately all the London brokers were not so mad as their clients. They either cut down the orders to what they considered safe amounts or declined them altogether. By doing so they saved many a foolish plunger from absolute ruin, as before the end of the day the shares had flopped to 50s or even less.

The Stock Exchange had witnessed nothing so disgraceful since the similar coup performed by Mr. Barney Barnato nearly twenty years ago. When that neck or nothing speculator capitalised himself under the name of the Barnato Consolidated Company his shares also went up like a rocket. The first morning that they were dealt in an enthusiastic crowd scrambled for them at £4—the same topnote on which American Marconis started. "Barneys" alias "Johnnies" have since been down to 17s. and American Marconis were within two months of their debut as low as 30s.

If the starting price of £4 a share could have been maintained the market valuation of the American Marconi Company would have been forty million dollars. Dividends on forty million dollars would have had to be earned in order to justify such a market price. That could only have been done by establishing as absolute a monopoly of wireless telegraphy in the United States as the Marconi Company are trying, with the help of certain Cabinet Ministers, to create in the United Kingdom. Only a nation of "the biggest fools on earth" could put itself at the mercy of such a voracious clique of patent exploiters and monopolisers. The Marconi Ring apparently hope to make as much out of wireless telegraphy as Mr. Andrew Carnegie got out of the steel tariff, but the day is past for high game like that.

It may amuse non-speculative as well as speculative readers to trace the sympathetic movements of the share market and the Imperial wireless negotiations during the past twelve months. . . .

Such is the sordid story of the Marconi scandal of 1912. In a small way it has been a repetition of the South Sea bubble. Ministers implicated in the South Sea bubble were impeached and severely punished. What is to happen to Ministers who directly or indirectly may have been responsible for the Marconi scandal? Further, what is to be done to prevent polyglot riggers of Marconi shares realising their impudent ambition to monopolise all the wireless telegraphy of the British Empire *and the United States*? [my italics].

It is alleged by persons who profess to know, that one Minister, whether animated by a sense of honour or a sense of peril I do not know, was anxious to come forward and make a clean breast of his unfortunate transactions at the time, but that he allowed himself to be overborne by another, though which was which I will leave the reader to guess. It is not only conscience that makes cowards of us all.

I have tried and failed to help Ministers over the Marconi Mystery. I have also tried and shall probably fail to help them over its offshoot the Murray mystery. Both the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chief Ministerial Whip have been afforded the opportunity of "cleaning up" this further mess in connection with the Party funds for which some are morally and others actually responsible, but the Coalition Press, doubtless on a hint from official quarters, preserves an almost audible silence and Ministers themselves are as mum as mice. So they were

about Marconi rumours, with the consequences we all know, *inter alia* the development of a formidable anti-Panama vote in the constituencies. Their former silence ended so disastrously that one may doubt the wisdom of their present reticence. Among many questions clamouring for reply are the following:

(1) Why did the Master of Elibank suddenly retire from the office of Chief Whip on August 7, 1912?

(2) Why was he made a Peer, seeing that he had taken the precaution to get his father made a Peer to celebrate the King's coronation the previous year?

(3) Was Mr. Asquith aware of the robbery of the Party funds when he made the man whose ineptitude made the robbery possible a Peer?

(4) Was Mr. Lloyd George privy to the circumstances precipitating the retirement of his most intimate friend the Chief Whip? Was he aware what had happened to the Party funds?

(5) Was Mr. Illingworth, the co-trustee of the Master of Elibank and jointly responsible with him, aware of what had occurred, and if not, why not? Did he discover the defalcations when he replaced the departing Elibank as Chief Whip, Party Treasurer and Trustee?

(6) What Ministers were aware in August 1912 that nearly £10,000 of Radical Party funds were "invested" in American Marconis?

Truth has been stranger than fiction throughout this affair and the new facts are so amazing that even Unionist papers will find it difficult to explain them away, and innocent victims will have good reason to curse the Government. To make assurance doubly sure I have had the whole question reinvestigated afresh so as to remove all room for doubt and to prevent any possibility of blunder. The reader may rely on the accuracy of this curious story, and as the Master of Elibank obstinately remains abroad when every dictate of honour demands that he should return, unfavourable conclusions to the wanderer, who from the outset has shown a strange reluctance to give an account of his stewardship, are liable to be drawn. Let me reiterate that I am not concerned to pry into anybody's private affairs and I have no intention of doing so. But all those who take a serious interest in politics, whatever their opinions, are interested in the

administration of these great secret Party funds, and this Fenner business, if it does nothing else, affords all parties an opportunity of putting their house in order by at least having a proper audit. Personally I go much further, and am convinced that the best men of both Parties—I am putting aside all Tapers and Tadpoles for the moment because they have been brought up to look upon secret funds as a sort of Holy of Holies—agree with me that the sooner this sinister system of privately collecting money from aspirants to Honours is abolished, the better for everybody concerned. Not a single individual dare openly say a word in favour of a disgraceful traffic which is morally comparable to the White Slave Traffic, and has no less deplorable consequences. Men who have nothing to recommend them and who have never rendered any public service, are able to buy Honours, which other men have to earn, by drawing cheques. Such a system involves the pollution of our public life, and conducted on the colossal scale it has been during the last few years it is one of the main factors in the present appalling deterioration which strikes everybody who cares or dares to exercise his faculties. *Inter alia* it places, as we see, immense power in irresponsible hands and gives a perilous "pull" on the Party policy to obviously unworthy individuals, because no man who buys a title can be worth twopence.

Observe again the opening for robbery now disclosed for the first time through pure accident. A firm of brokers with the high sounding name of Montmorency and Co., already acting for the Murray family, secured a substantial amount of Radical Party business when the Master of Elibank was appointed Chief Whip in 1910, a post which apparently carries with it the trusteeship and treasurership with exclusive and unquestioned control of the Party funds. His amiable colleague, Mr. Percy Illingworth who is probably more at home in a battue of pheasants than in business, though "co-Trustee," and one might imagine from the very term not devoid of responsibility, regarded his position as a "mere formality" though securities were registered in his name and he necessarily signed the transfers. At the time this firm became Party brokers it was in none too flourishing a condition, though presumably the Master of Elibank was unaware of the fact. He seems to have been of a singularly confiding

disposition which rendered him totally unfit to look after other people's money, which he poured lavishly into the lap of Fenner, his friend in the firm and, so far as the Radical Party were concerned, its active and leading spirit. Indeed so blissfully incompetent was this astute Master, that one finds it very difficult to accept the legends propagated by Press boomsters concerning his performances in Central America, and we decline to join in the impudent effort to place the Union Jack wherever Lord Murray of Elibank may condescend to tread.

He became Chief Whip and Controller of the Party funds between two General Elections, the cost of which prevented any large amounts being placed to reserve. Without access to the Party Pass Book or books, for there appear to have been more than one Bank and probably several accounts, it would be hopeless to attempt any estimate of the Party turnover. Nevertheless so munificent are a grateful Radical Plutocracy in supporting their cause, that something could be put to reserve even in this year of lavish expenditure. At first, Home investments were actually patronised, and in his salad days of Whipship the Master bought £5000 of the Consols much depreciated by his colleague at the Exchequer, and it is suggested, though it is also doubted, that among the earlier investments was a substantial holding of L.C.C. 3 per cent. Inscribed Stock. Until however the Master returns it is impossible to settle whether this was a private or a Party investment. Should it prove to be the latter, it would necessarily qualify a previous statement in the *National Review* that apart from the Consols all the Radical Party funds were invested abroad with the suggestive exception of the famous Home Rail Ordinaries during the Coal Strike last year which excites the enthusiasm of the *Daily Mail* and—*Truth*.

In 1911 money naturally came tumbling in with the Coronation in prospect and its harvest of honours. At the end of March, the enormous sum of £55,000 was placed to reserve, *i.e.* invested, which may give one some hint as to the vast amounts poured into the Party Banks and in order to grease the machine, though as there was no General Election impending, and payment of members was at hand, one wonders for what purposes such sums were needed, and whence they came. Sir John Simon who is perambulating the country as an ardent Cobdenite, being

endowed with all the nostrums of the Manchester School, will be concerned to learn that not one penny of this great accretion of funds was invested in Cobden's country by the party Brokers Messrs. Montmorency and Co. Free Trade is all very well for the platform, but when it comes to business the Party seeks the security of protected countries. It would never do to place Coronation subscriptions at the mercy of Lloyd George finance, so it is not surprising to find that the investments made on March 31, 1911, were, if gilt-edged, all abroad :

Mar. 31, 1911	10,000 Johanbg. 4% Mun. Loan. cost . .	£9,938	0	0
"	10,000 S. Manchurian Loan 4½%* " . .	9,825	10	0
"	5,000 U.S. Brazil 4% Loan, 1911 " . .	4,703	8	6
"	5,000 " " " . .	4,703	8	6
"	10,000 Havana Terminal 5% Deb., cost .	10,538	2	0
"	4,000 Vera Cruz Terminal 4% Deb " .	4,000	6	0
"	1,000 " " " "	1,017	13	0
"	10,000 Chinese Imperial Ry. 5% Loan " .	10,375	12	0
		£55,162	0	0

The following month there was another windfall to the Party of Progress, presumably from similar sources. The reader must continually bear in mind that all these investments were made through one firm of brokers, and there are no means of knowing how many other firms were engaged on the same job. If five others were investing on a similar scale £55,000 would have to be multiplied by five. If ten it would have to be multiplied by ten, and even then we should have no idea of the revenues controlled by the Chief Whip, being necessarily in the dark as to the Party banking account. The £55,162 invested by Fenner in March was paid for by two cheques, namely £20,000 on account on April 10, and the balance of £35,162 on April 12. The April investments appear to have been :

Apr. 12, 1911	5,000 Anglo-Amer. Teleg Pf. Ord. . .	£5,883	18	0
8	5,000 Can. Nth. 5% Inc. Con. Deb. New * (Appn.)	250	0	0
20	Ditto. (Allotment)	389	15	0
—	Ditto. Calls on 4265 stock . .	3,539	19	0
12	Ditto. Cost of 735 stock . .	727	13	11
		£10,791	5	11

* There is some doubt as to the identity of this investment.

The reader will gather from the foregoing figures that what I would venture to call the "Coronation investments" through one broker alone amounted to over £66,000, and a careful study of the subsequent Honours list might give indications as to its origin.

Ingratitude being proverbial in politicians, doubtless I shall get no thanks from Mr. Illingworth for enabling him to check the list of securities handed to him by the Master of Elibank when he made way for the present Chief Whip. Still there must be some Radicals anxious about the administration of their hard-earned cash which I am making such efforts as a rank outsider can to protect. I repeat what I have asked before, is Mr. Illingworth positive that all the securities in the foregoing list are in safe keeping, or alternatively have they been sold in the ordinary way? I ask this on account of the amazing remissness of his predecessor in seeing that goods bought and paid for were actually delivered. Coming to the following year, there was another Party investment about which the same question should be pressed.

Feb. 12, 1912	11,000 Can. Nth. Ont. 3½% Gtd 1st Mort. Deb. Stk., cost	£10,120 12 0

Then on March 6, 1912, while his colleagues were engaged in settling the Coal Strike we have the Master of Elibank's historic purchases of Home Railways Ordinary, about which the Coalition are so unconscionably shy that we set them out again for a particular purpose:

Mar. 6, 1912	10,000 Midland Def. at 71⅝, cost . .	£7,198 15 6
„	5,000 Great Western Ordy at 118, cost .	5,955 0 6
„	1,000 „ „ „ at 117¾, cost .	1,190 0 6
„	20,000 N. British Def. at 31⅝, cost . .	6,382 5 6
„	2,000 „ „ at 31$\frac{11}{16}$ . . .	639 14 6
		£21,365 16 6

As previously stated, these shares were paid for by the Master of Elibank out of Party funds, and a more grossly improper investment under the circumstances it would have been difficult to conceive. Doubt has been expressed in the *National Review* as to their delivery. Mr. Illingworth's obdurate silence is somewhat significant, all the more because he should have signed

the transfers. There were other substantial investments in Ma of the same year, all abroad as usual, gilt-edged American Railway offering a striking contrast to the British Home Rails Ordinary

I believe I can throw additional light on this astonishin affair, as further investigation goes to show that the followin securities bought at different dates and paid for by the Mast of Elibank, as Trustee of the Party, were never delivered. Th dates make this failure all the more striking.

Date	Security	£	s.	d.
Dec. 19, 1911	5000 Can. Nthn. 5 Inc. Deb. Stk., cost	£5,189	9	3
Feb. 12, 1912	11,000 Can. Nthn. Ont. 3½% Gtd. 1st Mortg. Deb. Stock, cost	10,120	12	0
May 7	$2,000 Atchison 4% Adjt. Bonds, cost .	385	1	0
18	$10,000 ,, ,, ,, ,,	1,935	4	0
Mar. 6	Home Railway Stocks, cost	21,365	16	6
	Total	£38,996	2	9

If by any chance the £5000 Canadian Northern 5 per cent Stock was saved from the wreckage, it would reduce the figur of Radical losses under the auspices of the Master of Elibank—who was regarded by his admirers and boomed in the pres as the most wonderful Whip the world had ever seen—t £33,806 13s. 6d.

I quite understand that the sceptical reader, especially if h swallowed the press legend about the late Whip, should pooh-pool the whole story as grotesque and declare that it is impossibl for a mere outsider like myself to possess accurate knowledg on these matters. But I would crave in aid as remarkable corro boration the testimony of Mr. F. S. Salaman (Trustee in Bank ruptcy of the estate of Mr. Charles Edwin Fenner *) before th Marconi Select Committee on June 9, 1913.

Q. In the course of the information which has now been placed before you do yo know when it was first understood that Mr. Fenner's affairs were not satisfactory *A.* By whom?

Q. By anybody. Mr. Falconer suggested that there may be something in the fac that there are no further transactions after *June* 20 [1912], and it occurred to me tha possibly Mr. Fenner's circumstances might have been known by then. Can you throw any light on that point? *A.* I think I can throw some light upon it. I think for som considerable time past Mr. Fenner's affairs had been in an extremely critical state.

Q. Would that apply as early as *June* or *July* last year? *A.* It became known and accentuated about that period.

* Mr. Fenner was "hammered" at the end of last April.

Q. Would it be likely to become known to the Master of Elibank ?

Mr. FALCONER : He cannot know that.

Mr. GEORGE FABER : When did he cease to do business ? *A.* On the day of the hammering, which was towards the end of April of this year.

Mr. AMERY : But you have told us his affairs were critical as far back as June of last year ? *A. Yes, I do not know if I am at liberty to mention to the Committee that I believe the Master of Elibank is a very considerable creditor.*

Q. In his personal capacity ? *A.* I do not know in what capacity, but I believe he is a very considerable creditor.

Mr. GEORGE FABER : To what amount ? *A. I am informed for over £30,000.*

Mr. J. G. BUTCHER : Has a proof been filed ? *A.* No proof has yet been filed, and Mr. Fenner, of course, has not lodged any statements, but I have made inquiries and I am informed from different sources that that is one of the chief liabilities.

It will be noted that the Trustee of Fenner's estate describes the bankrupt's business as having been " in an extremely critical state for some considerable time past." In June and July 1912 "it became known and accentuated." In July 1912, if not before, the Master of Elibank undoubtedly became aware that Fenner was " a wrong 'un " and even he must have realised that his broker had appropriated between £30,000 and £40,000 belonging to the Party of which the Chief Whip was Trustee. Nor was this all, because before the end of July he learnt from an Agreement made between Fenner and one of his clients that over £30,000 was due from the broker to the client in question, who had been treated in the same way as the Radical Party—the money paid for investments being mis-appropriated. Therefore it comes to this (and though we have no right to be surprised after all that has happened, it is impossible to contain one's surprise) that the Master of Elibank knew so long ago as July 1912 that £70,000 had been practically stolen from different people by the Party broker. Fenner was never brought to justice and nothing was done to protect ignorant people from further depredations. He was allowed to remain in business robbing right and left until he had squandered about £140,000, and became bankrupt when he absconded. It is no answer to say that the losses of the Radical Party were probably made good by some munificent supporter or supporters, whom we may be sure got value for their money, as they are not of the class which gives something for nothing. I am concerned for the moment with the grave breach of duty on the part of the Govern-

ment in allowing the Fenner scandal to continue at the expens of many helpless victims, and we may be sure that as truth honour and justice have been sacrificed throughout this affa in Party interests, it was the same overpowering influence whic restrained them from proceeding against Fenner. I have hear such conduct described by an ugly phrase, and the public wi insist on knowing who were the Ministers responsible, as no on in the light of all that has happened will believe for a momen that knowledge of these huge defalcations and the subsequen peerage to the inept Trustee, the reputed repayment of th money lost, &c., could possibly have been confined to the Maste of Elibank. Surely a man of Mr. Lloyd George's sunny an sympathetic nature would have been confided in by a friend i distress. Even a cynic like the Premier would want to know wh an emergency Peerage must be created in order that the Part might lose a seat in Scotland? In the next article I hope to b able to supply the clue to the action of His Majesty's Minister on the Fenner case which lies at the heart of the mystery unde investigation.

L. J. MAXSE.

IS DRUNKENNESS CURABLE?

THIS is an age of theories, of schemes and experiments, the air is full of them, and we have all got into the way of talking about problems whether we really take much interest in them or not. What some one once described as "stupid clever" conversation has in this way become far too common, for people speak on grave subjects which demand special knowledge, without taking the trouble to acquire more than a surface acquaintance with them. Such talk is worse than useless, for it tends to confirm all manner of mistakes in the public fancy. Imperfectly considered theories are passed on from one mind to another, and by mere repetition they come to be accepted as truths.

Now theories, even the cleverest of them, need to be reduced to practice if they are to be of much value: to this test each must come ultimately—"*Will it work out?*" and you will find that although it is not always possible to work out every theory, it is generally possible to establish some sort of theory on any bit of work that has been really done. Nothing is more useful than a theory if it is not pressed too hard; if it is used to illuminate facts instead of facts being squeezed to illustrate its truth. But this is where special knowledge must come in to save us from errors of hasty generalisation. It is tempting to make theories and facts fit one another, like the bits of a jig-saw puzzle; but the really scientific investigator advances his or her opinions warily, knowing that the bits do not always join and that even the most brilliant theories must not be pressed too far. Of course, where there is too much talk about doing things, and how to do them, the danger is that nothing should "get done" at all. William James somewhere reminds us that "impediments that arise in the theoretic sphere might sometimes be avoided if the stream of mental action should leave that sphere betimes

and pass into the practical." We can solve questions by going t
work upon them, even though in theory we cannot see ho
they are to be solved. Again, there is no surer way of modifyir
our theories than this: we detect the flaws in our line of argumer
with astonishing swiftness when words have to be turned int
action.

The theory, then, that has been worked out and probabl
modified in the working, is the most valuable guide that w
possess, for it is a blend of Imagination with Experience.

Among the many questions which we hear about just now
surely the problem of Inebriety is almost the gravest. Scientif
men refer to it as "Alcoholism"; Temperance preachers nam
it "The Drink Fiend"; and looking at the subject impartiall
it seems as if both of them rather fail in the manner in whic
they present the problem to the public. The Scientists are s
cold-blooded—in speech at least—and the Temperance reformer
so blatant and unrestrained in their utterances, that each spoi
his case and fails to win sympathy from the public.

We must remember that this is a subject which touche
many readers very closely. To read a scientific pamphlet c
Alcoholism must to many people be as though a knife turned i
their hearts—so aloof, so unhuman is the attitude of science t
this tragic subject.

Let us try to imagine any one with a drunken relative sittin
down to read, for instance, the summing-up of medical opinio
on Alcoholism which we find in that excellent modern worl
A System of Diet and Dietetics:

> While therefore chronic alcoholism produces profound individual deterioratio
> it does not cause racial deterioration. It does, however, produce a racial effect, bu
> this far from being an injurious one is, on the contrary, beneficial, for drunkenness
> tending to fasten upon congenital degenerates, hastens their elimination; and th
> from a racial point of view is an advantage. In short, those lacking in moral grit o
> unmistakably degenerate *tend by means of alcohol to be eliminated more speedily tha*
> *they would otherwise be.*

Cold comfort this, if it be comfort at all—and a little furthe
on:

> Inasmuch as it may now be looked upon as impossible to banish alcohol from th
> world, or to ensure national temperance either by legislation or by private effor
> Dr. Archdall Reid contends that *the only way to fight the drink fiend with any lastin*

[illegible] is by the [illegible] elimination of those who, alcoholically [illegible], are [illegible] as to allow the evolution against alcohol steadily to proceed.

There is, that is to say, no hope at all for the individual, and, if we search deeply into this theory, but little for the race either.

For the argument narrows down to this—that drunkards are drunken because of degeneracy, instead of being degenerate because of drunkenness.

This view of the case, which it is easy to establish, is maintained by Dr. Braithwaite, his Majesty's Inspector under the Inebriates Act, who asserts that "the sot becomes a sot essentially because he possesses a defective nervous organisation either congenitally or as a result of shock or illness—the normally constituted person rarely takes to drink—alcohol may almost be taken as a test of soundness of nervous organisation." This being the case then, the hopeful view is difficult to take from *the unscientific* standpoint. The authority we have quoted above points, it is true, to a gradual "evolution against itself" performed by alcohol; but granted that this is going on, that degenerates and "those lacking in moral grit" are being weeded out by alcohol, is there any reasonable hope that within a reasonable time the supply of degenerates will have run so short that there will be an appreciable shortage of drunkards? This depends upon what one considers a reasonable time. Our authority in his survey of the history of alcoholism mentions that chronic drunkenness has probably been possible to civilised races for fifteen thousand years. He cites the Jews and the inhabitants of Southern Europe as a proof of the truth of his theory, these races being remarkable for sobriety, as distinguished from the Northern Europeans, simply because they have had the means of chronic intemperance longer in their hands. The Northern races, whose civilisation is of a later date, are much addicted to drunkenness because the evolution against alcohol has had less time in which to make way, "while primitive peoples, who have had no opportunities for systematic drunkenness, even though among them there has been desultory drinking for thousands of years, show no resisting power whatever against the ravages of drink." In considering the chances for an evolutionary solution *of the problem then, it seems that we must* accustom ourselves to think in centuries, in æons. And this is

just where the theoretical view of things breaks down; fo though it is right and wise to think in centuries, we with ou pitiful span-long lives cannot afford to live by these dimension To do so would be to paralyse all effort. True, Dr. Archdall Rei after promulgating the theory of the evolutionary cure o alcoholism, reminds us that the unhappy degenerates who form the raw material which feeds the great evolutionary machin from one century to another, are to be as far as possible protecte against themselves and "made to realise their responsibility t the race by abstaining from the propagation of their kind." Bu he sadly takes from the cogency of his argument by the un deniable admission: "*This is doubtless a counsel of perfection.*" Obviously, then, the supply of degenerates is little likely to ru short for many a long day. . . . Considerations of this sort send us back to the quotation given above from William James for here, indeed, is "an impediment in the theoretic sphere" which may perhaps best be met by "leaving that sphere betimes" and "passing into the practical." What, in short, can be *done*? Can anything be done?

Those who are interested in the subject will find an answer to these questions in a small book lately published, *Beauty for Ashes*,* by Lady Henry Somerset.

This book does not, it is true, deal with a fifteen thousand years record; but is the result of twenty years experience in the cure of inebriates. Looking back thoughtfully over this space of time, the author tells us what she has learnt in it. The agreements and disagreements between her conclusions and those of science are most interesting. Let us see what these are, beginning with the agreements.

First of all, we see the old view of the drunkard as a creature who "sins against light" and is dragged from his high estate by his sin, discarded in favour of the more kindly doctrine that drunkenness is the result of some moral feebleness inherent in the drunkard. Here both our authorities are in full accord. Says Lady Henry Somerset:

> The drink habit is almost invariably in the beginning a question of soul and not of body . . . If there is one thing we are sure of, after years of experience, it is that we can do nothing for the body unless we first take account of the soul, and such is

* Dpsott Gill & Son Ltd., Drury Lane, W.C.

made to minister to the other. If the modern man asks us what we mean by soul, let us reply by a question in return: "What do you mean by will?"

There has, it would seem, been too much stress laid upon physical conditions when considering this problem:

Those who talk confidently of the restorative influences of physical conditions, of healthful surroundings, of the power of order and beauty, have not looked into the depth of the human soul . . . the most obstinate cases of alcoholism are found in women of birth, education, and position, surrounded with every comfort.

A glance will show one the truth of this statement. Where the degeneracy—the soul-disease—has been aggravated beyond bearing by miserable physical surroundings, a mitigation of these conditions is likely to have a wonderful effect upon the patient. But "where every prospect pleases," where there is no physical distress to alleviate, the outlook is darker far; the mystery more profound.

Granted, then, that an inborn weakness is to blame in most cases, what are the precipitating causes that bring this weakness to light? We have to divide the patients into two classes here, those who have certainly suffered from bad physical conditions, and those whose circumstances are physically perfect.

In working women these "causes" are not difficult to find. "Looking over our records for the past twenty years," Lady Henry says:

We may safely say that the typical case is that of the working woman who falls because the burden has been more than she can bear, and the history of the average case runs along the same familiar lines—overwork, insufficient nourishment during child-bearing, ill-health as a result, and subsequent breakdown. To this each individual case has its particular "last straw" to which the woman attributes her fall. Each one has her own explanation of the sorrow of mind that broke her spirit, when her body was already past breaking-point. . . . Now, to buy back from despair and ultimate degradation such a woman, who has fallen like a wounded soldier on the field of battle in the most honourable battle the world knows—to buy her back to health and happiness and usefulness is no simple task.

In considering such a typical case as this, it seems hard employ the cold word degeneracy at all. Must a woman cessarily be degenerate to succumb in such circumstances? scarcely seems so. But short of degeneracy we have to reckon th that curious phenomenon a "broken spirit"; it accounts r much, and leads us back to the theory that something not

altogether physical has to be taken into consideration even in cases that seem at first sight to be the result only of bad physical conditions.

Emerson speaks of the "awful soul that dwells in clay," and in approaching such a question as this the expression is adequate. For if this huge problem is as much one of soul as of body, how doubly mysterious it becomes! The best and cleverest of men get out of their depths when they try to fathom the secret springs of "mind," "spirit," "soul," or "will."

The awful soul is subject to many and cruel diseases. Under the heading of despair alone, we find half a dozen fruitful causes of drunkenness—despair from ill-health, from miserable surroundings, from grief, loneliness, idleness—and what is to cure despair? The process is of necessity slow and painful. It involves scientific treatment of both a bodily and a mental nature. "We started with the theory that the body of a drunken woman was sick with a grievous disease," Lady Henry says:

> We have not in any way changed our view, in fact we hold to it more strongly than ever. A patient coming to our home is received at the hospital, nursed and cared for as a physical sufferer . . . physical causes must be met, and as far as possible relieved. The woman must find recognition and sympathy for the real ills of her body, and until these are set right the ills of the mind, for her at least, do not exist. But when these are righted, then comes the far graver problem—how far has drunkenness hurt or deformed the soul? . . . We may keep a woman for a year or two in our homes . . . but as soon as she goes out into the world and meets temptation, she will most certainly break down *unless her will has been restored and strengthened*, has been set free from the fatal habit of choosing what is wrong; unless she has regained to some extent the original freedom of her will, *the power of self-determination to choose what is right.*

This restoration of will power calls for a great deal of knowledge and insight on the part of those who are in charge of the patients—knowledge of the laws of psychology, and insight into the individual character of the patient. "From the first," says Lady Henry,

> we have endeavoured to keep steadily before us a principle which we think vital to the necessity of the best interests of our patients, *i.e.* giving women occupation which is new to them—something, as far as possible, which has no relation or any association with the past. . . . One of our principal objects, at any rate during the first months of our patients' sojourn, is to cut off all connection with the past. For them it holds not only much of sadness, but also much of discontent and sometimes rebellion. We

want them to leave the things that are behind, to pass on to new experiences, new interests.

When the homes were first opened twenty years ago, two occupations were almost invariably given to women in all reformatory institutions—sewing and washing. The former is good in moderation, the latter only for the fairly strong. Indeed, I hold that in an institution where the health of women enfeebled by drink has to be considered, it is best to resort to it only for the actual needs of the community. . . . Fresh air is life to everybody, but to those who have been pent up in cities, or whose duties have left them within the walls of a house, it is the great rebuilder of health. So in our early days, when our methods seemed very crude, we set ourselves to organise garden work for the women. A gardener from the Ladies' College at Swanley started the scheme, which has succeeded admirably ever since. . . . In the morning little groups of women leave the cottages for their work . . . they go to their labour without demur, some, indeed, with eagerness. . . . Some of these women have never seen a blade of grass grow, and as they watch the labour of their hands blossom into beauty, and see the kindly fruits of the earth spring into life under their care, often there comes to them new hope and new happiness. . . . I have seen the return of health to many a woman, wan and jaded, who has worked among the flowers and plants.

Another industry in which I have much faith, but, alas! for the time being, owing to lack of funds (that hindrance to so many good schemes), we have been forced to lay aside, is the tending of animals on the farm.

Years ago, when I studied the methods of Sherborne Prison in Mass., U.S.A., I realised the sense and the deep understanding of human nature which prompted the Governor, Mrs. Johnson, to put prisoners to care for the well-being of live things. I well recollect that most gifted woman telling me of two Irish girls who had got into disgrace with the warders. Insubordinate and defiant, they were brought to her. She looked at them as they stood sullen and unrepentant in the doorway. After a pause, she said: "Go across the yard, and take a bucket which you will find there, and feed my calves."

Surprise overcame their rebellion. Mrs. Johnson watched them across the paved yard. She told me with a smile which had in it something of triumph, "I saw them come back again, changed women. Laughter was on their faces and in their hearts. The trouble had gone. The calves had been glad to see them!"

Oh the hearts that need life's great incentive! How many come to us who day by day realise the relief their absence brings at home, and to them even the welcome of a little brood of chickens brings gladness and hope. . . . A visitor to the Colony saw a woman feeding some poultry: "You are fond of your little charges?" she asked. We, who stood by, noted the expression on the woman's face as she said, "Yes; they have made my sad heart glad again. They want me so much."

Basket-making is a good winter industry; but our workrooms are invaluable for a certain class of patient, not workrooms for "plain sewing," but laboratories where the most beautiful needlework comes from the hands of those who hitherto have done no such work . . . it is sometimes to us an amazement how soon women can do fine embroidery.

Then, again, weaving on Swedish looms has been of much use. It is of great moment. *The moral effect of being able to create something of beauty is curiously apparent*

One woman whose life had been singularly hard was so enchanted by the fact that she had accomplished such work that she used to take her frame into her bedroom, "because," she said, "when I wake up in the night I want to remember that I really did it."

Almost invariably those who come to see our homes exclaim on the peace and beauty of the surroundings; . . . but an atmosphere of peace and friendliness of goodwill and cheerfulness cannot be created as easily as cottages can be built or gardens laid out. Here it is a question of building with such hardly acquired virtues as patience, gentleness, goodness. . . . The wounded soul must find the spiritual building in which to shelter when it comes within our doors, and it is to our workers that we must look for the spirit that is to make the colony a shelter indeed. It is not the clever, self-confident, up-to-date woman with her ready-made classifications of human beings and her fixed notions of success and failure who will help us here . . . our workers must be women who, as their first qualification, *know something of the value of a human life*, and who are prepared to pay their share of the cost of the redemption of a soul from misery and despair . . . *our workers can make no generalisations*—count on no infallible methods. Each patient must be regarded as a new charge, a "thought of God" though disguised and defaced by sin. . . .

But although the sister's task is to endeavour to translate great and high virtues into the stuff of every day life, still they will realise "the smallest thing thou canst accomplish well, the smallest ill —— 'Tis only little things make up the present day, make up all days, make up *thy life*." That the baking of a cake for tea may be of more value than a pious talk, laughter may be a weapon for righteousness, the shabbiness of a patient's Sunday hat is not a trivial matter beneath her notice, and the sweet cleanliness of her cottage is very nearly related to her own godliness. It is here we branch off from the road to reformation. We take a longer but a surer way, because we realise that it is not to any scheme or plan of our own that we trust, but to the infinite love and wisdom and power of God Himself. . . .

These extracts describe some of the methods adopted at Duxhurst (at Reigate, Surrey) for the help of the poorer patients, women of the working class for the most part. But in another chapter we read of the work among educated and richer women. It is easy to understand how doubly difficult such cases must be. The working woman does not lose caste and self-respect by intemperate habits as women of the upper classes do; there is, as the saying goes, "so much excuse for her" in nine cases out of ten! But where there are no miserable conditions to excuse the habit, society is of course far more severe upon the offender. Self-respect once gone, like a car with broken brakes rushing down hill, the character seems to have nothing to hold it back from utter destruction. The first step towards building up this lost virtue is provided by the simple fact that, in a community like Duxhurst, there is no curiosity such as patients would encounter

in an ordinary village. Every one has her story; no one will judge another. There is a tragic simplicity in this fact. "In this way," says Lady Henry,

at the very first a patient is set at rest in her mind. She finds that she can move about without embarrassment, meeting indeed only a friendly acceptance. A sensitive patient in such surroundings loses at once her consciousness of being a social pariah. Seeing so many people who take her for granted, as it were, she begins to take a more sane view of her own condition. Those who are depressed are helped by the sense of the rebuilding that is going on all round them. The spirit of the place is infectious. It is impossible to keep aloof, shut up inside one's own sorrow. Here are other women who have made the same fatal mistake, but who have turned round and are courageously trying to retrace their steps. The air is full of hope. It is impossible not to be struck by the change that is taking place in the faces one meets every day. Health, hope, and vitality are coming back to them. Naturally it will come back to one's self as well. Then the village life opens doors into many a rich woman's heart that have never been opened before. It may be that, from whatever cause, she has not been brought into touch with women of other classes in the outside world. She may know nothing of the life of working women. . . . Now a fellow-feeling gives the first touch of sympathy that is needed before it is possible to know another human being. She meets a patient every day on her walks it may be; they speak to each other, and soon she finds herself interested . . . the door that is opened to friendship is opened wide to hope. The very effort she makes to sympathise is an act of hope on her own behalf, her first escape from the tyranny of her own thoughts lies in this going out to meet the sorrows of another. All unconsciously the richer woman has set out for her place of security. She fell from want of true interests. Here she has taken up one of the greatest interests. All the wretchedness and misery she has gone through have been her way out to a larger, fuller, wiser life. Barriers have been broken down, and when she thought herself an outcast from society, she has found herself a member of that richest and best of all social circles—humanity itself. . . .

You will see from these extracts what a psychological view this book takes of the treatment of inebriety. It is a moral weakness which must be fought with the right weapons. Let no one rashly try to cure a soul-disease by physical means only; again and again this doctrine is taught. Such cure will, it is asserted, be no cure at all—the soul, the will must be healed first. This is enforced in a wonderfully interesting and suggestive chapter, called the "Ebb Tide." All the previous chapters have been devoted to the physical aspect of the Duxhurst Colony; but here we come down to the crux of the subject:

When we come to follow step by step the slow process by which a soul is turned from misery to happiness, from degradation to self-respect, *there is always one point at which a mystery we cannot fathom is touched.* We are not concerned with explanations, but with facts; and we desire here to give as simply as possible an account of a practical

experience. When the physical condition of a patient has undergone a complete change; *when from a medical point of view she is restored to health and sanity again, then experience has taught us to expect a great set-back in the patient herself.* The craving for drugs or stimulants has gone, the body is normal again, but a very definite change comes over the mind.

Of course individual cases vary, but, roughly speaking, sooner or later this stage is reached. It is interesting to notice this, because the woman has now come to the end of her cure physically, and if we relied on this surface improvement only, now is the time when she would naturally leave us and go back to her place in the world. How then can we account for the fact that the woman with mind and body restored, realising that she can use her faculties in a normal manner, finds herself, as the result of this condition, brought face to face with her greatest difficulties. He who knew what was in man warned us that this must happen. We may have forgotten His words, but we cannot fail to remember them when we see the home of the soul, that has been swept and garnished, violently attacked not only by the one evil spirit that has been cast out, but by the seven others brought to the assault. Let the modern world account for it as it may, the truth remains, that here and now, in our daily work we see an ordinary woman attacked violently by forces outside herself, and that before them she feels herself powerless.

Again and again we come up against this phenomenon . . . the outward symptoms vary . . . but those who have been along this way themselves realise the terrible struggle that is going on. And yet no word of ours can help. All that human help can give has already been given and has apparently failed. To what then, can we look? . . . There is no human being who can share with another this bitter suffering . . . the soul goes down alone into this darkness, and there alone it meets all the anguish, the bitterness, the regret, the confusion, the hopelessness that is prepared for itself when it first turned away from truth and light, *and it meets, too, all the disillusionment, the unsatisfied longings, the terrible emptiness, that it knew and refused to see before.* Let no one accuse us of exaggeration or over statement. This place of darkness is so real and so terrible the world over, that hardly a day goes by that some fellow creature of ours does not attempt to pass through it swiftly by self-inflicted death.

The patient, in short, finds herself just where she was when she first tried drink as an escape from her misery, whatever that misery may have been. She has proved what a mad method of escape it was, yet where is she to turn now? The same questions face her again as they did of old, relentlessly demanding an answer: the awful soul is not easily contented. Emerson says that "even home in another heart" will not content it, it must "aspire to vast and universal aims."

The objection will at once be made that this is far too large, too "fine" a way of speaking about such cases as we are considering. How would it be possible for poor broken creatures of the inebriate class to aspire to vast and universal aims

But perhaps the expression is not exaggerated after all. Every struggle for self-mastery, the least effort towards right and courageous living, each battle with Giant Despair, and even the most trembling act of hope will join the soul by tiny links to the universal. . . .

It is at this point that the scientific theorists and the practical experimentalist part company. For the one holds by his theory that there is no cure for this great evil except through the slow working out of natural laws; while the other has proved that theory may say what it likes, but the individual drunkard can be cured by something quite out and beyond natural laws. After every physical help has been given to the patient, it is found that something still is lacking: the body is cured, but only God can help the soul. We are aware that it is treading on thin ice to make this assertion to the modern reader. Not that he disbelieves in the possibility of psychological changes, but he is impatient of certain phrases which, in the past, strove to express these changes with a fatal glibness. Such verbal short-cuts must be avoided by those who wish to keep the sympathy of this generation. The old conception of "conversion" has really widened, and this is the reason why that much abused word has fallen into disrepute and cannot be listened to with patience by many people. It was useful in its time, but that time is past. The crude old idea of this mind-change was of an instantaneous passing from darkness into light. The soul was supposed to leap into full-grown strength, and the tyranny of evil habits fell off from it as fetters might be struck off the wrists of a prisoner. But we of this generation have come to doubt whether this simple conception is true. We find that so-called "conversion" is not instantaneous and simple, but must be a matter of reconstruction. Stone by stone, with labours infinite and progress which at time seems scarcely to be progress at all, this rebuilding of character has to be accomplished. New hopes and aims must be implanted in the heart to banish the old despairs and cast out the old hideous preoccupation. . . .

The reader who has followed this argument so far will perhaps decline to read any more at this point, declaring that we would have our hands full indeed if we started on such lines as these to give new hopes and aims to every inebriate in England. And

the objection is a perfectly sound one. We are, in American phraseology, "up against" a question here that can only receive a partial answer, and is perhaps better answered by looking at the negative side of it: *What not to do.*

Drunkenness is a national disease, a national course of tremendous proportions. It calls out loudly for help, yet such a thing as a universal cure for inebriety is impossible. It is vain even to think of it. The State can no more supply enough of inebriate reformatories to cope with all its drunkards than it can provide enough of sanatoriums to treat all its consumptives.

But one thing is possible, and that is *Not to provide the wrong kind of institution for the treatment of inebriates.* Let us take a case in point. Some ten years ago the Farmfield Reformatory was set agoing by the London County Council. At a cost of about £10,000 a year this expensive experiment was worked for these ten years. Utter failure has crowned its efforts, and this year the Reformatory is to be closed. Commenting on this failure, the *Daily News* of August 30 asks the very pertinent question why the London County Council should fail so conspicuously while philanthropic effort in London and the provinces has proved amazingly successful? The Salvation Army Homes average 60 per cent. of cures; the Duxhurst Colony averages 73 per cent.; why should State reformatories be so useless? Money has not been grudged: Farmfield must have cost the nation something like £100,000 in all. What, then, did it lack?

The reformatory is practically dead and done with now, so we may surmise the causes of its failure. It is not difficult to imagine what they were.

In the first place, probably, ignorance of the workings of that terribly delicate instrument the mind—an instrument delicate and intricate at all times, but doubly so when jangled and out of tune. The ordinary "matron"—kind, quite well meaning, perhaps a little callous, and entirely without insight as to mental conditions, is the last sort of person to be put in charge of such institutions. She cannot even guess at the feelings of the patients; she brings no touch of imagination to help with their cure; her methods are cut and dried, without reference to the personality of each case, a mere mechanical round of restraint or punishment. Should she show any originality of method or

initiative in her work, a visiting committee is likely to nip hazardous experiments in the bud.

An anecdote may be taken as an example of this want of insight. In —— Reformatory for Inebriates, cells are kept where unruly patients may be confined till such time as they choose to behave themselves.

A visitor of great experience in the treatment of inebriates was shown over this institution one day not long ago. In a punishment cell sat a young woman with twin babies on her knee.

"Why is she here?" the visitor asked the matron.

"Oh, we just put her there to keep the babies out of the way of the other women," the matron answered.

"Why! you are neglecting a gold mine," cried the visitor. "You have material in these children that would help in the reformation of nearly half the women under your care." This view of the matter had probably never struck the matron.

Such management as this is largely the result of ignorance. Even a slight knowledge of the laws of psychology would have shown the matron the value of these babies as curative agents, and might have opened her eyes also to half a dozen equally valuable sources of healing: simple, natural interests and responsibilities which go far to restore vitality and bring back hope to the heart. There lies in every one of us a natural hunger and thirst after usefulness—to feel ourselves necessary to some-one. This yearning takes all manner of grotesque shapes at times; but it is really one of the sanest, most rational of our instincts, and in treating such cases as we are considering this instinct should never be overlooked. But then it requires knowledge and insight into character, and imagination, to know just *what* job to assign to which patient—and the matron should be allowed a certain freedom in the handling of the experience which she possesses, or it will avail her very little. Another probable cause of failure lies in this; State reformatories are a business concern, while philanthropic colonies are "run" for love—love of God and of Humanity. We all know the difference between the physician who is only determined to make his fortune and the one who is trying to cure his patients from love of and interest in the healing art. So it is with this unhappy

disease of inebriety: those who essay to help with its cure must do so from great motives. . . .

When all these considerations are fairly faced, there seems to be very little to be said in favour of State institutions. What gifted County Council is to appoint the right sort of governors, matrons, and nurses for the work? It seems as if such selection would be beyond even the cleverness of County Councils. State machinery is almost proverbially slow, and has a way of working "just wrongly" at times. An official of the Inebriates Reformatory and After-Care Association complains that the conditions with which an inebriate must comply before he can be committed to a home are such that it generally means failure to cure his case at all: "We wait," he said, "until a person is practically dead, and then label him a failure because doctors and nurses cannot pull him round. *It should be easier for an inebriate to get into a home.*"

It should be easier; and when he gets there the home should be "run" on different lines. By the amendment to the Inebriate Act which was passed in 1900, magistrates can commit men and women to reformatory institutions for varying periods instead of committing them to prison; but the working of this Act has not been conspicuously successful: "Much of the failure of the working of the Act," says Lady Henry Somerset,

has arisen from two reasons: first, the difficulty of classification, a classification which should separate the habitual inebriate from the imbecile, the insane, and from the criminal. Many criminals may drink as an incident in their life of crime, and yet are not primarily inebriates, and many inebriates may commit crime and yet are not criminals; and until these differences are clearly recognised I do not think that reformatories will accomplish much good. In cases of mental deficiency there ought to be stringent classification. These women remain a constant menace to society. They will at no time be able to resist the temptations which beset them. They are neither idiots nor insane, and yet they are on the borderland of both . . . if colonies were established where they could be compulsorily detained and maintain themselves by useful labour, much good would be effected. . . . The second reason which seems to me to a large extent to have impaired the working of the reformatory system, lies in the fact that the women of one locality are sent to a special institution provided for that area, whereas they ought to be dispersed over the country . . . The arrival of an old friend in the new surroundings is sometimes the undoing of a woman who has begun to desire better things. . . . It strikes me that London people should be dispersed, and the people in the provinces should be sent to homes at a distance from their own localities; but this could only be accomplished by some system for the

centralisation of the administration of homes, which would give better powers of classification.

Our County Councils can scarcely afford to turn a deaf ear to these suggestions, made by one who can indeed speak with authority, after twenty years of practical and wonderfully successful work among inebriates. It is true that, as we have pointed out, it would scarcely be possible for any public body to administer its institutions on the delicate and individual lines which are adopted at Duxhurst; but surely in this matter of classification some changes might be effected. Moreover, in the selection of governors and matrons for such reformatories, would it be quite beneath the dignity of County Councils to ask the advice and aid of experts in the subject? . . .

The gigantic nature of the evil, and the impossibility of providing help against it on a scale equally gigantic, is of course depressing. But that is no reason for folding of hands and giving over the problem to the management of the evolutionary machine, to be solved a million years hence. Quite the other way. The greatness of the need should surely call out fresh resources from that immense fund of altruistic effort which lies at the heart of the English people.

JANE H. FINDLATER.

TURKEY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

It is a little difficult to crystallise the ideas suggested by the title "Turkey To-day and To-morrow," because Turkey (except as regards the area owning the sway of the Caliph) has changed very little since Suleiman the Magnificent carried the Crescent in triumph to the walls of Vienna; and it might almost be said that in the same long interval the Turk has changed not at all. This latter truth is responsible for the fact that the tables have been turned upon Turkey. A few short months ago the armies of the Caliph were driven back upon Stamboul, and the question was seriously discussed as to the precise procedure to be adopted when the Cross replaced the Crescent, and the allied rulers of States which but yesterday were vassal provinces should dictate peace under the very shadow of Sancta Sofia to their former conquerors.

Turkey has been described as the land of paradox, but in nothing is this truism so admirably illustrated as in the system under which foreigners dwell in the land.

The so-called Capitulations (about which many talk, but which few understand) are survivals of the day when the arrogance of the Moslem was such that only by the favour of the Sultan, and under the Capitulations magnanimously granted for their more effectual protection, was it possible for the foreigner to exist at all. These foreigners were for the most part traders: the Turk neither knew nor cared for anything so vulgar, and consequently the whole trade of the country passed into the control of regular colonies established all over Turkey, the members of which amassed great wealth, while under the Capitulations they were allowed to enjoy the protection of their own country, and to be exclusively subject to its laws.

This system gave birth amongst other things, so far as Great

Britain is concerned, to the Levant Company; and the fame of the wealth of the Turkey Merchants of that day still lingers in the City, nor has it altogether faded from Stamboul. The foreigner was regarded, more or less, as a money-grubber. The Turk viewed him with amused contempt. He paid no taxes, he was not allowed to own land; but otherwise he had practically the same status as though he had never left home, and he remained unmolested. There is no doubt that of all the foreign communities existing in Turkey the British was that which most nearly approached to the Turkish ideal of honourable existence. The Englishman was a trader no doubt, but he kept his hands clean; and from the Middle Ages to the present day the word "Englishman" has been synonymous in the mind of the Turk with the word "gentleman." In the course of time, as the power of the Sultans has waned, the privileges conceded by them in the days of their splendour have been retained, and used against them, by those who were formerly at their mercy. Thus the Capitulations have acquired a character suggestive of surrender rather than of concession. But the feeling of sympathy of the individual Turk for the individual Englishman has survived, because Great Britain alone, of all the nations of Europe, has never used force, or diplomatic pressure, in order to secure commercial advantage.

At the same time there is a very widespread feeling in Turkey to-day that the arm which drove back Russia from San Stefano is shortened, that the voice which since the days of the Great Elchi was ever ready with advice and assistance is dumb, and that either the immemorial policy of securing justice for the Moslem has been abandoned or else that the power of Great Britain has decayed. The Turks consider that the present plight of their country is due to the supineness of Great Britain; and, even if such a suggestion cannot be substantiated, it is quite certain that Turkey To-morrow will be the creation of the policy adopted by Great Britain to-day.

Turkish policy for half a century has simply consisted of a struggle for existence, alternating with brief interludes of folly and chauvinism, brought about by transient successes: one of these followed the Crimean War; another was the not unnatural consequence of the revolution of July 1908; while the final

crash; and the obliteration of Turkey-in-Europe, have been th
result of the intoxication brought on by Mahmoud Shevket'
triumphant march from Salonica, and the dethronement o
Abdul Hamid II. From the very moment of his accession unti
he found himself unnerved, friendless, and alone in his palac
at the Yildiz Kiosk, unable even to secure light or water, an
there received the announcement of his deposition, Abdu
Hamid's reign was one long struggle to play off one intriguin
ambassador against another; and the measure of his success i
the measure of the failure of those who have aspired to supersed
him. The most remarkable feature of the whole case is th
revulsion of feeling in regard to the ex-Sultan. For thirty year
the principal subject of conversation at every dinner-table an
in every drawing-room at Constantinople was Sultan Abdu
Hamid and his crimes. In vain did a few more far-seeing observer
point out that Abdul Hamid was what circumstances had made
him; that some allowance must be made for the inevitable
consequence of the rivalry of Russia, Austria, and Germany;
to say nothing of the fact that a policy suited to the government
of West Ham (Limehouse had not yet been discovered) was
inapplicable to the Ottoman Empire. Nothing would satisfy
or appease the zealots. "Abdul the Damned on his infernal
Throne" must go—so sang the Prophet Watson; and Dr. Parker,
holding up his hands in the City Temple, added one more to the
remarkable utterances that have resounded from that interesting
pulpit by crying aloud, "God Damn the Sultan"!

We may here turn aside to recall the fact incidentally that
since that date Mr. Asquith has attempted to electrify his
countrymen from the same platform; but he has not the authority
possessed by the lamented Dr. Parker, or else Mrs. Pankhurst
(at whose bidding Mr. Asquith was howled down) is more popular,
or less unpopular, than Abdul Hamid. At all events the congregation who a few months later were to howl down the Prime
Minister of Great Britain listened in silence while the Sultan was
consigned to perdition.

The City Temple is a curious conventicle, and it may console
both Mr. Asquith and Sultan Abdul Hamid to remember that the
same pulpit which witnessed Dr. Parker's blasphemous invocation
of the Deity was the scene later of the denial of Christ by the

Reverend R. J. Campbell; while the congregation which tolerated the denial of the Founder of Christianity, and assisted at a senseless insult levelled at the ruler of a State with which Great Britain was, and still is, at peace, denied a hearing to the Head of the King's Government, and did not even respect either the place of worship in which they were assembled, or the grey hairs of the politician whom their own elders had invited to address them. These incidents have a special interest in dealing with the Turkish question, because they show the extravagant lengths to which fanaticism is prepared to go in England, in strong contrast with the surprising tolerance and forbearance unceasingly shown by the Turks in the face of unspeakable provocation and cruel suffering and injustice. The denial of Christ by the Reverend R. J. Campbell compares in an interesting way with the "Te Deum" chanted at St. Thomas's, Regent Street, to celebrate the "triumph" of Ferdinand of Bulgaria; and if the Eastern Question is to be settled on a religious basis it would be interesting to have a confession of faith from, say, the Elders of the City Temple, the Lord Chancellor, the Leader of the House of Commons, Ahmed Riza, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Larkin, in order that the future creed of a regenerate Turkey may be determined on the broadest, most promising, and most "catholic" lines. Such a consummation would be a fitting ending to the Twentieth Century Crusade, and would certainly entitle Ferdinand of Bulgaria to canonisation.

The irrelevance of this interpolation is only superficial or apparent, for cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism in Great Britain have more to answer for in Turkey than any intolerance on the part of the Turk.

No sooner had the luckless Abdul Hamid been despatched to Salonica than the very people who had been loudest in denouncing him transferred their abuse to the so-called "Young Turks"; while those who, during the Sultan's ascendancy, pointed out mildly, but in vain, that it was absurd to judge him by Western standards, were again equally powerless to quell the tumult of abuse of the new government, or to induce anybody to see that time, and a measure of suppport from some disinterested first-class Power, were indispensable if it were to be

rendered possible to evolve any government at all out of the chàos resulting from two successive revolutions in twelve months.

Constantinople during the reign of Abdul Hamid was a festering mass of corruption and injustice; but a chosen few had every reason to be satisfied with a regime which, without very much increasing the misery of the bulk of the population, converted the few aforesaid into millionaires. These men and their hangers-on constituted a nucleus of discontent which was only to be expected in the circumstances. One of the consequences of the revolution, or at all events a development which followed in its train, was the liberty of the press. The malcontents, though not very numerous at first, very soon secured adherents by a steady campaign in a score of newspapers expressly started for the purpose; and in a very short time the Government of Turkey, which even under the iron rule of Abdul Hamid had been an achievement the difficulty of which is only now being even remotely appreciated, became an absolute impossibility. The malcontents themselves did not foresee this, but the European politicians and others who fomented the unrest did, and the present state of Turkey is the result. Some measure of appreciation of the first half of our subject may be attained by the foregoing summary statement.

Before considering further the position of Turkey To-day, and before further examining the policy of Great Britain, or the extent to which it has affected the situation, it is necessary to glance cursorily at the Turkey of yesterday and of the day before. The modern period of Turkish history may be held to have commenced when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Mr. Charles Alison, the brilliant Orientalist who afterwards represented Great Britain in Persia, defeated the Ulema on their own ground, and proved on the authority of the sacred books of Islam that apostasy from the faith of the Prophet was not punishable with death. There are not wanting those who pretend that the emasculation of Turkey was initiated by this incident, and that the good Old Testament method of smiting the Infidel hip and thigh is indispensable to the maintenance of any Moslem Empire. Others maintain, on the contrary, that a period of reforms and progress was ushered in by the Great Elchi on this occasion.

and that he demonstrated the possibility of inaugurating a system by which Christian and Moslem could live peaceably side by side: the creed of each distinctly prescribing and enforcing tolerance of the prejudices of the other.

This controversy has raged without interruption ever since. Those most ignorant of the tenets of Islam lay down the law with the assurance born of such a state of bliss; while the Christians, hoping to come into the inheritance, have recently given to the world a striking object-lesson demonstrating that it is more easy to reconcile Moslem and Christian than it is to heal differences dividing rival sects or Churches of Christianity. While Turkey has been struggling for life, and Great Britain has been more or less mildly protesting in one direction or the other, an active policy of disruptive intrigue has been steadily pursued by Russia ever since the Crimean War. The Bulgarian Atrocities (which enabled Mr. Gladstone to defeat the Tories at the polls in 1880); the Armenian question of 1894–97 (which was proved to have been deliberately engineered by Prince Lobanoff); and, finally, the Macedonian Question, the heir-at-law of the Muerzteg Convention (which would have dismembered Turkey-in-Europe but for the Revolution of 1908, which brought to nothing the agreement concluded at Reval between King Edward VII and the Czar), are all part and parcel of this relentless determination; and it is the irony of fate that a policy designed to secure the reversion to Constantinople should only have built up an impassable barrier between Russia and the goal of her ambition; while the recent war, which has certainly revived a measure of sympathy for the Turk, has consolidated the Balkan States on a footing of independence, which if not absolute to-day will become so by means of an understanding with Turkey which seems already to be looming on the horizon, and which every Balkan patriot should endeavour to promote.

It is no mere idle gibe to suggest that the obliteration of Turkey-in-Europe is, in part, due to the policy of Great Britain; and the answer to those who would ask in what way the crash could have been averted is easy. *The catastrophe was brought about* by the internecine struggles in Constantinople itself; and these supervened because no single party, or group of men, was strong enough to tide over the interval of confusion which was

bound to follow a third of a century of one-man rule. At the outset the new era was ushered in with a burst of enthusiasm which forced even Abdul Hamid to simulate acceptance of the system which he had himself held in abeyance since 1876. The centre of interest on every hand (not excluding the foreign Embassies) was the British Embassy. When Sir Gerard Lowther arrived on the scene, shortly after the revolution of July 1908, his carriage was drawn in triumph from the railway station to his official residence; and it is not too much to say that if the British Fleet had been sent to Smyrna, or some other equally definite mark of sympathy had been shown towards the newly fledged constitutional Government of Turkey, the counter-revolution of April 13, 1909, would never have taken place, and Abdul Hamid, the only man capable of holding Turkey together, would have cast in his lot with the Young Turks, and thus retained his throne.

Unfortunately Downing Street was unable to evolve anything but an indiscreet telegram enjoining the maintenance in office of the late Kiamil Pasha: a policy of interference, coupled with avowed "non-intervention," converted Constantinople into a bear-garden. Sultan Abdul Hamid was led to imagine that he might be strong enough to restore the old order with the help of some regiments whom he attempted to buy over, and the result is what we now see: "Turkey To-day" It is probable that but for the fact that Kiamil Pasha came to be regarded as a British agent, and as such to be anathema or suspect in very many quarters, he would, in the ordinary course, have succeeded in forming a government. Certainly Kiamil had no reason to love Abdul Hamid, who more than once had made attempts on his life, precisely because even then Kiamil was suspected of too great sympathy for England. But the moment that King Edward VII himself, in a telegram openly despatched to Sultan Abdul Hamid, suggested that the prosperity of Turkey depended upon the retention in office of Kiamil, the position became impossible. And it was this continual advocacy of Kiamil by Great Britain or by British statesmen, coupled with absolute or apparent indifference to the fate of Turkey, which must be characterised as the policy of interference and non-intervention which has sealed the fate of Turkey, and in a great measure of British prestige in the Near East.

The Government of the King of England and Emperor of India cannot remain neutral, or play a secondary part, in any question affecting the fate of Turkey. Any attempt to stand aloof must inevitably be interpreted either as hostility to Turkey, or as the result of fear of the consequences of action in any direction. Turkey has always been under *tutelage*, and the Chairman of the Board of Guardians—so to speak—has been Great Britain. Up to the Revolution of July 1908 the British Ambassador or his representative intervened daily with advice or admonition at the Sublime Porte, or the Yildiz Kiosk. The appeal to Sir Gerard Lowther, on his arrival, was clearly the intimation of a desire to carry into effect the admonitions so often received, under the old regime, from his predecessors.

But be the cause what it may, it is public property that the Revolution inspired no enthusiasm in British diplomacy; and if the attitude of Great Britain did not contribute toward the failure of the movement, its success, and the establishment of a stable government at Stamboul, would certainly have been conducive to the peace of Europe, and in the interests of peace and of this country it should have been the first care of British diplomacy. All that the man in the street could notice was that the rebuff received by the Young Turks from British diplomacy sent them very naturally to the German Embassy; and in a very short time the prestige of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, which had been utterly shattered by the Revolution, revived anew—for the simple reason that the only alternative to appeasing the German Embassy would have been submission to Russia, an alternative which no Turk will ever willingly contemplate.

The Revolution of 1908 was an event which marked—for good or evil—a new era in the history of Turkey. The task, previously held to be utterly impossible, had been achieved of putting an end to the despotism of Sultan Abdul Hamid without bloodshed. The Revolution was described by a witty French lady well known in society as "une révolution en dentelles"—a phrase which no wise man will attempt to translate; the movement had assembled on the same platform men of widely divergent views as Prince Sabah-ed-din, Ahmed Chérif Pasha, Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, Nazim Pasha,

Enver Bey, Djavid Bey, Talaat Bey, and a score or many score of others, too numerous to mention—all of whom had been kep in exile, or apart, by Sultan Abdul Hamid, but who sank thei differences at once, so soon as the hated tyranny of the Yildi Kiosk camarilla was at an end. Even Sultan Abdul Hami himself invited the Deputies of the newly elected Parliament t his Palace and fraternised with Ahmed Riza, who for twent years had been eking out a miserable existence by giving Turkis lessons in Paris—the victim of that same Sultan's tyranny an hatred. It is doubtless true that the authors of the Revolutio were carried away, to a certain extent, by the apparent brillianc and completeness of their achievement; but the astoundin feature in the situation is that the main grievance agains them was that they were "not orthodox Moslems," and thi complaint found utterance in the very circles where the "ba and baggage policy" of Mr. Gladstone had found favour a policy which was framed to expel the Turks from Europ precisely because they *were* "orthodox Moslems" and conse quently (in the opinion of their traducers) incapable of progres or reform. The religious question has already been considere in order to show the utter absurdity of intermingling question of creed with a matter which is purely political.

There was only one Power in Europe whose interests mus unquestionably have benefited immeasurably by the consolidatio of a stable government at Constantinople. That Power wa Great Britain; while Germany, whose interests in Asia Minor ar great, and growing, would have had every interest in co-operating or at all events in maintaining an attitude of friendly neutralit toward the new regime, as soon as it became clear that the goo old days of German ascendancy at the Yildiz Kiosk were gon beyond recall. The first Revolution failed; the counter-revolutio which became necessary to defeat the machinations of Abdu Hamid followed; Abdul Hamid was swept away, and sinc that time chaos has reigned. All or almost all the men wh welcomed the first Revolution (whose names have already bee cited) are dead, in exile, in prison, or under sentence of death while the Powers of Europe, who have ever since the Crimea War pledged themselves to maintain the integrity of the Ottoma Empire, have either themselves (as in the case of Italy) partici

pated in its dismemberment, or else have allowed themselves to be flouted by the Christian States which they have brought into being, and for whose benefit they claim to have been exerting themselves. The most distressing feature in the situation, so far as Turkey is concerned, is that the few Turkish survivors of the general cataclysm are at war amongst themselves, unmindful of the consequences which have already overtaken their unhappy country as the direct consequence of divided counsels, and treachery, in high places.

He would be a bold man who would hazard a guess as to what may be in store for Turkey to-morrow! Some lessons may, however, be learnt from the events of the last five years, and from the previous history of Turkey in her relations with the other Powers of Europe. The change which the creation of a regenerate and reformed Turkey, after 1908, would have wrought in the distribution of the balance of power in Europe has been brought about, to a very great extent, by the impetus given to the Balkan States, as well as to Roumania, as the result of the struggle terminated by the Treaty of Bucharest. The Concert of Europe, as hitherto known, no longer exists; and both the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente must make allowances in future for the aspirations and legitimate ambition and interests of the younger members of the orchestra, who have not hitherto made music or been conceded instruments at all. The Balkan Coalition, if it has obliterated a large portion of Turkey-in-Europe, has emphasised the necessity of keeping the Turks at Constantinople; and an opportunity once more presents itself for Great Britain to show sympathy, in the interests of common humanity and justice, with the Moslem rulers of Turkey—be they orthodox or unorthodox—and with their Moslem subjects, who have survived the butchery and torture recently carried on in the name of Christ.

The severance of the European provinces from the main body of the Ottoman Empire is not in itself an event which any patriotic Turk need any longer mourn. The establishment of a stable government at Stamboul will more than retrieve any loss of prestige suffered by the Turk as a result of the late war; and to this end every Turk should at once prepare himself to make whatever sacrifice may be necessary. No doubt it is indispensable that

Turkey should place her military establishment on a proper footing, and the country must be made secure from attack by land or by sea. But it is not on the battle-field that the regeneration of Turkey can be accomplished; indeed, if Turkey has lost the place she once occupied, or aspired to occupy, in Europe, it is because no attempt has been made to develop trade or industry in the country; Turks have confined themselves to military pursuits (without even in this branch keeping pace with modern requirements), or else have been content to crowd the government offices occupying nominal posts for which no work, and less salary, was available, thus of necessity forcing themselves to live upon plunder extorted in the form of "backsheesh" from their more industrious or intelligent Christian, Jewish, or Moslem fellow subjects. During the reign of Abdul Hamid every Turk was more or less a prisoner, and the most innocent journey to Europe was practically impossible for the vast majority of the population. Immediately after the Revolution Paris was flooded with an army of Young Turks, who nominally inscribed their names as Students of Law or Medicine, but who in reality merely indulged in the pursuits, outside the academic curriculum, for which the Quartier Latin is famous.

Such a thing as any attempt on the part of a Turk to establish commercial relations in England or France is almost unknown and not until some progress is made in this direction can there be any hope for the regeneration of Turkey. The misfortunes of this country have been brought about by the failure of the Turks to adapt themselves to commercial pursuits, or to develop industry in their country. As a consequence the country has been flooded with Levantines—Jews or Christians—who have plundered the Turks right and left, and have facilitated their own game by keeping alive the cry that the Moslem was massacring the Christian or the Jew. London, Liverpool, and Manchester swarm with the spawn of this vermin; and the trade of Great Britain and of Turkey have both suffered from their nefarious operations.

There are innumerable Turkish capitalists, or owners of land, who can never get into touch at all with a respectable Englishman without some wretched Levantine intermediary, who plunders both parties and in the long run deprives the original transaction

of any profit which might otherwise have attached to it. All these things are due, no doubt, to the fact that for many generations Englishmen have turned their attention to Australia, Canada, or South Africa, and have had no time to devote to Turkey. The subject, however, is now ripe for examination. It takes no more than three days to travel from London to Constantinople; and there are most excellent openings for capital, provided that the principals will meet face to face, and will not place themselves, and each other, at the mercy of the rascally middle-men with which Constantinople swarms.

There is only one hope for Turkey, and for the British interests which are irretrievably bound up with the fate of Turkey. It is that the City of London will put away the prejudice which has obscured its vision ever since the repudiation of the Ottoman Public Debt; and that first-class British capitalists and merchants will revive the policy pursued in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and themselves proceed to Turkey and deal at first hand with the Turks, examining on the spot the vast field of undeveloped wealth which only awaits a little enterprise and industry to turn it into money. No doubt a necessary element of security would be a British squadron, cruising at a convenient distance, to indicate both to Turks and Christians that if Great Britain desires peace she is not afraid of war; and no doubt the untimely withdrawal of the Mediterranean Squadron precipitated events both in Tripoli and in the Balkans. But if the City of London moves, the direction in which British capital flows is the direction in which British fleets are accustomed to cruise. The advent of a new Ambassador to Turkey might conveniently be made the occasion for an extended cruise in Turkish waters on the part of the Mediterranean Squadron; and for a commercial mission composed of merchants and capitalists to proceed to Constantinople and from thence along the track of the Baghdad Railway, or wherever else their fancy led them, in order to see for themselves what is the true political, financial, and commercial situation at Constantinople. The bankruptcy of Turkey in 1876 was the work of Christian financiers; her reparation in 1913 can only be achieved by some kindred agency. And it is for Great Britain to lead the way.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

SNAKES AND THEIR WAYS

MOST people feel a curious repugnance to the idea of keepi snakes, yet they are fascinating creatures whose insinuating wa soon capture one's affections. It is difficult to arrive at th reason for this strong instinct of dislike that so many peopl feel. Doubtless the bibical allegory with its connection of ev and serpents is partly responsible, and the poisonous propert of many snakes is another cause, but these two reasons do no seem to me sufficient to explain it altogether. In spite of th popular impression that other animals are afraid of snake recent experiments show that it is only apes and monkeys tha exhibit fear of them, and they will shiver and chatter with terro whenever confronted with one. From this fact a theory has arise that humanity may have inherited its horror of snakes from it ape-like ancestor.

So far as my experience goes I find the reason most peopl give for their dislike of my pet snakes is because they "hav no limbs and move like a worm," but I strongly doubt mysel whether they would have been liked in even their undegenerat days when they were lizard-like creatures possessed of two pair of functional limbs. For snakes are a degenerate branch of the lizard family, and time was when they resembled lizards in appearance and walked on four legs. To-day we find vestiges of the hind pair of limbs in only a few members of the group (pythons, boas and certain burrowing snakes) while the front limbs are never represented; these vestiges take the form externally of a pair of small claw-like spurs, and internally of part of the hip girdle and femur or thigh bone.

But although really degenerate creatures snakes are highly specialised and are beautifully adapted to their present mode of life. They can move with extreme rapidity, glancing over the ground like an arrow, and the ease with which they can twist into

curves and folds is proverbial knowledge. Their gliding movement is singularly graceful and is mainly effected by the ribs, which are very numerous and reach to almost the end of the body; they are, moreover, free at the lower end, none of them being attached to a sternum or breast bone, and are only loosely articulated to the vertebræ, which gives them considerable freedom of play, so that the snake by drawing them up close together, some on one side and some on the other, forms a series of curves and thus glides over the ground. A good example of this freedom of play by the ribs is seem in the cobra, for the expansion of its hood is nothing but the loose skin of part of the neck raised by the action of the ribs, which are held out horizontally to the backbone instead of vertically.

In most snakes we also find the scales on the ventral surface forming broad plates, which give further support for gripping any inequality of the surface they pass over, and in the tree species they are generally keeled at the free end as well, which affords a still firmer hold for climbing.

Unlike the ordinary rule, each vertebra of the backbone is articulated to the one next it at several different points and this adaptation on the part of the snake besides strengthening the backbone gives it added flexibility and prevents dislocation of the spine when it throws itself into twists and curves. A snake never moves in vertical folds as is sometimes represented in pictures, but always in a horizontal line, the undulations of its body being from side to side and not up and down. They have, however, the power of raising themselves up for some distance in a nearly straight line; when I hold my Æsculapian snake, who is nearly 5ft. long, in the air by the latter part of her body she will rear herself up in a practically straight line till she reaches my hand. She gets some help, however, by balancing herself as she ascends against the downward coil. The tongue is used solely as an organ of touch, by which the snake feels its way along. It is very slender, blackish in colour and forked at the [illegible], and while it can be extruded to some distance, it is retracted [illegible] a fleshy sheath when in the mouth. A snake flickers it in and [illegible] in a curous way as it moves along, and the feel of it on one's [illegible]nd when perceptible is like the touch of a piece of soft velvet [illegible] it leaves no moisture behind.

The method of eating in all snakes is much the same, whether

they kill their prey first or eat it alive. Their teeth are sharp recurved, so that once gripped, the prey cannot escape or pulled back, and they seem to draw themselves over it gradual instead of swallowing in the ordinary way. The two halves the lower jaw are not united at the chin but merely connect by an elastic ligament which is capable of being stretched to considerable degree. The upper jaw and palate are in mo species similarly united by elastic ligaments, and this power stretching the mouth enables the snake to swallow objects of bulk, which would at first sight seem impossible. I had a lit Hungarian snake once which one day eat two frogs, both which were certainly twice as big as its head—a feat th greatly surprised me. Some snakes, such as pythons an boas, dart at their prey, and then, having once caught enfold it in their strong coils and squeeze it to death, crushi it to the shape and consistency of a sausage before th begin the swallowing process, which is further facilitated the tremendous flow of saliva that soon covers the object wi a glutinous coating.

There is one snake whose method of eating is so unique as to d serve special mention. This is the egg-eating snake of tropic and South Africa. As its name implies, it feeds on eggs, whi it swallows whole, for if broken in the mouth some of the conten would inevitably be lost. The teeth are in consequence entire absent from the front of the jaws and those at the sides are qui inefficient to break an egg-shell, but their place is taken by teet like processes tipped with enamel which grow from the und surface of the vertebral column and project through the walls the gullet so that when the egg reaches this point its furth progress is barred and it remains there forming a large ov swelling. A few contortions on the part of the snake are, how ever, sufficient to split it longitudinally against these "teeth, its contents passing down into the stomach, while the shell aft a few minutes is ejected through the mouth, generally wit the two halves fitted into each other. It is a small snake scarcel attaining a length of 2½ ft. and hardly thicker than a man's finge and yet it is able to swallow an ordinary fowl's egg—a gymnasti feat that at first sight appears utterly impossible.

In all the poisonous snakes we find a pair of teeth in the uppe

jaw either strongly grooved or else modified into a hollow tube (which tube is evolved by the joining together of the two edges of the groove), thus forming a passage for the conveyance of the poison into the wound. The poison glands, which are situated behind and below the eyes and end in the open base of the tooth, are a highly specialised form of the ordinary salivary glands, and the snake can no more help the discharge of poison when it strikes than we can help the flow of saliva when we bite our food, the action being automatic in both cases. In some snakes the poison glands are so large that they extend a considerable distance down the body, and in the members of one genus this is so much the case that the heart has been shifted back from its normal position to make room for them.

The composition of the poison differs according to the different species: in most snakes its chief constituent is formic acid, the same substance that forms the poison of ants, bees and other insects. Some kinds of poison are, however, far more complex and have not yet been fully worked out. There is only one venomous snake in Great Britain, and that is the adder, which is a member of the viper family, all our other species being non-poisonous and perfectly harmless. The bite of the adder is not ordinarily fatal, for although cases will occur where the victims die, it is only when they are either very young or in a weak state of health, and in the case of the normally healthy person the results though extremely unpleasant are not really serious.

There is a curious old Burmese legend about the reticultated python, which deals with the origin of snake poison. Mason, mentioning it in his book on Burma, says, "according to an old Karen legend all the poisonous serpents derive their virulence from the python, which, though innocuous now, was originally the only one that was venomous. In these days he was perfectly white, but having seduced away a man's wife, Aunt Eu (Eve), he made her while she was in his den weave figures on his skin in the forms which are now seen. At that time, if he bit the foot-track of a man in the road, such was the virulence of his poison that the man died, how far soever that man might have passed from the beaten track. The python had not, however, ocular demonstration of the fact, so he said to the crow: "Crow, go and see whether people die or not when I bite the foot-track." So the

crow went to the neighbourhood of a Karen cabin and found the people, as is their custom, at funerals, laughing, singing, dancing, jumping, and beating drums. He therefore returned to the python and told him that so far from his efforts producing death, on the contrary they produced joy. The python was so angry when he heard this that he ascended a tree and spit up all venom, but other creeping things came and swallowed it and people die of their malignancy to this day. The tree therefore from which the python spat up his venom became deadly and its juice is used to this day for the purpose of poisoning arrows. The python made the other creatures promise not to bite without provocation. The cobra said, "If there be transgression, so as to dazzle my eyes to make my tears fall seven times in one day I will bite." So said the tiger (whose bite the Karens esteem as virulent as a serpents) and others, and they were allowed to retain their poison. But the water-snake and the frog said they would bite with or without cause as they liked. So the python drove them into the water, where their poison melted away and their bite became harmless."

In spite of this legend, however, truth compels me to add that not all the water-snakes are harmless, for the water-viper of North America is the dread of the negroes working in the rice fields on account of its poisonous bite!

So far as my experience goes I cannot speak highly of snakes from the point of view of intelligence.

Whatever quickness of wit they may possess in their native haunts, they certainly seem to lose in captivity, for it is difficult to teach them the simplest things and their powers of memory are very poorly developed.

But one quality they possess in abundance and that is persistency. Let them once make up their minds that they wish to go in a certain direction or to reach a certain piece of furniture and no obstacles deter them from carrying out their plan.

Arabella, my Æsculapian, can always find her way to the window, and if she really intends to be there I may remove her from it as often as I like and she will only begin a slow progress across the room afresh. She climbed one day four times successively from my bed, across an intervening box, dressing-table and chest of drawers, on to the window-sill, where she expended

her energy in futile endeavours to push her way through the glass pane. She gave no sign of annoyance when I took her away and put her on the bed again, she merely recommenced with gentle persistence her window-ward movements. But why one feels inclined to ask if she could find her way in a direct line across the room to the window, had she not the sense to learn that she could not get through the glass by pushing against it? Nor has she learnt with any certainty how to get out of the case when it is open. The glass panes slide in and out from the top, so she has only to rear herself up some eight or nine inches and she can crawl over the edge, but though she sometimes realises this, especially when she has just been put back, she quite as often forgets it. If I return her to the case hurriedly she gets bewildered and tries to push through the glass in a senseless way; if, however, I lower her into it slowly, she usually rears up and comes out again. But a more intelligent animal would have quickly learnt the way out and, moreover, having once learnt it would never forget it again.

Perhaps it will be asked what the pleasure of keeping snakes is if they do not show more intelligence. Well, I think their fascination lies chiefly in their beautiful winding movements and their utter impassivity of manner when in repose. Though they can be extremely active, there is not much scope for it in captivity, and they will lie for hours on the top of one's head with an immovable brooding expression, or curl round one's neck in caressing coils with their tongue flicking in and out and their steady unblinking eyes watching every movement.

My Æsculapian is very tame and gentle and she enjoys a good deal of freedom in consequence. She has a habit of hissing softly when she is pleased or interested, and I think she distinguishes me from other people, though she will allow herself to be stroked and handled by any one. She is most insinuating in her ways, and I have more affection for her than I should have thought possible to feel for a creature whose intelligence is not of a high order, and whose chief claim to one's love lies in a certain companionableness and a subtle fascination which it is impossible to explain to those who have had no experience of it.

MARION BLACK-HAWKINS.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *November* 10, 1913.

MEXICO still continues to occupy the largest share of President Wilson's time and energies, and in a scarcely lesser degree is the dominant thought in the minds of all Americans. Whether when this is read there will be any change it would be rash to predict, and it would be simply guesswork. It may be that by the end of the month American attention will be even more vividly centred upon Mexico; it is not improbable Huerta may have been deposed and a semblance of order reached without the forcible action of the United States; there is also the probability that a few weeks hence conditions will be no better than they are to-day and the policy of the United States will yet remain to be declared. But no matter whether action comes at once or is delayed, in the end the United States must either exert its power, or be forced to admit that it no longer claims the right or regards it as an obligation to regulate the affairs of this continent in the interest of the world. That admission, it is safe to say, will not be made.

The United States is beginning to realise the meaning of the white man's burden. It is beginning to appreciate the responsibilities of a superior civilisation. It now knows the price [illegible] great nation must pay so that a little nation may not perish. Th[illegible] United States is the one world-power that has learned this lesso[illegible] late. Other nations have had to fight and sweat blood so that th[illegible] world might advance. Hitherto the United States has bee[illegible] saved that knowledge. It has resorted to no more formidabl[illegible] ammunition than the despatches of Secretaries of State, it h[illegible] frowned on petty states with a ship or two and a handful [illegible] marines. Now it must know the larger experience.

The United States *must* assert its supremacy in Mexico. It is idle to say that history yet to be made need not have been written if other methods had been pursued. That is the wisdom that is worthless because it comes too late. Probably if the United States had been less eager to withdraw its support from Diaz and to extend its recognition to Madero, it would not to-day be facing the alternative of intervention or humiliation. Mexico is the victim of the muckraking that was given encouragement in high quarters in the United States a few years ago. Certain newspapers and magazines were incited to "muckrake" for the "moral welfare" of the people. They plunged into a campaign of slander and sensationalism, not because they cared two straws for morality or the welfare of the people, but because they saw the people were in a mood to believe everything disgraceful and discreditable that appeared in print, and the more the people believed the more magazines they bought, and the greater were the profits of the owners of the magazines. When these magazines had exhausted the United States they turned their attention to Mexico. Diaz was represented as a bloody butcher; Mexico was a barbarism; Mexico was a Macedonia at the doors of the United States; in the name of civilisation a new crusade was preached.

I have no doubt Diaz did a great many things that in England we should regard as horrible. But Mexico is not England, and the Mexicans are not English, and the methods of Mexico are not those of England. Few Americans knew the real conditions existing in Mexico, the nature of its problems, the difficulties Diaz met and overcame, the progress that had been made under his regime. Few of the writers about Mexico were over particular about their facts; many of the things written were lies, gross exaggerations, misrepresentations. That made no difference. The public was in a mood to believe the worst, the agitation against Diaz had been carefully fostered because it was to the advantage of some great financial interests to rid themselves of Diaz, and when Madero [illegible]e in revolt, the United States practically constituted itself his [illegible]. It was a colossal blunder. Diaz was the one man in [illegible]ico fitted to rule those turbulent people, Madero was as [illegible] qualified for the task as a child. His good intentions could [illegible] save him; they, perhaps more than anything else, brought [illegible]t his downfall, and he paid for his folly with his life.

Whether Huerta should or should not have been recogn[illegible] by the United States as provisional President is beside the m[illegible] Whether Huerta is an assassin, or has been cruelly aspersed [illegible] no bearing on to-day's events. Mr. Taft, confronted with [illegible] problem, declined to meet it and left it to his successor. "Me[illegible] is Mr. Wilson's Cuba," I said at the time, for it was clear eno[illegible] to any one with the least ability to look even a short way i[illegible] the future that Mr. Wilson would not be many months in [illegible] White House before he would have exactly the same decis[illegible] to make in regard to Mexico that was forced upon Mr. McKir[illegible] in regard to Cuba. Mr. Wilson refused to recognise Huerta, on [illegible] ground that he had come to the Presidency irregularly, and t[illegible] to accord him recognition would be to encourage revolution [illegible] assassination, and render more unstable the already insec[illegible] governments of the Latin American republics. Whether t[illegible] was idealism carried to extreme lengths, statesmanship in [illegible] largest aspects, or an unwise policy, need not be discussed. [illegible] Wilson had a definite purpose in view. The peace of La[illegible] America, its opportunities for development, its well-being [illegible] contentment, were to be secured only by respect for duly c[illegible] stituted authority. It was the duty of the United States not [illegible] put a premium upon revolution but to discourage it, and [illegible] surest way to make revolution unattractive was to make [illegible] unprofitable. If any man could raise a revolution, seize [illegible] Presidency and be recognised by the world at large, the n[illegible] man might do the same thing. Under those circumstances th[illegible] could be no peace, no stability, no material or spiritual advan[illegible] ment.

Mr. Wilson's policy has been severely criticised. It was v[illegible] fine, but it wasn't practical, his critics said. One must not [illegible] over nice when Latin America is concerned. Admitting that [illegible] President was right and theoretically sound, what was to be gaine[illegible] Mexico was a republic in name but must be ruled by a dictat[illegible] Huerta was the man, strong, able, fearless. Madero the gent[illegible] respecting the constitution, availing himself of no extra le[illegible] expedients, had made a mess of things. Only a man of the ty[illegible] of Huerta, to whom the constitution was a less effective fo[illegible] in government than the bayonet, and the bullet a quicker means [illegible] teaching respect for the law than the ballot, could pacify Mex[illegible]

Drive out Huerta, whom one might concede was rather worse than he was painted, and conditions would be worse than ever.

Whether right or wrong, Mr. Wilson laid down a course of action. It was summed up in three words: Huerta must go. So long as Huerta remained President the United States would decline to admit that a legal government existed in Mexico. If Mexico desired to be admitted into the fellowship of nations some man other than Huerta must be the President. But Huerta is not the sort of man who goes easily. Having come to power he intended to keep it as long as possible. When President Wilson formally demanded that Huerta retire, Huerta, with equal formality, treated the demand with cynical indifference. When Mr. Wilson grew more insistent, Huerta became more contemptuous. So after several months of diplomatic sparring the situation has come to this: President Wilson says Huerta must give up the Presidency. President Huerta says flatly he will not.

That is why it is now necessary for the United States to show its power. It has been openly defied by Huerta. It cannot permit that defiance to continue without loss of prestige. Not only all Latin America, but the whole of Europe is watching the United States and waiting to see whether it will back down before a provisional President of Mexico or make good the modest declaration of Mr. Olney when he was Secretary of State, that "our fiat on this continent is supreme." The United States has spoken, but it cannot afford to be put in the humiliating position of having thundered in the index. States of Latin America have frequently been admonished by the United States, and they have heeded the warning because they know that if it were disregarded, sterner measures would be employed. But Mexico is not a petty state, and while its population is small its area is great. If Mexico can flout the United States there is no Central American republic that will not feel it can do the same thing with equal impunity. The United States is not popular in Latin America, but its strength has always been respected.

In 1898 the United States went to war with Spain, because Spain refused to accede to American demands. After having made those demands there was no way open for retreat. It was

either stultification or fight. The same situation exists to-day Huerta must go. Will he? *Quién sabe?*

Many Englishmen during the last few months have asked or written me whether in case the United States intervenes in Mexico, that means the eventual annexation of the country and the beginning of a new and larger American foreign policy; my correspondents and others being so good as to say that my knowledge of America and the temperament of its people gives weight to my opinion. It is a question not easy to answer, and I doubt if any person would feel justified in expressing a positive conviction. It is true that to-day there is not the slightest sentiment except in Texas, in favour of the annexation of Mexico. In Texas, because only an imaginary line separates the two republics and past grievances are remembered, annexation is popular among certain classes, but taking the country as a whole, the North, the South, and the far West, the mere suggestion of annexation is hooted at. That feeling is easy enough to understand. The territorial area of the United States is large enough now—in the belief of many thinking Americans the future would present fewer difficulties if the area were smaller—and there are still so many problems yet to be settled that it would be folly to add to them by annexing Mexico. And then of course there is the colour question, in itself sufficiently formidable to make all Americans oppose annexation. The American people would like to rid themselves of the negro; they have no desire to see the race increased. To keep America as a white man's country is one of the reasons that California has so bitterly resented the Japanese invasion and would fight rather than yield to Japan. If Mexico had fifteen million whites, annexation would not be so repulsive, but as nine-tenths of the population is black or Indian the average American is content to have it kept segregated across the border.

That undoubtedly represents the prevailing sentiment to-day and would justify the casual observer in saying that there is not the slightest possibility of annexation. Yet the same thing could have been said with equal truth twenty years ago. Had any one then predicted that within a few years the United States would annex the Philippines, that it would keep a large armed

force there, and it would have to spend hundreds of millions on its Asiatic dependency, he would have been laughed at. And yet the Philippines were far less attractive than Mexico. Mexico is something more to the American than a geographical expression; Mexico is a next-door neighbour; the wealth in Mexican mines and forests and fields Americans know without being told. Not one American in a hundred—perhaps I shall not exaggerate when I say not one in a thousand—knew where the Philippines were, or what their people were like, or whether they grew cotton or raised alligators. And the Philippines, remember, were separated from the United States by a mighty ocean, and the United States flew no flag over alien peoples. "Impossible," every one would have declared had the question of the annexation of Asiatic possessions entered the domain of practical politics, yet the seemingly impossible was brought about. And when the Philippines came to the United States most Americans said, "We will get rid of them as quickly as possible," but they have not been got rid of, and no one believes the day of separation is near. These divorces are not so easily arranged, and there are as many things to be taken into consideration in a national divorce as there are among individuals. Pride is one of them. Power is another. To scuttle is a blow to *amour propre*, and the possession of foreign territory enlarges the spirit of self-centred localism. The American is a great deal more imperialistic to-day than he was when the thought of having to administer the Philippines seemed shocking. It may have been foolish policy, he thinks, to have gone into the Philippine venture, but having gone he must remain.

Suppose the United States went into Mexico. Undoubtedly the intention would be to do there what was done in Cuba: to restore order and put the Mexicans on their feet in the same way that the Cubans were shown the road that leads to self-government. But the circumstances are not the same. Cuba is a speck upon the blue waters, and Mexico is a great domain, a continent in itself. It was easy to do a successful job of house-cleaning in Cuba and get out, it will be a great deal more difficult to clean up the Mexican debris, and it will take years. Meanwhile may it not be possible that imperialism will have grown, that Americans will see the advantage of being the overlord of Mexico, that Mexico under an American protectorate will come to be

regarded not as something abnormal, but as a natural political consequence? I do not say that these things will happen—certainly no one to-day believes they will happen—but they are possibilities that must not be lost sight of when one considers the future.

In a notable speech made in Mobile in the closing days of last month, the President declared that "the United States will never again seek to obtain one additional foot of territory by conquest. Interest," he said, "does not tie nations together. It sometimes separates them, but sympathy and understanding do unite them." Then referring to the Panama canal he said:

> While we physically cut two continents asunder, we spiritually unite them. It is a spiritual union which we seek. . . . That opening gate at the Isthmus of Panama will open the world to a commerce that she has not known before—a commerce of intelligence, of thought and sympathy between North and South, and the Latin American States, which to their disadvantage have been off the main lines, will now be on the main lines.

Mr. Wilson is no doubt correct in saying that the day of conquest is over, for the conscience of the world revolts against the thought of wars purely for greed, which was their motive in the past, but war for the protection of material interests would be sanctioned. When an arrow is pointed at the heart of a nation, it is not a crime to disarm the archer before the shaft is winged. Now that the Panama canal is practically completed, the United States fears that the money expended on that great work may be rendered valueless by the construction of a rival canal in foreign hands, and already steps have been taken by the United States to make that impossible. Does any one believe that the United States would calmly watch the building of a Nicaraguan canal by one of the European Powers or their nationals? I think not. I think it would see in that action the arrow to threaten the national life and feel it was justified in taking measures at any cost for self-protection.

It is a curious thing, and the longer I live in America the less I am able to understand why that "spiritual union," to which the President referred, does not exist between the United States and the States of Latin America. There is little material interest, and there is even less sympathy and understanding between

them. Latin America does not like the United States; the United States neither understands nor cares to understand Latin America. And yet it would be so easy for the two continents to be brought together, and for the South to look to the North not alone for protection but, what is much more vital, for guidance, and help of the best kind. Latin America ought to be the sphere of influence of the United States, not in the sense of exercising political domination or exploiting it for selfish purposes, but as the strong man extending the helpful hand to the weaker, not boasting of its strength but quietly using it for the advantage of both.

Latin America would turn to the United States if it met with any encouragement, but its overtures are usually repulsed. One does not like to criticise the policy of another nation, and yet as an impartial observer I cannot refrain from saying that the policy of the United States has always seemed to me inept. It is neither one thing nor the other. It is neither grossly selfish nor ideally altruistic. It has swung between a moral censorship and a cynical disregard for morality. It has pretended to be shocked at revolution and the destruction of States; it has connived at revolution for the destruction of States for its own profit. It has preached peace and trafficked in arms. If Latin America is bewildered and looks with suspicion upon the United States and fears its protestations of disinterested friendship, is there not some justification for the Latin American attitude of dreading and doubting?

More than anything else the Central American Republics need their governments to be placed on a business basis so as to bring them peace and stability and order. Yet when they turn to the United States for assistance and ask that their finances be supervised and the temptation of the custom house be no longer the prize of revolution, as Nicaragua and Honduras have asked, American statesmen reject the appeal because it is contrary to their political creed or they fear it might subject them to the charge of being dollar diplomatists. One cannot understand this constant fear of being accused of helping commerce. The United States does more for its traders than any other nation. It spreads information broadcast. It publishes and distributes gratuitously bulletins and reports of great value; every opportunity for the extension of American trade is promptly noted; the business

man, the manufacturer or the exporter who wants a new field for his motor-cars or chewing-gum has but to make his desire known to the proper Bureau, and consuls and commercial agents throughout the world will investigate and advise him where his wares can find a market.

All this is regarded as a perfectly legitimate function of Government. No one considers it immoral or dangerous to republican institutions for the Government to help a manufacturer to sell his motor-cars in Patagonia or his chewing-gum in Timbuctoo, but when the Government induces bankers to finance a bankrupt country, bankrupt because its revenues have been stolen, and agrees to make bankruptcy in the future impossible by supervising the collection of the revenues, so fierce is the clamour that the attempt has to be abandoned, and dollar diplomacy is the last straw to break the back of a political party. Yet this sort of financial protectorate would do more for trade and produce more lasting results than the conquest of Patagonia by the American automobile or the spread of the chewing-gum vice in Timbuctoo.

The elections in New York and other States last Tuesday were looked forward to, as indicating whether the President had lost ground since his election a year ago, whether the factional fight in the Republican party is no less bitter now than it was last November, and whether there has been any change in the relative strength of the two wings of what was once the dominant Republican party. If election returns mean anything they answer these questions clearly enough. They show that the President and his party are as strong now as they were before they came into power. In New York the issue was purely local, it was decent government against Tammany; but in New Jersey, Massachusetts and Maryland, the voters were given an opportunity to show their disapproval of the course of the Administration by voting against the Democratic candidates. New Jersey and Massachusetts elected Democratic governors, and Maryland a Democratic senator, showing, I think fairly enough, that there has been no change in sentiment in the past twelve months. New Jersey and Massachusetts are largely given over to manufacturing, and their industries, it was freely predicted by Republicans while the

tariff debate was in progress, would be ruined by the enactment of that law. If they have been ruined the signs are not apparent, and it is evident the working men are not as yet in a mood to take revenge on the party that has done them so much harm. As a matter of fact, the new tariff up to the present time has had not the slightest effect on industry so far as can be ascertained. Manufacturers have not been forced to suspend or to curtail hours or wages. What will come later no one can tell, but just now everything runs smoothly, and as the working man is contented he voted last week as he voted a year ago. The result in New York is also satisfactory to the President. Mr. Mitchell, the mayor elect, was appointed by Mr. Wilson Collector of Customs at New York, the most important office in the President's gift except a place in the Cabinet, and had his support.

It is to be noted, however, that both in Massachusetts and New York the successful candidates will be minority Governors, just as Mr. Wilson is a minority President. Mr. Wilson owes his election to the Republican-Progressive feud, so does Mr. Walsh in Massachusetts and Mr. Fielder in New Jersey. If the Republicans and Progressives had combined they would have defeated the Democratic candidate for Governor in Massachusetts by some 80,000 votes, and the Democrat in New Jersey by 50,000. These figures tell their own story. The breach in the Republican party is as wide and as deep as it was when Mr. Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency. The feeling is as bitter now as it was then. So long as this bitterness continues the Democrats will remain in clover and they have nothing to fear from their opponents; when the factions bury the hatchet and fight the common enemy instead of expending their ammunition on each other the Democrats may not have such an easy time of it.

The elections have emphasised the disintegration of the Progressive party. In Massachusetts, where conditions were abnormal, the Progressive candidate for Governor polled more votes than his Republican opponent; but elsewhere the Progressives went to pieces and the Republican vote was enormously increased over last year. In New Jersey, which Mr. Roosevelt carried handsomely over Mr. Taft, the Progressive ran so far behind that he was lost; in Maryland, which Mr. Roosevelt also carried over Mr. Taft, the Progressive vote was only about 10 per cent. of that

cast at the Presidential election. In New York there was combination of Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives on the mayoralty candidate, so an analysis of the vote is not possible, but the Progressives nominated their own candidates for judges and their vote was small compared with the Republican. In other States where mayoralty elections were held the result was the same, the Progressive candidates coming in a bad third.

These elections and those that were held last spring show clearly enough that thousands of men who voted for the Progressive candidates last year have returned to their former party allegiance and consider themselves Republicans in good standing. Whether they will continue to remain Republicans or support the Progressive candidate for the Presidency in 1916, in case there should be one, about which many persons are sceptical, remains to be seen. If they do not the Republicans will have a fighting chance; if there are again three candidates in the field, the Democrats will romp home.

New York is just recovering from one of its periodical spasms of virtue. It rebelled against its shame and drove out Tammany and it glories as much as the repentant sinner who confesses in public and expects reward for promising to sin no more. To judge from what has been written on both sides of the ocean since the election of last Tuesday put the Tammany regime in eclipse, one might imagine the political millennium had dawned and the righteous had at last come into their own. But what has happened is not without precedent, and rejoicing over the downfall of the wicked may be withheld until it is seen whether Tammany is really dead or is only sleeping with one eye open.

There have been before this Republican mayors of New York and Democratic mayors who were anti-Tammany, and the "Tiger" retired to its lair to recover from the wounds of the campaign and emerged with a more voracious appetite determined to make up for the enforced hunger strike. When Mayor Gaynor died, there died one of the best mayors New York ever had and a man of extraordinary courage, honesty, ability and administrative capacity. He was a Democrat, but he was elected over the protest of Tammany, and he had the same disgust for Tammany that every other honest man has. He did much to purify politics

and give New York a decent government, but he got little thanks. The papers that abused him living gushed over him dead; they praised his virtues when he was beyond either praise or blame, but when praise would have encouraged him they snarled like a yelping pack. Tammany of course would not renominate him for he had been Tammany's implacable foe, but the "reformers," the men who had been crying loudest to be rid of the scourge of Tammany, did not, as one might have expected, see in that their opportunity to rebuke Tammany and recognise Mr. Gaynor's services.

New York can be honestly and decently governed if its people really want honest and decent government, but the question is, Do they? One doubts it. New York is a curious combination of altruism and sordidness, of fine aspirations and materialism, of bluff and bluster and solid worth, of spiritual blindness and a nice appreciation of values. It is as emotional as a neurotic girl and as fickle as a woman who lives on the memory of her past beauty. New York is a hero worshipper, and when she has no hero to crown she can always find a thief to crucify, and the one is as amusing as the other. And New York is the god of its own idolatry. It lives on its own sensations, and enjoys them hugely. That the whole country, that the people of foreign countries even, should be speculating whether New York would free itself from a degrading political servitude or continue to accept the yoke was not to bring shame, but rather was something to be proud of. It showed, to use the New Yorker's own expression, that his city "was on the map." It was the unconscious tribute that virtue pays to vice. Who cares about an election in London or Berlin or Vienna, if their people were really progressive enough to elect their own mayors and not meekly submit to have them appointed by the King or the Prime Minister. But when a mayor is to be elected in New York, the whole world waits the verdict. Even the most ardent reformer will modestly impress upon you that New York is no one-horse city. It is typical of the fickleness and cynical indifference of careless, gay, treat-life-as-a-joke multitude of New York. It humbles Tammany in the dust and seats Sulzer among the elect!

A. Maurice Low.

THE "THANK GODS"

ONE would hardly look to the Royal Alexandra Hotel at Winn
as a place likely to offer enlightenment on the European situat
It was, however, an incident that occurred there that op
my eyes to what I believe to be the explanation of much
puzzles the English people—that has puzzled them for n
years.

I was talking to a young Canadian, a typical Canadian,
dependent, strong, self-respecting, very impatient of conven
He had been "stopping" at the Royal Alexandra, and a
English traveller had a room on the same floor. The Eng
man, following the custom in his country, put his boots o
his door. My Canadian acquaintance (according to his
account) saw the boots, and, together with two or three
friends, considered what could be done to "teach the d
Englishman manners." They decided to fill the boots with
and did so.

Now, I am not vouching for the truth of this story
average Canadian is fond on occasion of drawing the lo
as does his American neighbour, and such an occurre
the Royal Alexandra strikes me as rather improbabl
"incident" I speak of is not the filling of the boots with
it is the telling by the Canadian of the story of the filling
boots. It was admitted that the Canadians did not kn
Englishman: they had simply seen him. Moreover, being
gent young men, they were probably perfectly aware th
Englishman was only following a custom he had learned at h
Why, then, did they fill the boots with sand—or say that th
done so? In my opinion the answer to this question, an
portant question, is also the answer to other questions, of ex
importance.

I believe, to put it in a few words, that the detestable ma
of the English people will ultimately lead either to the destru
of the British Empire or to a war in which England will em
only with an appalling loss of men and treasure. I belie
that our manners are the true cause of the peril that threat

ıs from the European Continent, that while jealousy of England's enormous possessions impels statesmen to get ready for war with our country, the hatred—"hatred" is the word—aroused by the average British tourist is the sentiment that those statesmen count on to make a war policy an enthusiastic popular movement. In the time of Thackeray we were, as he said, "magnificently hated" all over the Continent: since his day our manners have become even worse. It is difficult to write calmly about this subject, knowing, as I do, how half a dozen insufferable English tourists, condescending, supercilious, in clothes which alone are an insult to the people with whom they come into contact, whose coolly "superior" voices grate on sensitive foreign nerves until Teuton or Latin or Slav is ready to commit murder, can undo in a few hours the good feeling that diplomatists have painfully laboured to build up.

And these same tourists, when they visit the English Dominions, are even more exasperating, more patronising, more dangerous. A few of them are sufficient to turn a loyal community into a community of Anglophobes—yes, even though nine out of ten members of that community are English or children of English parents. When the great war comes, a dozen tourists may be found to have cost us a regiment of volunteers, the loyalty of an entire colony may have been undermined by the behaviour of a procession of "T.Gs."

This may read like the language of exaggeration, but it is not so—would that it were! There is still loyalty to the Empire, as the gifts of warships show, but the loyalty to England is being undermined. Not long ago I spent six months in Western Canada, most of the time in Vancouver, through which city passes a continual stream of British tourists on their way to or from Asia. These tourists are a source of considerable profit to Vancouver, and, to some extent, to Victoria also: they buy many books to read on their journeys—the number of bookshops in Vancouver surprises the most unobservant visitor; they form the principal source of profit of the hotel which belongs to the Canadian Pacific Railway; they purchase boots, and mackinaws, and bags, and linen; they buy souvenirs to send to their friends at home. And yet, as a rule, they are detested. The dislike inspired by the tourist is increased by the circumstance that there are in British Columbia a large number of "remittance

men," including some of the worst of the species to be fou in the world; but, in the main, it is the tourist who is responsi for the state of feeling in the Province. In other parts of Brit Columbia—in the Crow's Nest region, for instance—the Engli man is even more unpopular than in Vancouver. In so districts there is absolutely no social intercourse between English and Canadian residents.

Is it necessary to analyse the Englishman's manners, explain why they are so abominable? Surely, by this ti even in our home of snobs, we must be aware of our own snobishness. The most detestable quality of all is quite indefinable the impression the Englishman contrives to convey that he is absolutely certain of his own superiority that he feels nob ought to dream of questioning it. The Nonconformist minis mentioned in one of Mr. Anstey's books, regards himself as qu as good (in the English sense of "good"—there is a world meaning in that very word) as the Church of England rector a the way; but he is not sure that the rector is of the same opin The Englishman puts the people of other nations in the pos of the Nonconformist minister. But if this sense of superiority the means by which it is conveyed are, as I said, indefi there are plenty of concrete instances: any traveller with in his head can supply dozens of them. Look at the Vis Book at the Canadian National Park; look at the number entries in which the visitor, after writing his name and h town or county, has added the letters "T.G." ("Thank G That is the sort of thing that makes us unbeloved. And th so many cases, it is not bad manners, but no manners at all one of my journeys across the United States there was the same train a young Englishman, with "a high collar and a v as Kipling says. That young man had a "drawing-ro the train, took his meals in it, kept the door open all day that the other travellers could admire him—and spoke to not soul all the way from Chicago to San Francisco. He glared the other passengers as though wondering why they were allow to exist, and at every "stop" stalked solemnly up and down platform. Once an American, during one of these "stop asked him politely if he knew how long the train would wait that station. The Englishman stuck his nose in the air walked off without a word.

That is one type. I encountered another in the course of a visit to the island of Jamaica. At the hotel in one of the small towns I was impressed by the supreme importance of an individual —a tall man in white duck, wearing a monocle and a faintly superior smile—who marched to his place at meals with an air that would make one want to kick an emperor. He sat at the table next to my own, and one day at dinner, finding no salt on my table, I asked him if I might borrow his. He said not a word to me, but called the waiter, and waved his hand in my direction. I was curious to know who this regal creature was, and found out. He was the local schoolmaster, with an income of about £2 a week!

But it is useless to continue: everybody knows the English "bounder," the English "cad." What, I think, is not so well realised is the fact that almost all Englishmen have manners, or perhaps it would be more correct to say a manner, that foreigners find peculiarly irritating. And I do not think, but I know, that in any consideration of international and imperial politics the dislike which the Englishman inspires must be taken very much into account. I believe it to be largely responsible for the present situation in India: I am convinced that, apart from the "cad" and "bounder" elements, many of us are ill-mannered beyond measure.

England's influence is beneficent. It is probable that, despite all our faults, the countries that we rule are better governed, more prosperous, than at any former period in their history. Certainly the individual is more secure under English rule than under any other conditions. The Romans and the English are the only two nations that have ever exhibited a genius for colonisation and for the ruling of other peoples. After the first cruel conquests, the Romans governed their subjects equitably and well.

And what befell the Romans we know. Dreadful treachery on their part was the immediate reason for their downfall; but the real reason was their inflated pride, their arrogance, their bad manners. The lesson for England is plain.*

LAYTON CRIPPEN.

* [illegible]ial Note.—We agree with our contributor that the insufferable manners of [illegible] tourists have much to answer for, but we derive consolation from the fact [illegible] the Prussians have taken to travelling, with the result that we are becoming almost popular—at any rate on the Continent.

THE EDUCATION OF MIDDLE-CLASS GIRL[S]

"TIME, which brings all things, has brought to the mind [of] England the suspicion that the idols it so long worshipped a[re] the ideals by which it was so long deluded are no longer tr[ue]. The phrase sums up the present attitude towards education, [and] especially towards the education of girls.

It will be unquestioned that not the education alone, but [the] theories underlying the education of girls has been turned up[side] down within the last forty years. And for the greater part [of] that time it was assumed by the long-suffering British p[ublic] that we were certainly on the right track, and that all we [had] was to follow it to the end, and to pour out money like water [all] the while. Now the only thing we are sure of is that what [every]body accepts as an unquestioned truth is pretty sure to be [false], or at the very best inadequate and one-sided.

What ought to be our aim in educating middle-cla[ss girls]? Education changes human beings; some say much, and [some] little, but it does change them, or we should not give our[selves] great trouble about it. Into what do we want to see girls [change]? What do we desire to make of them? The pioneers [of the] seventies had one great advantage over us. Their [aim was] precise and definite. The cry of their century was for [liberty], individual liberty. And they had suddenly recognised the [long-]forgotten truth that woman has a mind. Eager student[s of the] past, they saw that women had been systematically sacrificed [to] the needs of collective humanity. They wanted liberty [for] women; to make women independent in thought, in action, [and] in opinion; independent of men, whether as economic mas[ters], domestic rulers, or as possible husbands. Women hence[forth] were to be themselves, to live their own lives; and in order [to] do that they must develop their intellectual faculties, and all

drink at first hand of the springs of knowledge. The theory closely fitted the personality of the pioneers. No one who has had the honour of their friendship, or even of their mere acquaintance, will assert that the women among them were all man-haters, all abnormally unconscious of racial instinct, unresponsive to the intenser passions and emotions, and negligent of the graces and softer virtues. Yet it is impossible to deny that many of the pioneers were of that constitutional type. In their own lives intellect ruled, and they sought to extend their ruler's dominions. Neither art nor sex, neither sentiment nor emotion was predominant in their experience. Indeed, as compared with intellect, they scorned them all, and the philosophy of their day fortified their position. They would have been astounded to learn that science and philosophy in this year of grace 1913 was going to take a precisely opposite view. And they impressed their personality upon their admirers, who hailed them as liberators from thraldom, and copied their failings with pathetic enthusiasm.

It had to be so. Pioneers must be single-minded, must have the power of drawing men after them, must be of hard stuff; and we who entered upon the land they cleared have to be thankful for their labours, and even for the inevitable defects of their sterling qualities. At least they made plain what nobody had dared to believe before—that women, *quâ* women, must be made the best of, and that if they are sacrificed, it is not to be to vanity and desire, whether of men or of women, but because sacrifice is the one way of fulfilment for men and women alike. Nor should we forget that, apart from personal predilection, even a child of genius must think the thoughts of his generation. All the world fifty years ago preached individual salvation. It was the creed alike of political economists and of religious reformers. Men and women were to save their own souls here and now. The happiness of all would come when each individual sought and found what was best for him- or herself personally. Like so many of the plausible theories of those days, it was arithmetic with the facts of human nature left out, and as soon as it was set to work the movements of life upset it into the dust, where it now lies discredited.

Already, maybe, we are suffering from a defect of individuality.

But that is another branch of enquiry. The present point is that it is no matter for surprise if educational reformers born in the forties and thirties preached the arid creed of those years, legislated for women as individuals, and forgot or ignored the relation of women to men and of both to the race; if they overlooked relative in absolute value. The relativity of women's lives was just what dismayed them. It was precisely *that* which they wanted to alter. Woman as the guardian of the future hardly entered into their calculations. "The discovery of the future" was not yet made. Less than a century ago men and women really believed that perfection lay behind in the beginning of things.

The next proposition of the pioneers, also to us far from self-evident, was then accepted almost without controversy. It was taken for granted that education meant the best teaching and training given to boys. It was necessary to fight to get education for girls; but all those who agreed that girls were to be educated allowed that they must of course be educated with and like the boys, in school, college and playground. Their teachers were to hold the same degrees. Their hours, studies, rules, amusements were to be, as far as possible, identical. What was sauce for a gander was also sauce for a goose. Such absurd misstatements as "First a human being; afterwards a creature of one sex or another" were accepted as axioms on which to raise a system. The pioneers admired and envied men too much to suggest that women would do better for themselves if they did not copy men; and that with all the world at their feet, and all the ages to choose in, the men had even for themselves in educational affairs mostly chosen amiss. The pioneers were born into a man's world. They knew none other. Few indeed were those who dared to say that a wholly different kind of sauce might with advantage be served to either bird or both.

One last look at the pioneers! They were lovers of books and of learning, and they were sure that the intellectual life is the highest life, and that since "we needs must love the highest when we see it," women only needed the opportunity of learning to embrace it joyfully. It was considered as a loss to "the cause," as a falling away, when a brilliant pupil became a wife and mother instead of a college lecturer. "One of the school

with a less assured future," they said, "would have done for that"! "Hordes of women are content to marry and have babies; we want something else." Nor were the parents behindhand; they educated their clever daughter for spinsterhood; as for their silly daughter, they dressed her becomingly and had her taught to dance. Furthermore, if we are really to understand this chapter of recent history, we must take into account the heresies of Malthus and of Tolstoi, not to speak of lesser fry. They both had an enormous influence on opinion in the nineteenth century. And they both—though from widely separated points of view—threw discredit on marriage and children. Such thoughts were in the air. Little folk who had never heard of Tolstoi or of Malthus were obsessed by their doctrines both before and after they were elevated by genius into grave theories of life. And, granted the truth of their premises, their conclusions were logical enough. If England was overcrowded, if humanity increased faster than the means of subsistence, as Malthus said, then all honour to those who denied themselves and refused to add to the inevitable catastrophe. If sex instinct be the fundamental sin, as Tolstoi declared, then women ought to fight it down, and intellectual interests and training would doubtless help them to win their battle. And the theology of the day, insisting on punishment through eternity for sins committed in life by human beings who never asked to be born, brought over to the side of the pioneers many women whose minds were not primarily of the intellectual type.

Such teaching could only appeal to the few, the fit. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that our present dearth of first-rate men is partly due to the stoppage of the supply (always limited) of gifted and intellectual mothers in those classes where first-rate ability mostly shows itself; and that our deplorable sensuousness, not to say sensuality, is closely connected with the elimination of mothers who could have handed down a native chastity that it has taken ages to evolve from the human brute. No consequence to their action could have been more unwelcome to the pioneers, and none more unforeseen. At any rate we know now, what was unknown forty years ago, that acquired faculties—educational acquirements, for instance—are not handed down at all: if they are not used in a lifetime they are wasted; and that

inborn characteristics are handed down as often from maternal as from paternal stock; and there are many reasons for believing that undeveloped ability is handed down rather than gifts that are worked out. Long ago Herbert Spencer spoke of the antagonism between individuation and genesis, and it appears to be true that what a woman spends in and on herself she has not got to spend upon the race. It may be necessary for a good inheritance, as for good crops, that there should be "unexhausted improvements." Here as elsewhere training and inheritance seem to be at war, and you cannot both eat your cake and have it. If so, the pioneers' theories on the education of girls stand condemned root and branch. Anyhow, the next generation, whether as heirs or as sons and daughters, was the last item avowedly considered in the education of girls forty years ago. For one thing it would not have been thought proper to talk about it. For another it was believed that it was all a matter of chance. For a third it was taught that we were in danger from over-population rather than because we white men are so few. So the Churches, who bent their gaze on the past, and the Reformers, who strained towards a fanciful future, joined together in a union that perhaps they were the last to suspect, in order to teach the rising generation of girls that it was wiser and better and more refined and on the whole more worthy to remain unmarried; not for avowedly selfish reasons, be it promptly said, but to spend their individual powers, capital and interest during their lifetime, and to leave behind but a memory.

On the whole, English middle-class girls, the pick of womankind, have learned their lesson with astonishing completeness a fact that inspires hope that they may unlearn it with equal rapidity. Nowadays nobody dares own such suicidal opinions though probably there are those who cling to them secretly. Yet how few members of the general public or of the teaching profession are bold enough to deny the truth of such opinions en bloc, and to aver openly that in the light of recent science they mean to reverse the teaching of the last generation, and to educate the girls, and especially the most gifted girls, to be first-rate wives and mothers; for a woman's life and a mother's duties! That is what we ought to want, and the world does want, and in so far as education may change a girl, that is what girls ought

to be changed into. It sounds like a mere truism. Yet if once it is accepted as a creed, everything is otherwise. Often it is necessary to repeat to make sure of a meaning. Girls should be educated and trained, body and mind, to fill after a first-rate fashion the places that they are needed to fill, and wherein they will certainly find, take them one with another, their best chances of happiness. That does not mean that girls are to be left uneducated in the hope that they may pick up some sort of a husband. Nor does it mean that the future wife is to spend her days in idle expectation while her sister is working hard to be a spinster.

It is a great point to be sure of our aim. Once agreed as to the place we mean to reach, opinions will not differ very widely as to the road that leads there. In educational matters we now suffer because the public, *i.e.* the final referee, has not made up its mind what it wants and means to pay for. Parents hope for a son-in-law, but meanwhile they train their daughter for spinsterhood, and deliberately teach her that marriage is all very well if it presents itself, but that on the whole spinsterhood is better because it is freer from care.

This is by no means the place for a dissertation on education. Doubtless a first-rate wife and mother must possess information and manual skill; a proper education may give her both. But the formation of suitable habits is not less necessary for a successful marriage, and if anything is changed by education and training, habits certainly are. We can cultivate habits of body and mind; they are not born in us, or at any rate they are not in us complete. And it seems sometimes as though in the cultivation of habits proper for a successful married life we go most especially astray. At least it will be allowed that the habits and therefore the tastes of girls of marriageable age have been completely altered during the last forty years. And it is the change in habits and chosen mode of life that is so much more striking to the casual observer than any change in the direction of intellectuality or of learning.

([illegible]) Girls and boys are not alike. It is not desirable that they should be alike, nor that they should lead the same lives. The same virtues are not demanded of them; even in virtues we must pick and choose, for we cannot have perfection. Nor can

hey be pardoned the same failings. Nor do they need the same astes, habits and faculties. Therefore how can it be wise to ducate them together or alike? The present plan is based on he absurd over-admiration for boys and men. Girls are educated ike boys, and nobody protests. Does anybody in England want o educate the boys like girls?

(2) A boy has to make his way in the world, to go out among nen. Rightly he is scorned as a mollycoddle if he sits by the ireside, tied to his mother's apron-string. But how about the irl and her fitness for home-making? Is it a good thing that he should come to breakfast in her hat and never take it off till he dresses for dinner, if then? Does it tend towards the succ[illegible] f a *ménage* if the mother is always on the rampage, in and [illegible] f the front door a dozen times a day; if she is bored to d[illegible] hen she must spend a whole day at home; if she cann[illegible] appy in solitude, nor busy unless she is set her task, nor h[illegible] ithout violent and unproductive exercise; if she turns rebell[illegible] hen she is restrained by little children tied to her apron-str[illegible]? hese things are merely a matter of habit and training. W[illegible] ccustom girls to habits so unsuitable?

(3) There are those who say that it is unfair and horrib[illegible] sk a girl to find her chief interests and happiness within the [illegible] alls of home. "Home's such a dull place!" Home [illegible] is made by those who live there, and to an opinion ba[illegible] ersonal experience one can have nothing to say. But [illegible] oys wouldn't; you'd never think of asking it of a boy,' [illegible] upid argument. For the obvious answer is "Certainly [illegible] not wanted in a boy. A girl is not a boy, and it is und[illegible] make her into an imitation of one." Men are—the [illegible] en. But they are not so much better than women tha[illegible] ed wish to be imitations of men rather than themselves. [illegible] sult of the silly schoolgirl mode of thought expressed in the rase "the boys don't have to," is that middle-class women come like overgrown boys, and so remain; they are not men r manly; least of all are they gentlemanly.

(4) A husband's work is done abroad; a wife's at h[illegible] erefore a man may—must—come home to rest, and if he [illegible] ined to that habit in youth it is well, for his happiness and his lfare. A woman's business is home-making, and that mean

work done daily within four walls. Therefore for a girl it is the worst of training to consider home as a place where she may lounge and laze and be as unpunctual as she pleases and let the work go by unheeded. This is a blot on all girls' education, day-school, boarding-school, elementary and secondary alike.

(5) No girl knows what her fate will be; she has no power of foreseeing what she will choose when the moment comes. Therefore she should be adaptable. A boy does know more or less, and should plan all his life in accordance with his ordained future. But a middle-class girl may marry a curate or a stockbroker, a farmer or a millionaire, and straightway she is plunged into a certain set of interests, tied irrevocably to a certain mode of life. Has it made her adaptable to run her in a groove towards an examination primarily arranged by men for boys' needs; to keep her in an artificial world outside the changing circumstances of real life? There is a great deal to be said in favour of a multiplicity of interests for women, and a girl is to some extent equipped for her future when she is capable all round, and can throw herself into any one of a number of affairs if only she is given a straight lead. The majority of men have in the course of their work to go on doing the same thing over and over again, acting by rule; only the minority ever face an emergency on their own sole responsibility. But nearly all women deal with shifting affairs, with living things, to which or with which anything may happen any day or night.

(6) It is difficult, no doubt, to train for uncertainties. The next item is as certain as death. The mother and mistress of a household must rule. Let the home be rich or poor, big or little, in town or country, the house-mother—the woman is the ruler of it. Every day we see unhappy homes without a ruler; women who can't rule their servants, can't rule their children, can't rule themselves, nor their own lives. But who tries to teach girls to rule? Sometimes, though rarely, they are taught to obey out of as well as in school, which is good only in so far as it is the first step towards self-mastery and self-control. Here we fall across one illustration of the truth (acknowledged by few yet acted on by all) that we do not demand the same virtues from boys and from girls. A woman must rule in her home; a man must obey his employer. Now a selfish person may nevertheless be a good

servant; what a selfish person can never be is a good ruler. Therefore selfishness does not poison the average man's life as it does a woman's. Besides unselfishness, a ruler must have self control, a sense of equity, judgment and foresight, a quick sympathy with the ruled, and administrative or organising ability. Are these the qualities that we even try to develop in girls? Are they those for which the modern woman is conspicuous? It is often said that, on the contrary, modern girls are headstrong, self-seeking and unsympathetic. What passes for headstrong behaviour is very often the plain result of education on wrong lines. A donkey is said to be headstrong when he will pull up at the public-house where his present driver has no desire to drink. But into the poor donkey's head has been drummed the rule that fitted in with the mode of life of his previous drivers, and he cannot alter all of a sudden. The last thing the donkey suspects is that beer-drinking is an abnormal habit, peculiar to a few persons, and cultivated to his detriment in him. Or again is it fair to say that a girl is selfish because she goes on her way heedless of events at home? That is exactly what she was trained to. The clock struck, and she must be off to school, come rain or shine, in sickness or health, in domestic storm or matrimonial tempest, and once out of the house she must forget all save her school and her teacher. That is the way girls get prizes for conduct on the lines of present-day education. A man needs just such training. He would be a poor clerk and a worse manager whose mind was filled all day long with thoughts of his wife and children, of home pleasures and disasters. But is it in any way desirable for a girl who is to be a wife and mother? The system does not even turn out women with a habit of punctuality beyond the range of the school-bell; if it did that there would be something to be thankful for.

(7) A man must earn a living. In a man's life everything depends on his possessing an adequate income. If he is worth no wages, he can never set up a home of his own. But the girl who is going to marry him need not know how to earn: what she wants to know is how to spend. It is a bad thing for the family when the married woman is the bread-winner, as we all see plainly in any class that does not happen to be our own. The wife's business is not to make, but to manage the money. Most

of the cash in the world is handled by women and not by men. It is a shame to a boy when he cannot earn a living. Why is it not a shame to a girl if she cannot spend to advantage? But does anybody educate a girl to spend and to manage and to rule and to govern, as everybody educates and trains a boy to earn and to knock under?

(8) It is always said that boys and girls learn on the playground to rule and also to obey, to be courageous, unselfish and good-tempered. By all means let us have games! Yet for girls what games? There certainly has not been anything like the result we had a right to expect from the enormous sanitary works that have been undertaken in the last fifty years. Contrary influences have been somewhere at work. Girls are bigger and more muscular. But is it proven that size and muscle are what life asks of women? It is childish to urge that men and boys think a lot of size and muscle. Perhaps they do—in one another. Perhaps they think too much. Their opinions and instincts may have survived too long from less civilised centuries. Even in the case of men there is no evidence to prove that size and serviceableness go together, still less size and service. Even were muscular development good for men, many items have to be considered before we say that the big women are the best women. In animals and plants size and rampant growth is no guarantee of excellence. Only children always choose the biggest in the dish. Rather is men's and boys' admiration for mere size a sign of their incurable and adorable childishness. Men are more muscular, but women are tougher and can live through more; and vitality is a possession to be prized far above muscle. We have all seen that it is possible to change girls into muscular women; but the question is whether it is worth while going on with it. If we can change the girls into highly vitalised women, that will assuredly be to the good; but that may not be possible; and in any case their store of vitality must be carefully hoarded for the best uses, and not squandered on anything so petty and ephemeral as school matches or competitive examinations, both of which may be desirable, yet only if they can be (so to say) afforded out of the regular income. It is clearly not worth while to encroach on capital or reserve funds to obtain them.

The number of well-to-do spinsters in England seems to have

got upon the nerves of our educators, who need to be reminde
again and again that the spinsters are the minority, even in th
middle classes, and that the welfare of the majority should no
be sacrificed to that of the minority. By all means let th
minority have special education, but let us never forget that th
spinsters are the abnormal women, and in spite of all the nois
they make and all the good they think they do, they signif
comparatively little in the world's economy. On the other hand
some women ought not to marry: they come of bad stock; they
are silly to the verge of feeble-mindedness; they have
physical or moral defect, or they are what may be called co
stitutional man-haters. The more successfully the thought
such women are turned away from marriage, the better fo
concerned. The trend of public opinion has been in a pre
contrary direction. The clever, attractive daughter is "sur
fall on her feet anyhow." For the impossible daughter
"wish to goodness some man would come along and marry h
The girl who is trained for marriage and does not marr
supposed to encounter a peculiarly hard fate. But does
She can marry if she wants to; there are plenty of eager hus
out of England if not here at home, and the world grows
every day. Besides, as a matter of fact it is the widows wh
redundant, and there would not be so many widows if girl
able and ready to marry young men, on the incomes that
men earn. But say that some girls want to marry and
They still have an excellent trade in their hands. They
never be at a loss for a job and good pay. They will neve
from the competition of men. In the Old World and the N
efficient home-makers—wives, widows, or spinsters—are alwa
far too scarce.

EDITH A. BARN

INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION

SOME AUSTRALIAN EXAMPLES

CIVILISATION exacts yearly, as the price of greater comfort and ease of life, a stricter habit of discipline. Man makes this a more and more wonderful world; and within it he must walk more and more warily. Looking over the precipice, by the edge of which "labour troubles" so often keep him walking, the British citizen must reflect whether the time has not come when he must make another concession to the tyrannous claims of community life and sacrifice something of the freedom allowed to employer and workman to arrange their own affairs in their own way. Long since, the right of citizens to fight out with citizens personal disputes as they pleased was limited. The public peace must be kept, the law said, and even the dearest matter of family honour must be referred, if remedy is sought, to the Courts set up by the law. But the community still tolerates the chance of a labour dispute filling its streets with riot and bloodshed, of stopping its railways and thus bringing death to the weak and the helpless; paralysing its water and drainage services and thus striking cities with pestilence. Can that toleration continue, even though it is defended by such stout old maxims as the right of the labourer to work at what hire he pleases, the right of the employer to offer what wages he pleases? Can it continue in face of the growing complexity of civilised life by which the mere abstention of some men from work may cause the most ruinous consequences? To answer these questions with a "No" in the abstract is simple. To meet the practical difficulties of suggesting the steps which should follow that "No" is a task of enormous difficulty, especially in Great Britain, where the individualistic school of political thought is so strong and where there is still a disposition

to shirk the issue by trusting yet a little longer to the old social amenity between classes to act as an emollient to discontent. But that social amenity tends to disappear and individualism becomes more and more hopeless as a political philosophy. The "task of enormous difficulty" must be faced.

I wish to put forward, as possibly useful in this country, some hints regarding the settlement of industrial disputes by peaceful means, gathered from a close study of three Arbitration Acts in Australia and from a close association with the working of two of them. Political and industrial analogies drawn from Australia should be useful here. The Australian population is entirely British. It has practically the same ideals and ideas as are held here. In regard to what is known as the "Labour movement," Australian and British conditions are almost identical. There, as here, a political Labour Movement exists; there exists also the old-fashioned industrial Trade Union Movement; led, as a rule, by clever and clear-sighted men; having as its backbone trade societies which are either branches of the great English trade unions or exact copies of them. There exists, likewise, a revolutionary Socialist industrial movement (far, far weaker and more discredited in Australia than in this country). Naturally, too, there are the same broad factors of the industrial position—the desire of employers to secure labour at a rate which will allow of good profits being earned, the desire of workers to get the best possible conditions as to wages and hours.

The early history of the Labour movement in Australia was singularly peaceful. Prosperous conditions allowed high wages and high profits. The demand for labour made bargaining equitable, since the labourer was practically freed from the compulsion of "Take this or go hungry." The trade unions devoted their chief attention to securing eight hours as the limit of the work-day, and were helped in this by many of the employers who found eight hours of good quick work more profitable than ten of slower work. The Maritime Strikes of 1890 and 1892 brought, however, a new spirit into the Australian industrial situation. The trade unions had grown enormously in strength. Their members began to demand that they should be allowed to exclude non-unionists from working beside them. The great Maritime Strike was, in effect, a warlike campaign, against what the trade

unionists called "the blackleg." The strike, fought with great determination, and carried on by a system, since familiar, of one union coming out in support of another, though without a grievance of its own, was a failure. In suppressing it, authority found that some exercise of force was necessary, and incidents occurred which embittered public life for many years afterwards. The community, counting up the cost afterwards, was aghast at the results of this form of industrial warfare. Soon the crash of falling banks and other credit institutions, their fall giving a serious check to the young life of the country, was to impress the lesson that a great strike is not an affair upon which a community can look with even mind. Australia set herself to consider means of preventing strikes, of limiting their range, of mitigating their consequences. In different States different methods were tried. It is only necessary to follow the history of industrial arbitration in one of the States, New South Wales, to understand how the complicated problem of applying judicial methods to the settlement of labour disputes was approached.

The first New South Wales Industrial Arbitration Act was passed in 1892 by Mr. Barton, now Sir Edmund Barton, Justice of the High Court of Australia, then Attorney-General for New South Wales in the Government of Sir George Dibbs. Mr. Barton's Act was very cautious. It set up machinery for conciliation very similar to that now in existence in Great Britain: if the parties to an industrial dispute were at variance because of a misunderstanding, the State found them means for a conciliatory meeting. In addition, however, there was a Court of Arbitration, to which parties could appeal from the Courts of Conciliation or could go in the first instance. This Court of Arbitration consisted of three members—a president, who was to be a man of impartial judgment but not a lawyer, chosen by the Executive Council; an employers' representative and a workers' representative, chosen by the Executive Council on the recommendation respectively of the employers' unions and the trade unions. The Court of Arbitration had no power to compel either party to appear, though it could hear a case and give judgment in the absence of one party. It had no power to enforce its verdict. The strength of public opinion was relied upon to command respect for decisions come to after judicial investigation.

A great deal was hoped for from this Act. The Arbitration Court appointed commanded general public respect. A very valuable decision was come to by the representatives of the employers (Mr. Kethel) and of the workers (Mr. Brennan) that they would strive to the end that all the decisions of the Court should be unanimous. I can recall, later, with another Act in working, suggesting the same wise course to the two lay members of the New South Wales Arbitration Court. Unfortunately, the "Labour member" of the Court refused to follow it, and the Arbitration Court decisions were constantly being injured in the public repute by publication of the report of (*a*) the President's finding, giving the actual verdict and probably the equitable decision; (*b*) the "Labour member's" dissent on the ground that it did not give enough to the unions; and (*c*) the "employers' member's" dissent on the ground that it was not fair to his side. My earliest observation of industrial arbitration in working is that it is extremely important to have a unanimous verdict of the Court when, as is usually the case, the Court consists of representatives of both sides with a judge as chairman. Each member of an Industrial Arbitration Court should consider himself on appointment no longer a partisan but a judge, and the Court as a whole should work with a single purpose.

The Barton Act, in spite of the fact that it was well served by its Court and by an able and industrious Registrar, failed to have very much *apparent* effect. It settled satisfactorily one dispute which threatened, a coal-miners' strike; and was not thereafter invoked. The facts that it could neither enforce attendance of parties nor obedience to its decisions made it subject to ridicule in some quarters, and condemned it to apparent impotence. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the moral effect of the existence of the Court was of value. The mere fact that there was a Court of Justice to which an industrial dispute could be referred made it possible for the community to say to the parties to strikes and lock-outs: "A plague on your quarrels. Go to the Court and settle them peaceably." As it happened, there were few strikes during the life of the Act.

The next Industrial Arbitration law in New South Wales was the Wise Act of 1901, which attacked with extreme boldness the problems surrounding the judicial settlement of industrial

disputes. It aimed to abolish strikes and lock-outs absolutely, and to put an industrial row on the same plane of illegality as a street row. Mr. Wise went to the root of the difficulty of enforcing a decree equally on masters and men. If, say, the Brillat Company, capital £2,000,000, reserve funds £1,500,000, employing 1000 workmen, takes a point in dispute with its men to a Court of law, there is a simple way of enforcing a decision adverse to the Company. The funds of the Company can be attached. But it is not so clear how a decision adverse to the men can be enforced, supposing them unorganised, irresponsible. In what way can obedience be enforced? An Arbitration Court that can enforce its awards against one party and not against another is, to all intents and purposes, in the position of being able to find only one sort of verdict; and thus to earn, in time, derision.

Mr. Wise's scheme of industrial arbitration aimed at organising the two parties to industry on a basis of equal responsibility. The funds of the master were his guarantee of good faith. Well, the men must have funds too, as guarantees of their good faith. To band the workers into industrial unions for collective bargaining and to make the funds of these unions liable for the due observance of Arbitration Court decisions was Mr. Wise's policy. As part of that policy there was a provision in the Act, very much canvassed at the time, allowing the Arbitration Court to declare "preference to unionists" in any industry; that is to say, compelling the employer to employ a unionist in preference to a non-unionist, other things being equal. On the face of it that was a serious interference with the liberty of employers. Really it was an artful means of securing a due balance of responsibility in a Court of Justice between employer and employed. It tended to stability, for if the majority of the workers in an industry [illegible]ere unionists, paying into funds liable to be sequestrated for [illegible]y offence against the industrial law, that gave them a sense [illegible]caution and responsibility. Of course, the decree of "Prefer[illegible] to unionists" was discretionary with the Arbitration Court. [illegible]se of a union exacting some political conformity, or otherwise [illegible]ing its conditions of membership onerous or tyrannical, it [illegible]ld not be decreed. "Preference to unionists" tempting the [illegible]kers into trade unions, the funds of those trade unions forming [illegible]guarantee of labour obedience to the Arbitration Court decrees

—that was the essence of the Wise Arbitration Act. Strikes on the part of workers, lock-outs on the part of the employers, were both declared illegal. Any dispute as to wages, conditions, hours, had to be referred to the Arbitration Court. Its decisions were not to be subject to appeal, and were enforceable by any means open to another court of civil law.

The Wise Act went further. Not only was it to prevent strikes and lock-outs; it was also to put under the guidance of the Court all industrial conditions throughout the country. When one comes to think of it, that is almost a natural sequence of a system of compulsory industrial arbitration. Once a tribunal is set up to judge in industrial contentions it is to be expected that there will be as many contentions as there are bodies of people willing to try to improve their conditions if they can do so without risk. But it is not always wise to make necessary sequences clear. The Wise Arbitration Act rather went out of its way to announce to all and sundry to come forward and have their industrial conditions adjusted. It had an elaborate system by which a decision come to by one group of workers and employers could by a common rule be made to apply to all in that trade; and an industry could come up for review of its conditions of labour without any preliminary dispute existing between employers and employed. The result was a wild rush of cases. Almost every industry, whether its workers had a grievance or not, was anxious to come into Court. Those whose cases were delayed felt dissatisfied and abused the Act which could not at once remedy the "wrongs" which had only been felt so poignantly since the Act came into existence.

For seven years, the term appointed by Parliament, the Arbitration Act of 1901 kept in stormy existence. Practical working showed in it many defects. But after its passage a change in the balance of power in Parliament prevented any sympathetic amendment and subjected it to unsympathetic administration, which went so far on one occasion as a refusal for a time to fill a vacancy on the Arbitration Bench, thus paralysing the Court. Nevertheless it kept the industrial peace fairly well. There were constant simmerings of discontent but never any great outbreak, whilst the lapse of the Act was followed by a series of savage strikes. I am convinced that Mr. B. R. Wise

had solved the main secret of compulsory industrial arbitration in his 1901 Act, by encouraging the workers to become members of unions and thus to undertake financial responsibility for peaceable behaviour. If the faults which showed in the Act when it was subjected to the test of practical working had been remedied, it would probably have shaped into a sound safeguard to industrial peace.

In 1908 the Wise Act lapsed and Mr. Wade, then Premier of New South Wales, replaced it with another form of industrial arbitration. It is a significant fact that whilst Mr. Wade and his party had strenuously attacked Mr. Wise's Act, they did not find it possible to allow the system of compulsory industrial arbitration to perish. Mr. Wade's Act remedied the congestion which had arisen from the rush of cases under the previous Act by setting up what may be called Petty Industrial Courts. These, under the title of Wages Boards, had the task of making agreements for particular industries. The Boards represented employers and employed with an impartial chairman. Appeal from them lay to the Arbitration Court, which kept most of the powers it had under the previous Act. But there was this very important difference: Mr. Wise had sought to keep the workers bound to their agreements by financial responsibilities, the basis of which was the bait of preference of employment being granted, within the discretion of the Court, to men joining industrial unions. Mr. Wade abolished that, and as a penalty for the disobedient workman provided fines with the option of imprisonment. I do not think that public opinion will ever sanction the imprisonment of men for refusing to work, unless in the case of exceptional occupations, where a sudden cessation might cause a great disaster. Certainly in one New South Wales case where imprisonment was inflicted law and order came to a ridiculous impasse, the employers paying the imprisoned workmen's fines in order to release them from gaol and having to beg the workmen, who were keenly enjoying their martyrdom, to accept the release.

Now the existing Labour Government in New South Wales has effected an amendment of the Industrial arbitration law which swings the pendulum back in the other direction, and seeks to legalise resort to strike under certain conditions.

There have been other Arbitration Acts in various States of

the Australian Commonwealth and one general Act to deal w labour disputes extending beyond the boundaries of one State a affecting the Federation as a whole. No useful purpose wo be served by detailing the provisions of these various A Generally speaking, they run on two main lines—that of a cent Arbitration Court system which sets up one Supreme Court arbiter in all trade disputes, and that of instituting a number Wages Boards, each to deal with a particular industry. Ag generalising, the final Australian form of judicial settlement labour disputes will probably represent an amalgamation of b methods—a series of Petty Industrial Courts dealing with dive industries and passing on big problems to a central Arbitrati Court. As yet, however, the final solution has not been reache but one thing has been made plain, that, having once experienc the advantages of industrial arbitration, a community is n willing to abandon the idea.

I shall now venture to put forward some general conclusio founded on a study of industrial arbitration in the working, a these general conclusions will be framed with the idea of meeti the questions of a British statesman contemplating the drafting an Arbitration Act.

In the first place, a "voluntary" arbitration system, *i.e.* o which establishes a Court but gives it no power to compel hearin or enforce verdicts, is not likely to be of much use in any countr But an Arbitration Court which, without legal power to enfor its decisions, has full power to compel hearings of cases and t take evidence would probably prove very useful in Great Britai if caution suggests that that should be the first tentative mov towards substituting decisions of Courts for the brute-forc verdicts of strikes and lock-outs.

Great Britain has a great moral asset in the force of publ opinion, which is far stronger here than in any other country o which I have knowledge. If, in case of a labour dispute, ther were a Court in existence which would be able, of its own instance to cite the parties to a hearing, to investigate the exact facts and to give a prompt decision, probably public opinion would i a large number of cases insist on that decision being followed even if there were no sheriffs for its enforcement. Such a Court should be absolutely divorced from political influence, and from

the dependence on the executive which must affect a Civil Servant. Its President should be the most respected judicial authority of the day; its two secondary members (representing the interests respectively of Labour and Capital) should be appointed after consultation with those interests and appointed during good behaviour with the security of office of Supreme Court Judges. It should have the power of co-opting temporary members for any particular dispute. It should aim at giving united decisions, speaking always as a Court, not with the three voices of three individuals with different ideas of the justice of the case. The public should be impressed with the fact that a fair and reasonable settlement is offered by a Court which has banished all partisanship.

If Great Britain is prepared at the outset to embark on compulsory arbitration in the full sense of the word, adopting a system which will give a Court of Justice power to enforce decisions in industrial cases, so much the better, in my opinion. The forces tending to anarchy cannot be grappled with too early. There is some valuable guidance, then, to be gained from Australian experience.

To adopt precautions against a flood of frivolous cases is the first necessity. As soon as an Arbitration Court is established to settle disputes there is a natural tendency on the part of workers to make disputes with the idea of securing by arbitration the chance of some concessions. Australia, with the courage of a young country dealing with a limited scope of industries, was able to face the prospect of gradually bringing every undertaking under the review of an Arbitration Court. To do that in Great Britain would be impossible. A compulsory Arbitration Court here might be accompanied by a full series of simple Conciliation Boards in each industry; and should allow cases to reach it only on the application of one of those Conciliation Boards, made to a Judge of the Court sitting in Chambers, and considered by him reasonable. There might be another barrier on the path to the Court, that of investing the Registrar with power to block Chamber applications from the Conciliation Courts to the Arbitration Court, allowing only those that he thought reasonable to go before the judges. All possible care should be taken to impress the fact that the Court was a last resort for the settlement of incurable

differences of opinion, not a place for the general review of industrial conditions.

The cant cry about "keeping lawyers out of Arbitration Courts" will without a doubt be raised in this as in other countries. Within my observation most of the trouble in the working of industrial arbitration in Australia has been through attempts to do without the trained minds whose profession it is to assist to arrive at clear judicial decisions from tangled masses of facts. The first Judge of the New South Wales Arbitration Court under the Wise Act was very much hampered in his work by the fact that the Labour unions were inclined at first not to have counsel to present their cases. Thus the Judge, instead of having counsel on each side to guide him to a recognition of all the points involved, was left without help on one side, and the consequence was that the Court stumbled into several pitfalls and thus somewhat damaged its prestige—this though the judge was one of the most able and industrious of men. Sound law, which at root is sound common sense, is most necessary in all industrial arbitration proceedings.

In New South Wales the working of industrial arbitration suffered much at one stage from newspaper hostility. That hostility was mostly inspired by party politics. Mr. Wise, the author of the Act, had recently thrown over Free Trade in his enthusiasm for National and Imperial union. All the most powerful papers were of Free Trade views, and thereafter they could see no good in anything that Mr. Wise did. I mention this to suggest precaution against the danger of instituting a system of arbitration here as the result of a party fight, leaving a trail of bitterness behind. Sympathetic treatment by the Press of such a vast new interference with individual liberty as industrial arbitration represents is almost essential. I should imagine that any law—that compelling school attendance, for example—would be sadly hampered in its working if it were constantly gibbeted in an influential section of the newspaper Press as tyrannical and useless.

As regards the enforcement of awards, that is easy enough in respect to the capitalist. His capital gives security for the due observance by him of awards. It is the problem of making the workman responsible that presents the chief difficulty. At the

outset let it be decided that to imprison him for merely refusing to work, unless under the special circumstances when refusal means danger to the public, is impossible. New South Wales has tried that, and public opinion did not sanction such a trespass on liberty. A solution of the problem must be found in getting the workman into some sort of financial responsibility which will hold him to a peaceful acceptance of an award which goes against him. Mr. B. R. Wise's scheme of persuading him into an industrial union with the bribe of a probable preference of employment, and making the funds of the industrial unions liable to forfeiture for all offences against industrial peace, such as taking part in strikes or encouraging other unions to take part in strikes, represents, I think, the best solution. It may not be immediately practicable however. Other means towards the same end which might be adopted as expedients would be to use the Old Age Pension scheme and any other Government benefits as safeguards to peace-keeping. The impenitent offender against an award of an Arbitration Court could be put in the position of imperilling his future Old Age pension and his benefits under any State Insurance scheme by his contumacy. Again, he might be made liable to being debarred from any future employment under Government control. The problem of exacting guarantees from the workman of obedience to industrial arbitration awards is difficult but not insoluble. Of course, to justify its pressure, either on employer or worker, a system of industrial arbitration must be beyond suspicion of partisanship.

Even with a perfect system of industrial arbitration confessedly there would still remain a residuum of strikes, those of the class which are revolutionary and not industrial in aim. These then, as now, would have to be treated as the interests of good order and government demanded. The hand of authority would be much strengthened in dealing with them by the public confidence that all honest grievances of Labour had a way of remedy.

FRANK FOX.

THE UNIONIST POSITION IN SOUTH WALES

One of the big political facts of to-day is the rupture of the Liberal Labour alliance. Commenting on north-country politics last year in the *National Review*, I wrote—"Labour is emancipating itself from the shadow of Little Bethel and the sticky grasp of Mr. Chadband," and I also pointed out that Conservatism has a great deal more in common with the rank and file of Labour than it has with Liberalism, despite the fact that the so-called Labour leaders and the Liberal wire-pullers are hand in glove.

Let me give a practical illustration of what I mean. Last year Mr. Edgar Jones, Radical M.P. for Merthyr, under the privilege of Parliament, made a mean and spiteful attack on the Rector of Merthyr, most of the statements in which have since been either withdrawn or disproved. Now the other member for Merthyr is Mr. Keir Hardie, a man who redeems much (and he has much to redeem!) by standing out from the majority of his fellow Labour members as honest. After the controversy this is what a writer in the *Pioneer*, Mr. Keir Hardie's paper, said, after asking the constituents of Merthyr if they were not "ashamed" of their "miserable mistake" in sending such a "weakling" as Mr. Jones to Parliament—strong words for "Allies" are they not?

> He (Keir Hardie) and the Rector of Merthyr are on very friendly terms, and on one occasion the latter said to Mr. Keir Hardie that there was more in common between him as a downright Tory and a Socialist, than there was between Mr. Keir Hardie and the pseudo Radicals. Mr. Hardie replied: "Yes, give me a good crusted old Tory I respect him, but as for these so-called Liberals, I detest them."

I have confirmed this from the Rector himself.

The truth is that the Labour platform, though still more selfish, self-centred, and unimperial than one might wish, is

nevertheless an honest platform; it represents a blind groping under not too disinterested guidance after a better and happier life; whereas Radicalism in Wales, owing to there being no cross-currents to cut athwart Sectarian enmities, stands simply for unctuous self-righteousness and the maintenance of chapel tyranny over the lives and liberties of the people. You can see this fundamental divergence of temperament—which is every day forcing Labour further away from Liberalism and nearer to Tory Democracy—illustrated over the amusement question, and incidentally you may enjoy one of the most ludicrous spectacles in your life. In Merthyr, Abertillery, and other districts there has been an agitation lately to follow the London example of Sunday opening of the picture halls. Labour wants it; the Chapels oppose. The Labour leaders are frequently also chapel luminaries, and they are on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand is the revolt of the rank and file against Puritan repression; on the other the certainty of almost equal loss of support if the old restrictions are successfully relaxed. Have you ever seen dancing mice? . . .

In a variety of ways, then, Liberal Labour friction is increasing, but the point on which I want to insist in this article is that Liberal Labour differences do not automatically make Tory triumphs. The allies may safely quarrel to their hearts' content if Conservatives are not in a position to take advantage of it. The problem of South Wales is the problem of the alienation of Conservatism from Trade Unionism, and it is something more than a lovers' tiff. Readers who want to understand the problem of these mining constituencies must put aside all preconceived notions founded on knowledge of ordinary divisions where interests and classes are varied and labour is scattered and broken up. Picture two large upland valleys populated by eight or ten straggling townships of ten thousand or more inhabitants each, practically contiguous and linked up by trams. Picture an electorate of twenty thousand or so, of whom the enormous majority are colliers and the remainder are dependent on the goodwill and custom of the colliers for their living, an electorate which by its very cohesion in one trade and in one Trade Union is easily "got at" by the Socialists both by appeals to class loyalty and by confusing industrial questions with politics,

and you can see how in a mining constituency the scales a[re] weighted against Conservatism from the first. People oft[en] ask, why are colliers and colliery districts so Radical? Wel[l,] for any further explanation you must go back many year[s.] When Trade Unionism was in its adolescence the men who foug[ht] its battles and gained for it its legitimate position as the wag[e-]earners' accredited bargainer, were all Radicals and Socialist[s] in politics. Perhaps because the official Conservative min[d] looked rather askance at Trade Unionism, the few Conservativ[e] miners there were in those days never took their share in th[e] movement. The result of this apathy was that Radicals an[d] Socialists obtained the monopoly of Trade Union positions an[d] influence which they have preserved to this day, and this agai[n] created an impression that Conservatism was the enemy of th[e] miner and that no miner could with self-respect be a Conservative. This prejudice is only being lived down by slow and painful degrees.

In this matter of veiled hostility to Trade Unionism it i[s] probably not realised how much harm is done by what I may call the old fogeys of the Party. There are some members o[f] Parliament who seem to take every opportunity of singling ou[t] Trade Unionists for gratuitous insult. Naturally it is the Radica[l] cue to encourage this. It is playing into their hands. Conservatism and some of the present Union leaders in their capacity as politicians may be inevitable foes, but that is no reason why their Trade Unionism should be derided. There is nothing inherently incompatible between Conservatism and Trade Unionism. Lancashire, where Trade Unionists are the backbone of the Party, proves the contrary. Our antiquarian friends may blame the times in which they live, the soullessness of limited companies, or anything else they like, but the fact remains that under modern conditions individual workers in large industries must combine. Men dependent on the week's earnings for the Sunday dinner cannot otherwise bargain on fair terms with employers who can have a month of Sunday dinners just the same whether the works are open or not. It is not Trade Unionism or Trade Unionists against whom the fight must be waged, but the bossing of the unions by the wrong sort of men. Trade Unions led by level-headed and capable administrators untrammelled by political exigencies, undoubtedly

make not only for improved conditions but for industrial stability. It is just because Conservatism harbours in its ranks politicians who are always snapping and yelping at Trade Unionism that these are just the sort of leaders Trade Unionism does not usually get. So long as the workman can be led to think that his organisation is in danger, so long will the present noisy little clique of Socialist bosses be able to ride upon his neck.

The non-unionist question is not so acute in the South Wales coalfield as in some other parts of the country, because, as a matter of fact, practically all the colliers do belong to the Miners Federation, but it is a question nevertheless on which Conservatives may do well to revise their opinions. As a matter of plain uncompromising justice it may be argued that a man has a right to remain a non-unionist, and Union officials have no right to compel him to join. Consistently with which doctrine, if there were 4,999,999 unionists and one non-unionist the latter could remain outside; but wouldn't it be rather absurd? The middle classes themselves have a sharp way with *their* non-unionists. Doctors, solicitors, barristers, dentists, stockbrokers,—are they not banded together in the strictest of unions, hedged in by rules as to what they may or may not do or charge, and by still stricter laws of etiquette? The way Trade Unionists themselves look at it is this. Usually when a big strike comes along, the whole of the working classes stand together at the beginning—they all strike or they are all locked out. The unionists, having subscribed to strike funds, have strike pay to draw; but the non-unionists have none, and on the principle of strengthening the weak links in the chain the unions generally make them grants, thus seriously depleting the fighting fund. Not only so, but if the strike ends in a victory for the men the non-unionists automatically share the proceeds without having subscribed a penny themselves! . . . . Probably under modern industrial conditions the ideal system for the big trades would be for all the workers to belong to a union controlled by level-headed business men. But there is one essential condition—the unions must keep to their legitimate sphere of activity and to the purposes for which they were intended, viz, as Friendly Societies and guardians of the interests of their members in trade disputes. When you suggest their direct interference in politics you touch the most urgent and thorny problem in South Wales to-day.

This question of allowing the Trade Unions direct political action—in other words, of allowing Trade Union money to be used for the support of Labour and Socialist candidates—is one on which neither Conservatism nor Liberalism can afford to compromise. The details of Labour Party finance have always been shrouded in a certain amount of mystery, but so long as Labour leaders devoted themselves to the Labour Cause, awkward questions were not asked as to how exactly their salaries were paid. It was the coming of the Lib.-Lab. star in the firmament that precipitated trouble, for thousands of miners at once objected to Trade Union funds being used to assist a candidate who fought under the Liberal flag. The real fight against the Parliamentary levy began in 1906, when an independent miner named Steele brought an action at Newport County Court against the South Wales Miners' Federation to prevent them from "misapplying the funds of the corporation by spending them for political propaganda." Here and in the High Court (1907) Steele was beaten, and through lack of funds the case was not pursued further, but shortly afterwards Osborne the railwayman won his similar battle in the Court of Appeal, the judgment in his favour being subsequently confirmed by the House of Lords. Then followed a period of agitation, ended by last year's compromise under which a special levy for political purposes may be compulsorily made if a majority vote of union members can be obtained.

There the matter remains for the present in South Wales, for the Socialist wire-pullers have not yet dared to take a ballot! Nobody knows even approximately what the voting strength in a straight fight between Liberal and Labour all over the coalfield would be—the next general election perhaps will show—but it is known that on this question at any rate Conservatives and Liberals together largely outnumber Labour, and both have sworn to oppose the compulsory political levy vote. It is only natural that they should. Even the compromise that gave the Socialists their present slender chance of Marconi-ing was obviously unjust, and it was wrung from reluctant Liberals in the House of Commons at the bayonet-point. It is not, you will notice, a majority of affiliated miners that is required, but only a majority of those who actually vote, and the past history of the Socialist bosses tells us that there is a way of smuggling

these unpopular votes through on an infinitesimal poll. But even if a large majority should demand it the compulsion would be equally unjust. Socialist voters should sustain their own candidates. The bosses say that they cannot get the money voluntarily. Does not that very fact shatter their case and prove how weak Socialism is when unsupported by fictitious aid? Why should Liberals and Conservatives, just because they are Trade Unionists, be forced to support upholders of political principles which they detest? The argument is, of course, based on our old bogy friend the Solidarity of Labour, which is in effect the idea that all working men think that Socialism is the political road to salvation. The answer simply is that all working men don't. It is true that legislation affects the working classes most largely, and it is through legislation that some of its battles are won, but all Trade Unionists—there are more than two millions of them—have the vote, and it is idle to pretend that, even in the absence of special Trade Union Labour candidates, these two millions could not return suitable members to Parliament—if they all thought about politics alike. The fact is, so far as Trade Unionist interests are concerned, trade disputes and legislation are not parallel cases at all, and it is impossible to argue from one to the other. In a trade dispute every Trade Unionist, every worker, has the same interests (except of course where his leaders are traitors "on the make"), and a universal levy is fair. But opinions are hopelessly divided about politics, that is to say about legislation. No one man can represent them all. Moreover, it is contrary to British traditions that any one man *should* represent them. The idea of class representation is distasteful to the British genius. There are no employers' representatives as such—probably not half a dozen M.P.s are even returned by a majority of the employing class. Every member is expected to have the welfare of the whole country at heart according to a more or less definite (if sometimes curious) set of principles, and not to devote himself to the benefit of any special clique, regardless of other considerations. Last, but by no means least, it should be recollected that the direct participation of the unions in politics would result in a great access of power to leaders who are not only dishonest but incompetent. What can one say of the adventurers who have wasted thousands of pounds of the workers' hard-

earned money on the daftest caricature of a daily newspaper that the world has ever seen? The worker may sometimes require protecting against his leaders as well as against himself.

In talking to South Wales Conservatives it is impossible to avoid the feeling that they regard themselves as ill-used by the Party Caucus. Probably there is sometimes a strong though quite erroneous impression at headquarters that this part of the country is "hopeless," but if, through failure to support the local organisations during the lean years, the Party misses the chance to snatch seats when the Lib.-Lab. split comes to a head, it will only have itself to blame. In face of this neglect it is wonderful what South Wales Conservatism has done for itself. Throughout the coalfield the political club system is dominant. Conservatives first organised themselves into clubs for self-protection; now, through the exertions of a few enthusiasts, every considerable community has its Conservative Club, the members of which hold successful fortnightly meetings, arrange mass demonstrations, and guarantee one another against the possibility of victimisation. The probability is that in London it is never realised how seriously politics in this part of the world are taken. In mixed constituencies the decision is as often as not influenced by catch-phrases or prejudices, but the colliers argue and think things out. I know working-men Tories who have contrived, while working arduous hours and maintaining a wife and family, to pass through an eighteen months' course in public speaking, and to obtain a working knowledge of history and a thorough grip on current politics just out of sheer enthusiasm for the cause. What inducement does the Party hold out to them? Practically none. Their self-sacrifice goes unheeded. And yet it is through such material as this and not from outside that the most successful propaganda work in the coalfield must be done. Here they are, giving freely their spare time, toiling so to improve themselves as to be able to fight and beat Socialists at their own game, risking broken heads, holding Conservative public meetings where such meetings have never been held before, and braving a persecution that at election times extends even to their little ones at school. And what support do they get? Many practical suggestions were made to me for stimulating local effort, but they are largely technical, and I cannot go into them here. But on one point all are agreed: South Wales with

ts population of a million and a half does not have its fair share of visits from prominent Party leaders. "We got together 10,000 men in one building at Mountain Ash to hear Mr. Walter Long," one enthusiast complained, "and he admitted that he had never addressed such an audience in his life." Mr. Bonar Law has been once, and so has Mr. Chamberlain, but as a rule we are neglected. And what is the result? The general public draws its own conclusions. "Oh, Conservatism is no good in the coalfield," it says. "No good, when we have sixty-six clubs of our own and are 30,000 to 40,000 strong! If we could have a series of real monster gatherings with real prominent leaders to address us we would fill the hall to overflowing every time!" They mean it and they could do it too.

A great handicap to Conservative miners is that there is no proportional voting in the unions. All the officials are Radicals because there is a Radical majority not only in the Miners' Federation, but in every Lodge. That is mainly why Conservative Trade Unionists so rarely attend their Lodges and are voiceless in Congress. There is no minority representation, If there were 550,001 Radicals and 499.999 Conservatives in a union the same bare majority would elect official after official—given a full attendance—and the paid billets would still be a Party preserve. In actual fact the majority is about 5 to 2, and snap votes are almost impossible to engineer. When you add to this that the bulk of Consevative miners belong temperamentally to the easy-going non-agitating type, it is obvious how grave the obstacles to progress are.

Another handicap under which the Party labours—I am talking of South Wales generally now—is absenteeism. A majority, though not a lage majority, of masters, are Conservatives, but how many live any part of the year in the neighbourhood of their businesses or take any part in the public life of the localities whence they draw their money? Very few. And this applies to royalty owners even more forcibly. There is a delightful true story of a Peer on some of whose waste land the coal prospectors struck it rich; a company was formed, and a prosperous new township rapidly grew up. Presently a church was required, and the Vicar, after many humiliating repulses, made his way into the august presence. "Oh, ha," said the Peer, "and, ah, do I understand that we, ah, own any property in your neigh-

bourhood?" (Note the royal "we," or is it the patronisin "we" that one uses to a child?) "Oh, no," replied the Vica sarcastically; "you only draw £30,000 a year by sitting still!" and forthwith became a Socialist on the spot. Of course it mus be a temptation to a weak and idle man who is rich through n fault of his own to neglect the duties that his high position en tails, but this divorce of the classes is fatal to the Constitutiona cause. It is significant that the only town where all the classe live together, and all trades and occupations are represented—Cardiff—is the only seat in South Wales we hold.

The mistake is often made of thinking the South Wales coal field essentially Welsh. As a matter of fact it is largely Englisl—much more English than the country districts of Wales. Ther is a Welsh weekly paper published at Merthyr, but in this tow of 100,000 inhabitants its circulation averages twenty; the res of the 4000 copies go to North and Central Wales. It is not til one passes the Vale of Glamorgan and touches the Swanse district that one finds a really Welsh industrial area. It is her that Conservatism reaches its very lowest ebb and even Labou has to play lap-dog to its powerful ally. Here is the lan where, if anywhere, that policy of outbidding the enemy fo votes which I discussed last month, might seem, on the face o it, to pay. In reality nowhere would it be more fatal. There i a point beyond which even our ——— cannot pass, and the Welshman's appetite for gifts is insatiable. The most w could do by putting up our principles to auction in this manne would be to force the Liberals into a somewhat similar struggle with Socialism in which they would inevitably be beaten. Is it consistent with the policy of Conservatism to force the pace like that? A great deal has lately been written about the average elector's apathy towards politics (what such writers really mean is not politics but Parliamentary affairs—there is no apathy about industrial questions), but what apathy exists is only the apathy of the man whose belly is so full of undigested matter that his mind positively refuses to act. Plain words are needed here. The average voter—the voter of unsettled party convictions whose turnover from this side to that wins and loses elections—wants a legislative rest. The country has swallowed the experimental legislation of the last few years just like a cow. It needs a [illegible] period in which to assimilate what it

good (if any) and to reject what is bad. Then it may or may not be ready for more. A Government is needed like that of Lord Beaconsfield following the hurricane period of Gladstonian agitation, 1868–74. Little things want doing—little, practical, useful, non-controversial, non-vote-catching reforms—hundreds of them—that pass neglected under Liberal rule because the squalid necessities of the Coalition crush them out. Also there are one or two big things, but no official-fattening fancy-work! What does the average Conservative voter vote Conservative for? Is it not because he knows that a Conservative Government would harry him with legislation not as much but as little as possible, consistently with the real requirements of the nation? Why do not Conservatives make a greater virtue of their individualism? Retrenchment used to be a Liberal cry. Now that the nation looks to us to curb the bureaucracy, to weed out corruption, to give it peace, and to circulate some of the money that has been locked up in Social Reform, let us make it ours.

My space is almost exhausted, and only a few remarks in conclusion are required. To the problem of Wales there can be but one solution, and that is a special campaign of advance along the familiar lines of Conservatism, or Tory Democracy as it is sometimes called. The methods and the particular points to be emphasised may differ for rural and industrial Wales, but the principles are the same. In the one the more laggard elements in the Party must adapt themselves to the facts of the case; in the other the Party must compel a bigoted and reactionary electorate to march with the real and not the fictitious progress of the age. In either case the enemy is identical—a chapel pulpit which has been desecrated by ministers who in the rancour of political hatred have forgotten their noble calling. In South Wales we have a large volume of the Labour movement behind us if we only use it right. In the country there is the natural bias of the agriculturist. The record of the present Government fights also with us. Rest, stability, and sound administration Conservatism alone can offer. The problem of Wales is a stiff one, but for the moral effect of the endeavour alone it is worth tackling. Will the Party still continue to regard Wales as hopeless? Or will the Party move?

M. O. Sale.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

November is always more or less of a close season for politics in Canada. "In threshing time," a wise old Western farmer once told me, "we have no use for politicians unless they take their coats off and climb up on the straw-pile and lend a hand—there's the tough we send to Ottawa, just to keep our wads safe, trying what he can do with a fork up there. Say, if you really want to feel you've earned your supper, why not help with them sacks?" We were all too tired at supper-time to talk much; an old prairie-seed sitting next to me remarked during an interval between two slices of pie: "This workin' between meals ain't what 'tis cracked up fer to be," which saying was an excellent example of the Western epigram. The Member talked all the time; talking was his trade; but he talked wheat, barley, oats, the possibility of snow, prairie-chicken, real estate, anything and everything but politics. When Canada is threshing or marketing her crops she is apt to remember that Providence is really her Prime Minister, and at such times even the politicians poke fun at their profession and will cheerfully endorse the confession of a famous Party leader that Canada, after all, could get along very well for a month or two without any Government—just then both the Prime Minister and the Governor-General were in London.

The Canadian newspapers, however, are still packed with political leading articles. More especially the Liberal organs, which have been raising a barbaric yawp of triumph because there has been a Liberal victory at a by-election in an obscure Ontario constituency which contains a number of half-assimilated German settlers (it takes two generations to digest the Teuton

immigrant) who were persuaded that England wanted Canada's three battleships so as to be able to go to war with Germany. The Naval Aid question is still good for a leading article two or three times a week and for any number of pin-point paragraphs, but nobody reads these pronouncements on a subject which might just as well be forgotten until the Dominion Parliament reassembles. As a matter of fact the Irish question is at present more interesting to the average reader of Canadian newspapers than any of the postponed issues of Canadian politics. The Canadian Orangeman (a successful farmer or up-country merchant wherever you meet him) has been remembering the maiden walls of Derry, and has persuaded his compatriots that Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right if any serious attempt is made to throw her under the wheels of the Nationalist machine. To listen to the fuglemen of old-country Liberalism one would imagine that Canada was a unit in favour of Irish Home Rule It was not so even when Home Rule was in the nature of a political abstraction; when, to remote and uninstructed observers, Ireland seemed to be in much the same position as that of French-speaking Canada at the time of Papineau's rebellion. This fallacious notion is still current in Quebec; the French-Canadian takes the side of the Irish Nationalists just as he took the side, passively if not actively, of the Boers after Majuba and before Paardeberg. He has an intense dislike for the Irish Catholic; yet he looks upon Catholic Ireland as a nation rigidly struggling to free itself from a Protestant tyranny. Ever since Ultramontanism displaced the old Gallican spirit in Quebec it has been impossible to get him to see the rights of the case—his clergy teach him that Rome is trying to give Ireland the gift of spiritual freedom. But nine in every ten English-speaking Canadians, while convinced that the Castle system is really a relic of "Colonialism" (again and again I have found this conviction in their perplexed minds), have come to the conclusion that no solution of the Irish problem which should compel Ulster to accept a form of government she dreads and detests can possibly be satisfactory or permanent. "How should we like to be governed by a French-Canadian Roman Catholic machine?" is the question they are asking themselves. It is sheer nonsense to say that the English-speaking Protestants of Quebec are perfectly satisfied with the kind of

government the majority provides in the provincial sphere. They do not complain aloud; if they did, their business interests would suffer. You have only to compare the streets of Toronto with those of Montreal to know where the shoe pinches and to get the measure of their secret discontent. As for the Canadians who know how New York is governed (Tammany is run "by Irishmen according to Irish ideas") they would, if they could, lend Ulster a hand on the day (if it *must* come) when bullets are ballots. But the majority of English-speaking Canadians are not acquainted with either the Montreal or the New York object-lessons and have in the past taken an academic view of the Irish controversy, regarding it as an issue complicated with racial and religious animosities such as could not exist in the New World. Yet even these cannot now understand how the coercion of Ulster can be justified if, as they have been told by Liberal and Nationalist emissaries, the proposed settlement is actually a form of Federalism or at any rate a stepping-stone towards the Federalisation of the British Constitution.

Mr. W. S. Fielding will not be accused of any lack of sympathy with Old Country Liberalism, and his recently published letter may be taken as a proof that all fair-minded Canadians think that a compromise should be, and could be, arranged by some application of the *do ut des* principle. His letter proceeds as follows, after an apology (which is quite unnecessary) for interfering in British politics:

No thoughtful subject of his Majesty in any part of the Empire can view the present situation in the Mother Country without anxiety, if not alarm. Everybody seems to recognise the fact that the country is drifting into a very dangerous position. Everybody professes, no doubt sincerely, a desire to find a solution that will enable Great Britain to maintain its reputation as a sensible, orderly, law abiding nation. But in the consideration of possible means to that end each of the contending parties seems to feel that before agreeing to confer it must insist on certain conditions which, apparently, the others are unable to accept. And so, it would seem, no progress is being made towards the Conference which all sensible people must regard as desirable. Shall we have to admit that in this state of affairs nothing can be done except to let things drift on until the worst happens—until, as some allege, we shall be in the midst of civil war? Surely not! Surely right-thinking men of all parties will agree that at this moment the most important thing is to find a ground upon which the leading men of all parties can meet for free and frank exchange of views. . . .

Briefly stated, my suggestion is that the two—or, if you like to so call them, the three—parties shall agree to a Conference limited by only two conditions:

1. That the conference consider the practicability of devising a scheme of federalisation for the United Kingdom.

2. That in such a scheme not only Ireland, but also England and Wales (jointly or severally, as may be deemed best), and Scotland shall receive the largest possible measure of Home Rule (if any other name will be more acceptable let it be used) in local affairs, through local legislatures having large powers, not merely County Councils, but legislatures dealing with a class of subjects sufficiently comprehensive to give these bodies positions of dignity and importance, provided always that the local legislatures so to be established shall have no part in the control of Imperial affairs, and that the paramount authority of the Imperial Parliament shall be recognised in terms that are beyond all question.

The essence of all compromise is that each party shall yield up something for which it has been contending in order that a common ground of action may be found. The Government, the Unionists, and the Nationalists would all have to abate something of their claims. It might at the first glance appear that the Unionists would be asked to yield most. I think, however, that they need abandon no great principle, and that they could look forward under a Federal system to the establishing of all that they really require. Unionists have taken a very strong ground against the Home Rule Bill, but it would be too much to say that they have set their faces for ever against some reform of the present system of government. Your Parliamentary system has broken down. Unionists themselves will be the first to admit that under that system intelligent and efficient dealing with the great questions of the day has become almost impossible. Parliament is continually overloaded. Many matters of importance cannot be considered at all. I am told that many capable men who enter Parliament with views on subjects of great interest pass session after session without finding an opportunity to express themselves. Legislation affecting large interests is disastrously delayed and enormously expensive. It is only by the frequent use of the closure and the guillotine that the system can be worked at all. While there may be circumstances under which the employment of these devices may be necessary, a system which can only be worked through their frequent use may be put down as a failure. There will hardly be in any quarter a denial of these statements. Well, if these things are true, why should not a remedy be sought through such a distribution of legislative powers and duties as would leave the Imperial Parliament to deal with the greater affairs of the Empire, and create local legislatures to deal with local affairs? The things to which I judge Unionists attach most importance are the maintenance of the paramount authority of the Imperial Parliament and the protection of the rights of the Ulster minority. Why should not both be fully secured under such a system as I advocate? At all events, why should not all parties agree that a consideration of the subject along these lines offers a fair ground for the calling of the Conference?

The Federal solution of the Irish problem has been often discussed, and the omitted portion of Mr. Fielding's letter contains no new argument. If it were adopted, Ulster could be erected into a separate province— for questions of comparative size and population are not vital, no difficulty having resulted from the

nclusion in the Canadian Confederacy of Provinces differing o the extent of the difference between Ontario and Prince Edward sland. Such an arrangement would leave the way open for an malgamation into a single province of Ulster and Celtic Ireland just as the Union of the three Maritime Provinces, which has ften been suggested, would be practicable under the Canadian onstitution) if at any time in the future the Protestant and mperialist minority in Ireland thought the change would not nvolve any loss of religious, political, and economic liberty. s long as the existing Nationalist "machine" is in being lster would certainly insist on remaining a separate unit. he presence of Protestants in the larger Province and of atholics in the lesser one would be tantamount to an exchange f hostages and a guarantee that in either case the rights of the inority would be respected. As the Canadian precedent shows, his is an important consideration—for there can be no doubt hat the Protestant English-speaking population of Quebec njoys educational liberty, to take one matter of great consequence, ecause the Catholic French-speaking majority know very well hat any other policy would have prejudiced the position of men f their own race and religion in the Protestant English-speaking rovinces. The trouble is that Mr. Redmond and his supporters vould not accept provincial autonomy as an adequate measure of Home Rule. Their desire is to create a basis of complete Separatism, hey are working for the independence of Ireland and her removal rom the privileges and responsibilities of the Imperial polity. But he Nationalist machine is no longer intact—Larkinism, essentially revolt against the tyranny of the gombeen man and the parish riest, is destined to wreck it entirely. At any rate, if Mr. Redmond were forced into the position of rejecting the Federal olution, the people of Canada and the other Dominions would at nce see that his policy has for its objective the disintegration of he Empire.

E. B. O.

CORRESPONDENCE

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE AND THE HON GEORGE PEEL (RADICAL CANDIDATE FOR THE RUGBY DIVISION)

Copy.

Compton Verney, Warwick.
October 26, 1913.

DEAR PEEL,—You are reported in the *Warwick Advertiser* of October 25th as having said at Radford:

"Another thing which oppressed the agricultural labourer at present was if he wanted to vote Liberal, and it was found out, then somehow he was told that he must leave his house."

As I have a good many agricultural labourers as cottage tenants in this constituency, I am naturally much interested in your statement, and should be very glad if I could persuade you to let me have the specific instances that have been brought to your notice of agricultural labourers who have received notice to quit for professing Liberal opinions.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) WILLOUGHBY de BROKE.

Copy.

Mancetter Manor, Atherstone.
Octr. 27th, 1913.

DEAR WILLOUGHBY,—As regards the question which you ask me in your letter of October 26, you have evidently omitted to observe that, after careful investigation of such cases as I have referred to, his Majesty's Government have just announced that, in order to stop in future such "capricious" or "wanton" notices to quit, it is necessary to introduce legislation, and this will be done.

As you have given me the opportunity, allow me to ask you a question yourself.

I see that you are reported as having "secured over five thousand volunteers" in England for the purpose of war in Ireland against his Majesty the King.

As a Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire I am "naturally much interested" in this proceeding, and "should be very glad if I could persuade you to let me have the specific instances" as to who your prospective rebels are.

As your letter is of a purely public nature, I assume that you have no objection to my making this correspondence public.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) GEORGE PEEL.

Copy. Compton Verney, Warwick.
28th October, 1913.

DEAR PEEL,—Your attempt to counter my question by riding off on the British League for the Support of Ulster and the Union is quite irrelevant. But if you really want any names, let me remind you that the names of our Committee have already been published in the London Press, as well as those of over two hundred Peers and Members of Parliament who assisted at the formation of the League.

I do not see how this League interests you as a Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire. But what does concern you in that capacity is the charge you have brought against those of your brother justices who are owners of cottage property. The only excuse you offer is what you call an announcement by his Majesty's Government that it is necessary to introduce legislation to stop "capricious" or "wanton" notices to quit.

I do not know whether you refer to the Secret Land Inquiry or to one of Mr. George's speeches. I shall want specific instances of "capricious" or "wanton" evictions before I believe any insinuations contained in either. But the phrases that you quote do not support the charge contained in your speech at Radford. You have yet to prove that "capricious" and "wanton" evictions, even if they ever take place, are instituted by Tory landlords in the case of labourers who are credited with a desire to vote for the Radicals.

In your speech at Radford you condemn a whole class of turning labouring men out of their homes on account of their political opinions. When you are challenged you fail to produce a single concrete case. I am very glad that you propose to send this correspondence to the Press, in order that the public may have the opportunity of considering the value of your accusation. I am,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

Copy. Mancetter Manor, Atherstone.
Octr. 30th, 1913.

DEAR WILLOUGHBY,—Your statement that I have made personal charges against my brother justices, and so forth, is purely imaginary. But if you are not satisfied that such capricious or wanton evictions, as I have referred to, do occur, I am. If you think otherwise, tell it to the Horse Marines, or, better still, to the modern equivalent your "*Army*."

Yours very truly,
(Signed) GEORGE PEEL.

Copy. Compton Verney, Warwick.
31st October, 1913.

DEAR PEEL,—The public is now in possession of the facts, and will be the best judge of what is imaginary and what is not. You bring a particularly odious charge against all owners of cottage property who do not agree with the political party to which you now belong. When asked by one of those whom you have been attacking whether you can substantiate your accusation, you are quite unable to produce a shred of proof. This accusation is not a mere expression of opinion; it is a deliberate charge of political persecution; and if you are satisfied, as you admit you are, to bring it forward without definite evidence, you cannot complain that those whom you try to put in the pillory decline to accept it.

Yours very truly,
[illegible] BROKE.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND HIS COLLEAGUES

[The following letter has been addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer]

Radical Plutocracy Enquiry, 50, St. Stephen's House,
Westminster, London, S.W.
October 28, 1913.

DEAR SIR,—I am directed by Lord Winterton, M.P., Chairman, and the Radical Plutocracy Enquiry Committee, to address the following letter to you:

As you are now taking such a very great interest in the management of landed properties, the Radical Plutocracy Enquiry Committee ask you kindly to consider the case of one of your colleagues in the Cabinet. The Committee will, if desirable, be able to put before you the facts about others of your political supporters, but it is thought that the case of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, who is himself an enthusiastic land reformer, should be first considered, and with this in view the Radical Plutocracy Enquiry Committee suggest that you should obtain from the Land Enquiry Committee particulars as to his properties and their management, and especially the following:

How many small-holdings Mr. Harcourt has created on his estate at Nuneham Courtenay, Stanton Harcourt, and Hinksey, which estate occupies 6397 acres, and has a gross annual rental of £6718, and includes his own domain and Park, with a circumference of six miles, occupying 12[illegible]0 acres? Whether it is a fact that only one small-holding had been created up to March 1913, at Nuneham Courtenay by Mr. Harcourt, of one acre, on a yearly tenancy and at a rent of 27s. per year? Whether it is the fact that only eleven small-holdings of a total acreage of 256 acres have been created up to March 1913, at Stanton Harcourt and Hinksey since Mr. Harcourt came into the property, and that these were created on land rented from him by the County Council and leased again to these eleven small-holders?

It is suggested that particulars should be obtained as to the extent of the demand for small-holdings in the neighbourhood, and whether this demand is not shown by the number of small-holdings created in the neighbouring village of Baldon, on the estate of Sir John Willoughby. It may of course be that the additions to his estate recently made by Mr. Harcourt are intended to meet the unsatisfied demand existing in the neighbourhood, and as to this the Land Enquiry Committee might well satisfy themselves, if they have not already done so.

No doubt the information obtained by the Land Enquiry Committee on the following questions would be interesting. Are there employed and maintained on the estate more than about 120 farm labourers? Would this number of not more than about 120 farm labourers, upon 6397 acres, producing a gross rental of £6718 per annum, be consistent with the ideals of a land-reformer? Do the labourers on any part of the estate (including the Home Farm at Nuneham) receive more than 15s. or 16s. per week, whilst in a great number of cases is not the rent of the cottage [illegible]

1s. 6d. per week) deducted ? Are the [illegible] his immense Park at Nuneham, or along one of the most [illegible] between Sandford and Culham ? How many liveried keepers are [illegible] Nuneham estate for the purpose of vigilantly guarding it from public [illegible] there any facilities of passage through the large Park at Nuneham, [illegible] beyond a single road, difficult to find and access to which is only [illegible] conditions ?

A comparison of the wages paid by Mr. Harcourt to his gamekeepers with those paid to his labourers would be useful. Do these keepers get as much as [illegible] a week, fuel, and a very good cottage ? Is the return of game killed on this estate proportionate to the expenditure ? It has been stated as a *fact* that the number of partridges shot on this estate in one season constitutes a record for that part of the world.

I beg to remain,

Your obedient servant,

PETER K. WRIGHT

(Secretary to the Radical Plutocracy Enquiry Committee.)

The Rt. Hon. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.,
The Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.